JPRS-EER-86-009

23 January 1986

East Europe Report

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BRATISLAVA REPORTS ON 5-YEAR PLAN PROGRESS

LD141113 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Dec 85

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY editor commentary]

[Text] It is natural and it does not need to be repeated that our party and whole society give enormous importance to the 5-year plan to the advancement of electrical engineering. The entire growth of our national economy is closely tied to the development of electrical engineering and electronics. This is why the task of the 16th CPCZ Congress was to increase the volume of production of electrotechnical industry by 40-50 percent.

Although the unfavorable development at the beginning of the 5-year plan gave rise to some pessimism, today the rate of growth is approaching its upper limit. It is a fact that the CSSR electrical industry has fulfilled the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in adjusted net output as soon as by 30 October 1985, and by the end of the 5-year plan goods to the value of Kcs6 billion will be produced above the goal set by the congress.

Exports to socialist countries are also being fulfilled in accordance with the plans.

Unfortunately exports to nonsocialist countries will not be met. Here the poor plan fulfillment in 1981-82 is playing a role.

The natural sector of the Slovak Socialist Republic was given goals which were not small. It can, however, be said that the situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic is generally favorable. Supplies to the stock of consumer goods will be overfulfilled by approximately 2 percent. Also, the sector fulfilled its objectives with regard to the export to socialist countries by 30 (?June) 1985. Unfortunately, as in the CSSR electrical industry, in Slovak industry the fulfillment of the plan of exports to nonsocialist countries is lagging. With regard to volume, the tasks were fulfilled in September 1985 but the main target--efficiency of exports--was not reached.

The significance of efficient exports perhaps does not need to be emphasized. In addition, as Comrade Lubomir Nemec, deputy minister, said at the recent meeting of the communists of the Ministry of Industry of the Slovak Socialist

Republic, we cannot be satisfied in this sector also with the rate of R&D progress. Comrade Gustav Husak also emphasized the need to advance faster in science and technology at the 16th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and said that in our whole national economy space must be made for the advanced technology and up-to-date equipment. This is the way to achieve high technical standard for our products so that we will be able to be more successful in the foreign markets.

/6091
CSO: 2400/118

GOVERNMENT, TRADE UNION PRINCIPLES ON PLAN PARTICIPATION

AU110701 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 85 p 5

["Full text" of the "Principles of the CSSR Government and Central Trade Union Council on the Participation of the Working People in Creating, Realizing, and Overseeing the Fulfillment of the 5-Year Plan and Annual Executive Plans for Economic and Social Development"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] In the past few days, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee has discussed the Principles of the CSSR Government and the Central Trade Union Council [URO] on the Participation of the Working People in Creating, Realizing, and Overseeing the Fulfillment of the 5-Year Plan and Annual Executive Plans for Economic and Social Development. The new principles follow on from the experience acquired from a similar document for the Seventh 5-Year Plan. They constitute a package of measures to create more scope for working people to participate in the management of production. They are another step toward ensuring that everyone at his workplace has an adequate opportunity to influence the operation of production.

There follows the full text of the principles.

One of the most important prerequisites for the effective development of the national economy, and thus for better satisfying the needs of the working people, is to make full use of our people's wealth of experience, creativity, abilities, and talents. Only in this way can we make increasing use, in fulfilling the planned tasks for economic and social development, of scientific-technological findings, including competent management methods, and ensure that the required changes in the structure of production are introduced more quickly. The consequence of this will be a further improvement in product quality and the elimination of shortcomings in the structure of the range, while at the same time reducing demand for raw and other materials, energy, investments, and transportation, and the molding of the working man's consciousness in accordance with the demands of socialist society.

In order to make fuller use of the abilities and initiative of the people, it is necessary, above all, to organize their active participation in creating, realizing, and overseeing the fulfillment of the economic and social development plans, which are the main instruments for the implementation of the CPCZ's economic and social policy. An effective form of organizing this participation is, in particular, the method of counterplanning, in organic linkage with the implementation of the principles of intraenterprise economic accountability [khozraschet], when the planned tasks and allocations are broken down for work collectives, and remuneration depends on the way they are ensured and fulfilled. This increases the working people's sense of responsibility for the economic and social results that are being achieved in the course of the fulfillment of the work collective's social mission. A well worked out intraenterprise khozraschet is also the basic prerequisite for the further intensification of the brigade method organizing work and remuneration, which links plan tasks, allocations, and conditions to the work of individual employees [pracovnici] and encourages their fulfillment.

In order to integrate the procedures of national, economic, and trade union agencies in organizing the working people's participation in creating, realizing, and overseeing the plan, the CSSR Government and the URO have determined the following principles on the basis of Article 15, Paragraph 4 of Law No 145/1970 on national economic planning and the CSSR Government's resolution /indistinct word/ on the Main Directions of the Further Development of the Set of Measures for Perfecting the System of Planned Management of the National Economy:

I. The Participation of the Working People in Creating the Draft 5-Year and Annual Executive Plans

1. The central agencies (Footnote 1) (For the purpose of the principles these are the central agencies of branches [odvetvove], regional national committees, the Prague City National Committee, and the Bratislava City National Committee), together with the relevant trade union agencies, will ensure the integrated procedures of the national, economic, and trade union agencies in preparing drafts of the economic and social development plans. For this purpose they will adopt joint political-organizational measures and a mandatory schedule establishing deadlines for work on the plan draft documents in such a way as to create pragmatic and time-related conditions for the working people and trade union agencies to participate actively at all levels of management. At the same time this schedule must provide for an adequate timeframe, that is, at least 8 weeks, for working out and assessing the draft economic plans in organizations, with the direct participation of the working people's collectives. The above agencies must also create conditions for the concurrent preparation of drafts of collective agreements in accordance with the valid principles (Footnote 2) (The principles of the CSSR Government and the URO applying to the conclusion, content, and control of collective agreements approved by the CSSR Government's resolution No 255/1985).

2. Within set deadlines the tasks and allocations of both the 5-year state economic plan and the directives for the elaboration of the draft annual state plan for economic and social development will be broken down by the central agencies for the economic production units and directly managed organizations. Together with the relevant trade union agencies, the central agencies will announce the main directives for the development of the working

people's initiative and the socialist competition toward which their initiative should be oriented in the specific conditions of the sector in question.

3. The tasks and allocations for the elaboration of draft economic plans will be broken down in a differentiated way by the agencies of middle-level management for subordinated socialist organizations (hereafter "organizations"). At the same time, middle-level management agencies, in agreement with the relevant trade union agency, will determine specific procedures for planning work in accordance with the set deadlines and the manner of acquainting the working people with tasks in drafting the economic plan. They will break down for their own conditions the main directions of the development of the initiative of the working people and of the socialist competition announced by superior agencies.

4. Organizations will break down the set tasks for intraenterprise structures and individual worksites, and, in cooperation with the enterprise (or plant) committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], will acquaint the working people with them. In the interest of elaborating a quality draft of the economic plan, they will jointly organize production consultations at which they discuss specific tasks of the draft economic plan in order to hear the working people's meaningful [racionalni] suggestions and recommendations aimed at uncovering unused resources of all kinds. At the same time, they will ensure that working conditions are improved, negative influences of the working environment on the health of the working people are eliminated, and that the norms of social equipment of the work collectives and their further justified needs are fulfilled and satisfied. At the same time, they will also announce the main directions for the development of the working people's initiative in order to concretely orient work collectives toward adopting and exceeding the plan's quality indexes, above all as regards achieving the further growth of labor productivity, improving the quality of production, reducing costs, increasing the savings of fuels, energy, and metals, and reducing the labor-intensiveness of production and services. In addition, they will orient the efforts of work collectives toward ensuring the utmost acceleration of the modernization of production by speedily introducing the results of science and technology into practice. For this purpose they will apply the tried and tested forms of initiative of the working people, such as the pledge movement, the movement of the brigades of socialist labor, the comprehensive efficiency brigades, the movement of inventors and improvers, the organized [usmernovane] plans for thematic tasks, the ZENIT movement [youth movement's drive promoting technological innovation], personal and collective creative plans, and so forth.

5. The trade union agencies at all levels of management will adopt a standpoint on the drafts of the economic plan elaborated on the basis of suggestions and recommendations submitted by the working people and their aktiv of functionaries. To get the opinion of the trade union agency, the relevant agencies of economic management must submit in time for discussion a comprehensively elaborated draft of the economic plan prior to its being submitted to the superior body. The standpoint of the trade union agency is an integral part of the draft economic plan. In a standpoint, the trade union agencies

will assess the conditions for the working people's active participation in creating the plan and express their opinion on the draft for ensuring the national goal-oriented programs, and the overall effectiveness of the submitted draft plan and its individual components; of these, they will express their views in particular on the draft plan for performance, the development of science and technology, the replacement of long-term assets, work and wages, social security, environmental protection, the plan of personnel and social development, and the financial plan, while paying particular attention to reducing material costs and to the growth of labor productivity.

6. When working out draft plans, central agencies, the agencies of middle-level management, and organizations will make use of meaningful suggestions and recommendations contained in the standpoints of the relevant trade union agencies. The national and economic agencies have a duty to respond in writing within 30 days to a trade union agency corresponding to their level (Footnote 3) (The economic and national agencies reply in writing to standpoints on the level of:

(--a plant--to an ROH plant committee,

(--an organization--to an ROH plant (or enterprise) committee,

(--an agency of middle-level management--to an ROH regional committee,

(--a regional national committee, Prague City National Committee, Bratislava City National Committee--to the regional trade union council, Prague Trade Union Council, Bratislava Trade Union Council,

(--central agencies of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic--to the Czech Committee of the Trade Union Federation, the Slovak Committee of the Trade Union Federation,

(--central agencies of the federation--to the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation).

Following mutual agreement, they will inform plenary meetings of higher trade union agencies and conferences and membership meetings of the ROH how the suggestions and recommendations have been used. In the event that a trade union agency holds a different opinion on the draft plan or does not agree with some parts of it, point 29 of these principles applies.

7. In the period following the submission of the draft economic plan to the superior agency, central agencies, the agencies of middle-level management, and organizations will inform the relevant trade union agencies about all fundamental changes in the draft plan and seek their opinions.

8. The participation of the ROH agencies in the discussion of the social development plan is regulated by the principles of the planned management of cadre, personnel, and social development, approved by the CSSR Government.

II. Participation of the Working People in the Implementation of Counterplanning

9. One of the fundamental forms by which the working people participate in management is the method of counterplanning, which is aimed at tightening the qualitative tasks of the plan. Its objective is to mobilize and utilize the abilities, knowledge, and experience of the working people in order to uncover internal unused resources in the interest of achieving national goals. It is to be implemented in all sectors and the centerpiece is in organizations and their internal structures.

10. Counterplanning is implemented within the framework of the resources, allocations, and restrictions determined by the plan, with a view to the rational valorization [zhodnocovani] of them and achieving a more efficient replacement process. It is thus mainly oriented toward qualitative aspects of development, and in particular toward reducing demand in the production sector for materials, energy, and imports, improving the quality and convenience of products, the growth of profitable production lines for both export and the domestic market, and the systematic growth of labor productivity. The epitome of all the above improvements in quality indexes is the increase in adjusted value added or other index constituting the basis for the regulation of the development of wage resources. If the adjusted value added is increased by reducing material costs, then only that increase that is proportionately projected into higher profit may be considered as counterplan. If the adjusted value added is increased by increased production or performance, it is regarded as a contribution of counterplanning only when the following things are simultaneously proposed:

a) In industrial branches, a corresponding increase in deliveries for export to the USSR and the nonsocialist countries, for the domestic market, or increased receipts from the population (in local industry and in production cooperatives); increasing output for production consumption or for creating inventories ready for sale is to be assessed in the sense of the last paragraph of this point (as regards inventories in cooperation with the Czechoslovak State Bank), the prerequisite for recognition in the counterplan will be a contractual assurance of this production's sales; the fulfillment of prerequisites will be assessed in an annual analysis of how economic activities are being run;

b) In agriculture, an increase of desirable, contractually ensured deliveries for the food industry, domestic market, and export;

c) In construction production, the observance or improvement of the prescribed index regulating the number of unfinished projects;

d) In the remaining branches, increasing good performance determined by the superior agency.

For this purpose, organizations, agencies of middle-level management, and central agencies will specify ways to achieve the proposed tightening.

11. Counterplanning will be organized as follows:

a) In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan as the tightening of the annual executive national plan in annual plans of organizations and agencies of the middle-level management until it has been confirmed by the superior level of management (usually in February of the plan year);

b) In the following years of the 5-year plan as the tightening of the 5-year national plan for the appropriate year (possibly as the tightening of the directive to the annual executive national plan) in drafts of annual plans of organizations and agencies of middle-level management (as a rule in September of the preceding year). (Footnote 4) (The still valid exceptions to that deadline [agriculture, construction, food industry] remain in effect.)

12. For tightening the plan of adjusted value added or other index constituting the basis of regulating the development of wage resources, the organization is provided an incentive by being accorded full entitlement to wage resources, according to the established rate. For increasing a plan adopted after the deadline set in point 11 of these principles, or for exceeding it, organizations are accorded entitlement according to the reduced rate. The rate expressing the ratio between the increment of wage resources and the increment of the adjusted value added is not being cut in realization. [sentence as published] A preferential rate might be set for the counterplanning stage.

13. The central agencies, in agreement with the relevant trade union agencies, will determine for the agencies of middle-level management and the organizations managed by them, the orientation of counterplanning and specific forms of material incentives. At the same time, they will ensure the introduction of the method of counterplanning into intraenterprise structures and its linkage to intraenterprise khozraschet and remuneration.

14. Material incentives connected with counterplanning, when the determined principles and conditions are observed, are considered mandatory on the understanding that the principle that those receiving advantages, or sanctions are specifically designated is consistently observed.

III. Participation of the Working People in the Implementation of the 5-Year Plan and Annual Executive Plans

15. The central agencies and the agencies of middle-level management, in accordance with the set deadlines, will break down in a differentiated manner the tasks and allocations of the national 5-year plan and national annual plans for the development of the national economy for the organizations. In order to ensure common procedure in the implementation of the plan and collective agreements, they will make use of the joint deliberations with the relevant trade union agencies, at which they will discuss the sociopolitical content of the assumed tasks and how they are to be fulfilled and overseen.

16. Organizations--following up on the tasks and allocations of the 5-year plan--will break down in a differentiated manner the tasks of the annual plans all the way to the intraenterprise structures and individual workplaces. They will make use of the joint deliberations with the relevant trade union agencies to implement the plan tasks and collective agreements. They will ensure that the working people are informed about the set tasks, including the conditions of material incentives. In the current period they will organize the pledge movements and other forms of working people's initiative, they will utilize progressive and improved methods of work, including the brigade form of organizing labor and remuneration. They will create conditions and win the working people for uncovering internal unused resources, with a view, especially, to reducing the production sector's demand for energy, raw and other materials, enhancing the quality and reliability of products, and the more rapid introduction of the findings of science and technology in practice. In the course of the implementation of the economic plans they will regularly inform the working people about the fulfillment of the plan's tasks in respect of deadlines, about shortcomings that arise, and they will mobilize the working people to eliminate them in accordance with adopted measures.

17. In the interest of the assertion of the intensification factors of growth, the agencies of middle-level management and organizations will intensify khozraschet relations and principles in management. They will place particular stress on perfecting intraenterprise khozraschet as the fundamental prerequisite for directing, organizing, and assessing the contribution of the socialist competition and increasing the merit principle in the economic results that are being achieved in the growth of production efficiency and quality.

18. In cooperation with the relevant trade union agencies, the agencies of middle-level management and organizations will implement only such forms of initiative as yield tangible results, and they are responsible for seeing that individual forms of competition and working people initiative, are not carried out by command and mechanically, without regard to the specific conditions and needs of the organizations. They will perfect the cooperation of the research, development, and other organizations with scientific research institutes and institutes of higher learning in order to help the ties between production and science successfully fulfill the plan's quantitative tasks. At the same time, they will orient research and development worksites toward speeding up the development of new products and the technological preparation of production. They will ensure the conclusion, realization, and overseeing of the fulfillment of combined socialist pledges, including the combined international socialist pledges aimed at finishing capital investment projects and putting capacities into operation within set deadlines and technological-economic indexes, at improving supplier-user relations and satisfying the needs of foreign and domestic markets.

19. The central agencies, agencies of middle-level management, and organizations may submit to the relevant trade union agencies for their opinion, proposals for changes in the economic plan in the course of the year, which

they may in exceptional cases carry out, provided that they observe tasks, allocations, and norms set by the superior agency. Trade union agencies will draw the attention of superior economic and higher trade union agencies to instance when plans of organizations that are not achieving results set by the plan are being amended to the detriment of organizations that are well managed. At the same time, they will also see to it that changes in the plan are incorporated in the form of amendments into collective agreements and that socialist pledges are defined. In the event that the trade union agency does not agree to the change in the plan, point 29 of these principles applies.

IV. Participation of the Working People in Overseeing the Fulfillment of the 5-Year Plan and Annual Executive Plans

20. Within the framework of their management activity, central agencies and agencies of middle-level management will create conditions, and organizations ensure that the fulfillment of plans and the running of activities are consistently overseen with the broad participation of the working people and in a close cooperation with trade union agencies. With joint measures they will create material and time prerequisites which enable working people to collectively assess the results that are being achieved in the fulfillment of production-technological, economic, and social tasks, and proposals for solving problems. The measures will also set plan indexes which economic agencies will submit to trade union agencies to be checked.

21. It is the joint task of the national, economic, and trade union agencies to ensure concurrent supervision of plan fulfillment and how activities are run, including observance of socialist legality, and of work and technological discipline in all organizations, plants, and workshops. When organizing the semiannual and annual public reviews of the fulfillment of collective agreements, overseeing the fulfillment of the tasks of economic plans and social development plans must be stressed, together with the assessment of the working people's initiatives. The overseeing must be organized in such a way that it encourages the working people to actively solve the problems connected with the fulfillment of the plan and uses their suggestions and recommendations in order to reveal unused resources in the interest of successfully ensuring all plan tasks.

22. Overseeing plan fulfillment must be oriented above all toward ensuring an even fulfillment of tasks in accordance with the planned directions of social utilization (particularly exports and deliveries to the domestic market), increasing efficiency, quality, and thrift. The progress of the realization of the tasks of the plan for technological development must be regularly assessed, as must the increase of the proportion of products of a high technological-economic standard in the overall volume of production, the development of losses resulting from poor production, the utilization of fixed assets, the reduction of the consumption of raw and other materials, energy, and fuels, the reduction of the share of human labor and overtime work, and other costs. Fulfillment of tasks in realizing state goal-oriented programs, programs of comprehensive socialist rationalization, in capital construction, and in the area of seller-user relations must be assessed.

23. In order to ensure systematic supervision of the fulfillment of the plan for personnel and social development (Footnote 5) (This applies to the relevant part of the plan for cadre, personnel, and social development) more attention must be paid to the issues of working conditions and environment--particularly work safety and health protection at work.

24. The economic and trade union agencies will ensure that the working people are thoroughly informed--in the case of production consultations monthly and of ROH membership meetings and conferences quarterly--about the achieved results and also about the failure to fulfill the tasks and maintain the allocations of the economic plans and plans for personnel and social development. They will ensure that proposals for resolving ascertained shortcomings are submitted. These should include drawing specific conclusions about those who fail to fulfill their tasks.

25. Analyses of economic activity will have the active participation of trade union agencies--particularly when it comes to the assessment of the working people's initiative, the fulfillment of collective agreements, plans for personnel and social development, the fulfillment of thrift measures, and so forth. The trade union agency will discuss the analyses that have been carried out, together with proposals aimed at improving economic activity, and will adopt a standpoint on them. A representative of the trade union agency will attend the final procedure [rizeni], at which he asserts this standpoint. It is the joint task of organizations, middle-level management, and the relevant trade union agencies to make sure that the working people are acquainted with the results of the annual analysis of how activities are run and with the adopted corrective measures, which will be broken down for all sectors in which shortcomings were ascertained, including the way in which they are dealt with.

V. Final Stipulations

26. These principles have been drawn up by the central agencies together with the relevant trade union committees, regional national committees, and the Prague and Bratislava City National Committees with regional trade union councils, and the Prague and Bratislava Trade Union Councils, who will ensure through joint measures their implementation in the specific conditions of branches in the production and nonproduction spheres.

27. The principles will be implemented in all agencies of economic management, organizations, and national committees.

28. These principles will be applied as appropriate in the sphere of special technology and in the economic production organizations of the Federal Ministry of the National Defense while observing the relevant stipulations relating to the safeguarding of state, economic, and official secrets.

29. Contradictory standpoints of trade union agencies on draft economic plans, on changes in annual economic plans, and on analyses of economic activity will be resolved by the superior national or economic agency after the matter has been discussed with the relevant higher trade union agency.

30. The central agencies, together with the relevant trade union agencies, will review how the principles are being fulfilled, in connection with the assessment of annual results of plan fulfillment in the branches; while the agencies of middle-level management and organizations together with the relevant trade union agencies, will do so, at the same time as they carry out their analysis of economic activity.

31. The principles will go into effect the day they are published. At the same time the principles approved by the CSSR Government Decision No 401/1980, published in the Law Code under No 14/1981, are rescinded.

/6091
CSO: 2400/118

ECONOMY CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

JAKES TOURS OSTRAVA STEEL PLANT--During his working visit to Ostrava, Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today toured a steel-making plant and medium-light section mill in the Klement Gottwald New Metallurgical Works. He briefed himself there about the fulfillment of the production program and about preparations for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2300 GMT 13 Dec 85 LD] /6091

LI PENG VIEWS NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS--Li Peng, deputy chairman of the PRC State Council, and his entourage paid a visit to the enterprise, Atomic Power Plants Bohunice, in Jaslovske Bohunice today. He toured generating plants and inquired about the overall economics of their activity. He was briefed about the work of the nuclear power plants which were built thanks to exemplary Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and which are the most reliable segment of Czechoslovakia's power system. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Dec 85 LD] /6091

SHIP FOR USSR--Pula--On Saturday at the "Uljanik" shipyard the seventh in a series of eight special ships that this Pula enterprise is building for "Sudoimport" of Moscow was launched. This ship, the 29th that "Uljanik" has produced for the Soviet customer, carries the name "Sovyetskaya Belorossiya" and is intended for the transportation of passengers, freight cars and automobiles on the Caspian Sea between the ports of Baku-Krasnovodsk and Astrakhan. The next-to-last of a series of eight identical vessels is 155 meters long, 18.3 meters wide, and has a capacity of 3,000 tons. It is powered by a 4,350 kw main engine manufactured by "Uljanik." With this launching the "Uljanik" collective celebrated the 129th anniversary of its existence in the best possible manner. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 85 p 3] /9604

CSO: 2800/123

BUDAPEST INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Nov 85, Supplement p 5

[Interview with Zoltan Koteles, secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, by Istvan Matko: "I Haven't Forgotten That I Once Was Director"]

[Text] Debates about development policy are taking place in official and private circles, and this is understandable, indeed it is a good thing. It indicates the activity of society and of a person that he who is interested in laying a good foundation for the future is inclined to take part responsibly in this. One of the central themes of the debates is management, or rather industry, and concerns what is worth developing, what should and what should not be developed. Considerable experience about these questions has accumulated in the Budapest Party Committee. We talked about this with Zoltan Koteles, secretary of the party committee and a National Assembly representative.

[Question] I recommend that we narrow the circle, for your work suggests the capital as the subject of investigation. Do developmental questions have special aspects here?

[Answer] Let us start from the number one priority, from the fact that the chief requirement continues to be preservation of the foreign economic balance. And so convertible export is fundamental. And this is also a measure of which products the world market recognizes. If we look at how export measures industrial performance and what we must do in the interest of more effective export then this will provide the number one selection requirement. One can find two main groups in the export structure within Hungarian industry; one is metallurgy and the chemical industry; the other is the machine industry and light industry. More than half of our export comes from the first group. If we remove from the several products the support and withdrawal components--an approximate calculation of this sort was prepared recently--then it turns out that the larger part of our export comes from that product group which contributes less, percentage wise, to the GDP--the national total product [or, Gross Domestic Product]. The contribution of the second group, the machine and light industry group, is three times as much, but its export share is less. The direction for selective development is given--we must create a better environment for the branch with a higher degree of processing, for the processing industry. We must provide an environment which serves renewal of the product structure, an increase in investment and, altogether, gives an impetus to the branches.

[Question] An interesting approach. Could you make these ideas concrete in regard to Budapest industry?

[Answer] The processing industry ratio is high in Budapest. Let us stick with convertible export; the capital accounts for about 40 percent of the export of the processing industry. Indeed, if I narrow this down to the machine industry then Budapest's share is more than 50 percent. It follows that everything which pertains to these branches must be given special attention by our party committee. To return to the original theme, those branches must be put into a more advantageous situation which can provide, with their export, a greater increment for the GDP. According to this the textile clothing, instrument, machine and mechanical equipment, and communications engineering and vacuum technology industries are in the best position. And let us say that ferrous metallurgy and petroleum processing are at the other end of the line, with a much smaller yield.

[Question] Public opinion generally makes a different classification today; there are branches of industry which export, but not economically, and there are those which sell very economically. Calculations show, in regard to the products of the processing industry, how uneconomical they are, but from what you say it appears that the fate of the industrial branches can--or must--be measured and decided by another method.

[Answer] The contradiction you mention derives from the fact that in general people judge not the product groups but rather the combined enterprise results, and these are frequently distorted for real or imagined national economic interests by forced supports and withdrawals or by the ratios of the market relationships. But if we remove these effects the picture may be clearer in regard to which branches should be developed. Because of the balance requirement of the budget there is a high degree of centralization of enterprise incomes today; it moves somewhere around 70 percent on the average. Unfortunately the greatest centralization is precisely in the processing industry branches; it is above 80 percent in the machine industry and in light industry. And if we want more export from these, the more efficient branches, then obviously we must develop an economic environment in which the situation of these branches will be more favorable for development. It is difficult to agree with the position that we must take from where there is something to take! In the long run the best thing would be to help the more efficient to the detriment of the less efficient.

Product development requires purposeful technical development activity. But obviously fundamental structural change cannot be imagined without investments. There is something we always forget about; we must develop not only the products but also the technology for product manufacture, because the world market pays only for the socially necessary work, the socially necessary work as measured on the external market. If we spend more on production--because our technology is bad or our manufacture is not automated--then they will not pay for this extra expense.

As for Budapest, there are unique viewpoints here. The problem of our capital is that there are 30,000 fewer workers than jobs. So one viewpoint for development has to be to give the advantage to and develop intensively in Budapest those branches which are less work intensive, that is where manpower can be replaced by technology. In the final analysis if we cannot solve manpower supply for some activity in the capital then it must be relocated. There are resolutions decades old on this. These have had results but--largely for material reasons--not nearly so great as we would like. The Ministry of Industry has a draft to carry out the resolutions of the Political Committee and the Council of Ministers in which what must be done has been formulated. There is also already a compilation of enterprise intentions, which of course does not agree with the central decisions on many points.

[Question] This is a delicate area. How can one begin with this conflict?

[Answer] Enterprise interests now clash with national economic interests. As I see it a good program could be forged to harmonize the interests. It will not be easy, but I am not a pessimist. The government has a program for the development of economically backward areas. What would be most economical would be if the relocations from Budapest and the development of backward areas were brought together, combining the moneys for the various goals. The task could be carried out with much less pain, more cheaply and--last but not least--in accordance with common interests by using the combined resources.

[Question] This affects the Seventh 5-Year Plan too. So let us return to selective development. For example, can the selection affect individual areas?

[Answer] There is no finished program and so it is rather difficult to give an opinion. But it already appears that the large presence of the textile industry must be moderated in Budapest. The tools here cannot be operated reliably even for one shift, not even to speak of multiple shifts. A contrary example: It seems obvious that the manufacture of products requiring much intellectual work should be concentrated in Budapest. Many branches of the machine industry are like this, from machine tool manufacture to electronics. But there is another factor in the capital too, the environmental protection factor. Why should we manufacture artificial fertilizer in Budapest? In addition, this is very demanding of transportation. Highway transportation uses the already crowded Budapest roads and bridges and pollutes the air. Highway transportation causes 60 percent of the air pollution. So we would reduce air pollution too if we ended manufacture of such products. There are also activities which should be reduced for city planning or water and energy supply reasons.

[Question] These ideas betray that preparatory work is being done in the Budapest Party Committee which is linked to national planning work. What sort of opinions were precipitated in connection with preparation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan?

[Answer] We must start from the fact that we are continually evaluating the 1985 situation. Six months ago we made a basic analysis; the Executive Committee held talks with the directors and party committee secretaries of 60 enterprises, and we compiled the experiences of these. This was necessary in order to draw conclusions from them--how were the party organizations performing their economic aiding and controlling activity, what were they concentrating on. Unfortunately we already know that--despite the efforts--Budapest industry will not fulfill its export plan this year, even if it will be better than the national average. A few of our problems which had been piling up for years "exploded" in 1985--for example because of the well known lag in investments or the forced postponement of import needs. A few of the regulator elements did not help capitalist export unambiguously either. Sometimes these increase the already existing shortfall in enterprise performance. It was also a warning sign that significant divergences appeared between the central expectations and the enterprise plans in the machine industry. Of course, it was not only transitional factors but also the world market which had an effect on the 1985 situation. Despite the fact that there were various measures and supplementary undertakings the enterprises have not been able to make up the shortfall. Guidance and the enterprises are making use of the experiences, but after such a 1985 base Budapest and the country see clearly that they must prepare for the fact that the Seventh 5-Year Plan will start amidst more difficult circumstances. There was a great debate about the development of the interbranch and product structure. And we came back to what we have talked about already, there is a need now to lay a better foundation for implementation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, to create a favorable economic environment, for example for the processing industry. So what is most important is that we cannot delay with the realization of selective development.

[Question] In conclusion permit me to ask a few personal questions. There are rather few careers in which somebody went from engineer to politician, from militant enterprise director general to political worker.

[Answer] It is true, the 31 years I spent at Orion were determining in my life. This was my first place of work, I traveled the path from beginning engineer to director general. It was there that I became a public life person. After that I worked 3 years as a deputy minister. The years in the Ministry of Industry were useful; my assignment gave me the opportunity to review the electronics branch and all of industry and to get to know economic guidance. So when I was elected secretary of the Budapest Party Committee--after 5 years of party committee membership--I did not have to get to know this area especially. As for the militancy, I feel that I am still a fighter and that I am fighting for the same goals. It is a fact that I have not been able and am not able to forget that I worked in the area of enterprise and economic guidance. While I study the matters of the economy today primarily with respect to their social effect, I always also think, How might these things be carried out? What tools do the ministries have, how might one direct the incentive force of the regulator system, etc. And it is never out of my thoughts--if an enterprise director gets a task, how will he react to it. And sometimes I also see what the loophole will be....

[Question] Do you often visit Orion?

[Answer] I have visited Orion several times since working in the party committee. I would like to go more often. I have to visit other factories too, so I have to divide up my time carefully. In addition I have gathered quite a few functions in the course of the years. I am proud that I was elected a National Assembly representative and of the fact that I work as a member of the capital council. And I would not like to break my link with the OMFB [National Technical Development Committee], where I am a plenum member, or with the Scientific Association of Communications Engineering, or with my old profession. I would find it difficult to live and work without contact with old friends.

[Matko] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2500/82

ECONOMIST ON NEED TO RECONCILE BUSINESS, LABOR INTERESTS

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 46, 14 Nov 85 p 3

[Interview with Tamas Sarkozy, Karl Marx Economics Science University, by Gabor Karsai: "Partners of the Administration"]

[Text] "We must develop a method and a mechanism to coordinate the interests, bringing various interests to the surface, expediting their better coordination, at the same time ensuring the priority of the general interest," states the resolution of the 13th congress of the MSZMP. Gabor Karsai asked Professor Tamas Sarkozy, a professor in the economics and legal faculty of the Karl Marx Economics Science University, about the possibilities of interest representation.

[Question] At the time of the intellectual preparation of the reform of the economic guidance system, much was said about interest differences within a socialist economy. But the necessity of interest representation bodies has come into the forefront of interest only recently. What might be the reason for this?

[Answer] First we must clear up the concept of an interest representation organization. Interests were always represented--even in the plan directive system. Not only interest representation organizations specialized for it but also bodies with fundamentally different functions deal with interest representation. Enterprises, for example, are involved primarily with management but in addition, naturally, they also represent interests. And the branch ministries, as the founding organs, also represent the interests of the enterprises, let us say vis-a-vis functional organizations, in addition to their guidance work. The law understands by interest representation only the activity of others, primarily of organizations specialized to defend the interests of their members, and these are only now beginning to develop in Hungary.

In the heyday of the traditional plan directive system we could hardly speak about specialized economic interest representation; the federations of the cooperatives, artisans and small merchants are basically mid-level guidance organizations, indeed some of them carried out partially authoritative functions; and at the state enterprises, understandably, there was no such organization. An interest representation organization appeared in Hungary in the 1960's in the sphere of agricultural producer cooperatives. The idea of the 1968 economic reform raised the possibility of interest representation in the state sector as well, but saw the solution primarily in an expansion of trade union rights. After 1968, as a result of this idea, trade union rights and later the institutions of factory democracy reached an outstanding level in Hungary, even by international standards. This statement is true even if practice in some places fell below the possibilities offered by the regulations.

But the disadvantage of this solution is that the interest of the enterprise, as an organization, cannot be identified with the interests of the employees of the enterprise, not to mention the fact that even within an enterprise the workers and the leaders have very different interests. According to the idea of the 1968 reform the trade union represents the interests of the employee collective vis-a-vis the enterprise leadership considered as having been delegated for economic guidance. The design of the collective contract expresses this "dual" enterprise alignment, and this was legitimized in the 1977 state enterprise law. Even in the 1970's the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce was a state administrative body with national authority which dealt only in an informal way with representing the interests of state enterprises. The change in the state sector was produced by the deliberate separation of enterprise management and state administration, by the appearance of the new self-governing enterprises.

[Question] How would you characterize the essence of these changes?

[Answer] As is well known the legal foundations for the new self-governing state enterprises were created in 1984 and by the end of 1986 it is expected that about 80 percent of the enterprises will be transformed into enterprises with an enterprise council or an elected leadership. Two conclusions derive from this. The separation of the enterprise leadership and the enterprise collective will end at the self-governing enterprises, the leadership will become directly the organ of the collective. Obviously in this situation we will have to review the forms of factory democracy thus far and the rights of the trade union and bring them into agreement with the self-government character. If we do not do this after the trade union congress with a conceptual modification of the Labor Code then there will arise a parallelism making effective operational enterprise leadership even more difficult. This could hardly be a social goal. In the second place, the state administrative guidance of enterprises will end at the self-governing enterprises, to be replaced by legality supervision, with an authoritative character, and as a result of this the earlier--deformed--enterprise interest representation by the ministries will be vacated. At the same time, the state enterprises which have become independent will need interest representation vis-a-vis public administration. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce must provide this function.

[Question] Do you consider the recent provisions modifying the status of the Chamber to be essential?

[Answer] Extraordinarily so. The Chamber was changed, as a social organization, from a state administrative organ with national authority into an interest representation organ not only for its members but for every state enterprise. This is independent of the fact that, naturally, the Chamber provides more services for its members and of the fact that, on the basis of the principle of open and voluntary membership, not only state enterprises but also cooperatives, for example, can be members of the Chamber. In the state sector the Chamber has become the representative of the employers, not only in international respects but domestically as well. It is very important to see that the Chamber does not represent the enterprises vis-a-vis the state. For these enterprises are state enterprises and the Chamber is a state organ because it was founded by the state--independent of its social character. Partial interests clash here and are reconciled with partial interests within the state; the interests of state public administration are one thing and the interests of state enterprises, as undertakings, are another; and the interest representation by the Chamber evens out the authoritative preponderance of public administration. I think that we have gone only half way in developing the rights of the Chamber--despite the undisputed achievements--and that they will be expanded further. A political-economic strengthening of the Chamber could transform the entire structure of economic guidance; the present government (ministry)-trade union bilateral interest coordination would become three-sided, because the Chamber would enter as representing enterprise interests. In a number of questions which up to now the trade unions settled with the ministries, the Chamber will be their partner in the future.

[Question] Would it not be more correct to speak of many sides? For example, the administration will have to consider the interests of the cooperatives or the independent small undertakings as well.

[Answer] You are entirely right, I was speaking of a triangle only within the state sector. The enterprise sphere also has uniform interests vis-a-vis the regime's state administration. From this viewpoint I consider the coordination of interests and the cooperation which developed earlier between the cooperative interest representation organs and the Chamber to be especially significant. But the federations of the artisans and small merchants should be purged of the authoritative or middle level guidance aspects which still exist more or less today, and their self-governing character should be strengthened, thus strengthening their interest representation prestige as well. I am informed that regulatory measures can be expected in this area in the near future. At the same time it is obvious that because of the difference in the economic strength behind them the weight of the various economic interest representation organs cannot be the same in regard to the state administration.

[Question] This brings up the question of which would be more advantageous, to have a number of organizations, better reflecting the multiplicity of interests but weak individually, or to have one or two strong interest defending organizations?

[Answer] There is a need for the proliferation, differentiation and integration of interest representation organs. It is obvious that economic guidance is incapable of conferring in a worthy manner with an excessive number of interest representation organizations. So in the case of national interest representation organizations I feel it would be more effective if they created special branches within their own organization and carried out internal interest coordination. But among associations of a local character, having practically no contact with central guidance, I consider a proliferation of the number of organizations desirable--in any case, this process has begun already. Earlier--correctly for the time--social mass movements also provided room within their frameworks for interest representation activity deviating from their main profile. Thus, for example, the Patriotic People's Front provided interest protection for consumers and a forum for enterprise leaders while the trade unions provided interest representation for some groups not having a work relationship (musicians, lawyers) or for pensioners. Probably a process of separation will start in this sphere in the future.

[Question] It is especially characteristic in a socialist economy that the representatives of individual partial interests try to present themselves as the depositories of the social interest. To what extent is the open avowal of partial interests accepted today?

[Answer] The uniform, self-governing operation of interest representation organizations, accepted by the membership, is possible only in the event of the open avowal of partial interests. We cannot expect the Chamber--for example, when it protests against the excessive centralization of enterprise incomes or the very rapid change in economic regulators--to say at the same time how the budget is to be balanced if its demands are accepted, because this is not its task. Of course, the government can also reject the demands of enterprise interest representation; the partner cooperation cannot mean a compromise or pseudo-agreement in every question. The socialist state must defend the interests of society as a whole. The state leadership, the political leadership and the party are called on to integrate interests. And the national economic interest means priorities too--advantages necessarily involve disadvantages, objective foundations with subjective elements, an intermingling of organizational, group and individual interests. The justification for stressing something as a social interest can be judged in a completely well founded way only after the fact, with the passage of a longer time. The excessively monolithic, excessively administrative structure of the state made it necessary to "ideologize" one's own organizational or group interest as a national economic interest. This will gradually change as this decreases, with a more proportional structure of the economic organization of the state and a clear separation of state administrative and management-entrepreneurial activity.

[Question] What rights do you consider it necessary for the interest representation organizations to have?

[Answer] Today, as a result of historical development, it is most accidental what rights the various interest representation organizations have. I am not against differences, for it is natural that interest representation organizations with different significance and profiles should have different rights, but we must put an end to the lack of clarity, the inconsistency and the accidental character of this. The sphere of tasks of every interest representation organization includes discovering the interests, transmitting them, coordinating them and defending them. The rights in these areas must be discovered by an analysis of practical experiences and by further research work on the basis of international comparisons. In my opinion the interest representation organs in general should be given only the right of expressing an opinion, not of coming to an agreement, vis-a-vis the ministries, for example in planning or in drafting economic regulators or regulations affecting their profiles. They should be informed about everything in time, making it possible for them to develop a position, but the decisions must be made by the political leadership--weighing the arguments of all interested parties--and at the state level by the National Assembly.

In addition there should be an unambiguous clarification of the concept of interest representation organization. Even now these organizations operate as social organizations or associations. I think that it will be necessary to distinguish primary interest representation from associations serving to fill free time or other civic goals and to separate it from such social mass movements as the People's Front or the trade union, which also carry out interest representation tasks but which are more comprehensive than interest representation and which serve other goals as well. Today, for example, professional interest representation is hidden behind the association veil while the Chamber and the cooperative federations are social organizations. Perhaps it is not difficult to see that there is some difference between the Hungarian Lawyers' Federation and the circle of stamp collectors--at present both are associations.

[Question] Should not the trade union be regarded as an interest representation organization even in the narrower sense?

[Answer] On the basis of its present characteristics the trade union belongs among the social mass organizations, it carries out a number of comprehensive social tasks, such as operating resorts or labor protection. But even today its most basic function is representing the interests of employees, so it can be regarded as an organization with a mixed character. But I would dispute the position that the trade unions are also the representatives of the workers as owners, sharing in the "all people's" property, because within state property the government is called on to represent this at the macro-level, and the collective bodies determining enterprise strategy, thus the enterprise council, the general meeting and the delegates' meeting, are called on to do so in regard to the property rights transferred to self-governing enterprises.

[Question] Do you consider the present influence of the interest representation organs sufficient?

[Answer] Obviously not, but we are only at the beginning of the road on which we must progress gradually with the creation of the material and personnel preconditions. In a larger perspective it would be justified to create an interest representation law which would define the general frameworks for the exercise of interest representation rights. An organizational buttressing of interest representation autonomy would be useful too--after creation of the conditions. At present the appropriate branch ministry (for example, artisans or retail trade) or--and this is progress--the Council of Ministers (the cooperative federations, the Chamber) provide legality supervision of the interest representation organs. If we want the interest representation organs to have prestige vis-a-vis public administration then the Presidential Council must provide state legality supervision for the most basic enterprise interest representation organizations. This is a precondition for a relationship of equal rank between public administration and interest representation. According to experience it would also significantly increase the prestige of interest representation if its leaders got important socio-political assignments. There has been some development in this area recently as well.

[Question] In an interview given to our paper (FIGYELO, 1945 [as published], No 40) the chairman of the plan and budget committee of the National Assembly raised the possibility of a bicameral national assembly in which the representatives of the various interest representation organizations would have a seat. Do you agree with this proposal?

[Answer] The rational nucleus of the idea is that our present system of representation is one-sidedly regional; the national list used in the last elections tried to correct this. It really is desirable for interest representation to play a greater role than at present in forming the political will. But a comprehensive constitutional modification would be needed to introduce a bicameral national assembly, and in my opinion this is only one of the several developmental possibilities which might be considered. In this area, too, there is need for more concrete research involving the technical possibilities.

[Question] At the beginning of the interview you mentioned that we should strengthen the self-governing character of interest representation. In practice, however, it is virtually unimaginable that in the event of the dissatisfaction of a cooperative, for example, it should leave the regional federation. Do you think it is possible to create parallel interest representation organizations?

[Answer] I do not consider it possible or desirable in the near future for two competing cooperative federations of the same type--as in your example--to function in one county. If the members are dissatisfied with the leaders of the federation then they can recall them and elect more suitable people. A cooperativecanjoin the organization of the Chamber, too. But dividing up interest representation into little pieces I do not see as a viable idea.

[Question] But is there not a danger that minority interests will not be able to develop? Frequently, for example, the small cooperatives do not feel the regional federations to be theirs. And in the Chamber, too, the influence of the large enterprises is primarily the determining factor.

[Answer] I do not agree with this statement this way. The Chamber of Commerce represents the interests of state enterprises independent of their size. It is natural that the large enterprises are the determining factor in the Chamber, but this is also true from the viewpoint of the administration. That is, if this were not true, given the present Hungarian enterprise structure, then the Chamber would not have prestige before the government. It is another question that with the spread of small organizations greater scope must be given to the expression of their unique positions, in the Chamber in the case of state enterprises and in the cooperative federations in the case of small cooperatives. The small managing organizations can form interest defending-coordinating societies, so-called associations, with a voluntary contract. Creating such communities would increase the weight of the small organizations.

[Question] One can feel a certain anxiety according to which the creation of the interest defending organizations or making them more independent will only strengthen conflicts by making ill founded demands public. To what extent do you consider this realistic?

[Answer] Recently, political position taking has reflected the correct recognition of the fact that bringing various interests to the surface improves political vision and can increase the creative strength of the many. But interest conflicts which are ignored will find a path for themselves through uncontrollable and distorted informal channels.

It is natural that one must get used to this new type of interest coordination, the lack of experience here is mutual. For example, the economic guidance organization whose daily work will be more difficult is hardly happy about such changes. But it is nearly impossible to decide without it, given the present level of technical development and social stratification. In the long run state economic guidance also will win with interest representation, because a strong interest representation system is part of the switch to intensive management and the development of socialist democracy.

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CSO: 2500/90

ENERGY RESTRICTION MAY AFFECT POPULATION IN CRISIS SITUATION

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 46, 16 Nov 85 pp 12-13

[Interview with Sandor Komaromi, main department head of State Energetics and Technical Supervision of Energy Security by Endre Babus: "Domestic Prospects"]

> [Text] What are the prospects for the consumers' energy supply now, at the beginning of winter in Hungary? Does one have to worry about more severe restrictive measures than last year? How large are the country's energy reserves? These, among others are the questions we asked Sandor Komaromi, main department head of the State Energetics and Technical Supervision of Energy Security.

[Question] It has been the government position in Hungary for many years that the possible energy limitations must not hurt the population. But news has spread in recent months that development of a new energy restriction system is moving full speed ahead in this country. It is possible that in this country too one will soon have to expect central limitations on private energy consumption?

[Answer] The systems currently in effect for electrical energy and natural gas limitation were prepared in 1962 and 1977, respectively, for the case of performance shortages caused by unexpected breakdowns in operation. At that time nobody had yet thought that energy limitations could take place for other reasons, namely that it may be necessary for financial and frugality reasons to decrease the energy demands with extraordinary measures. Since in this case there is no unexpected emergency situation involved, the possibility exists to significantly decrease the damages caused by reduced production. But limitations of this type call for regulations which differ in part from the current ones.

[Question] This is understandable, but is it exclusively the consumption of the enterprises which will continue to be restricted?

[Answer] For the time being the debates are still going on about the legal regulations for long-term energy restriction. According to the experiences abroad various ways are possible for bridging over the lengthier energy shortages. In Bulgaria and Romania, for example, private energy consumption is being restricted in order to assure uninterrupted production, while in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia the amount of energy the individual major enterprises may consume has been specified in terms of contingencies. Temporarily for this year Hungary has also introduced these latter measures: 80 large enterprises have been informed this year in advance how much energy they may consume. If an enterprise exceeds the contingency, it pays punitive rates. The events of recent months--thus first of all the problems in CEMA's international electrical energy system as well as the unusually cold winter--at the same time are also forcing us to design the new limitation system under preparation in such a way that it would also be valid in cases of major shortages. Therefore, for example, we must also prepare for limitations corresponding to 30 percent of the maximally available quantity of electrical energy--in terms of power plant capacity this is equivalent to 2,500 megawatts--and also for a shortage of a similar amount of natural gas amounting to 600,000 cubic meters per hour. But these would then be limitations of such size which would be increasingly difficult to implement by cutting back only on the consumption of enterprises. For this very reason my personal opinion is that our present limitation strategy must be reviewed under the effect of the pressing circumstances. We must face the fact that in extraordinary situations--and I emphasize that only at such times--it may be necessary to also partially limit the private energy consumption.

[Question] Do you mean by partial limitation that in extraordinary situations the residential consumers of certain parts of the country or of cities would also be disconnected from the energy supply like, for example, in Romania or in Bulgaria?

[Answer] The systems of limitation are not completely identical in the countries you mentioned. As far as we are concerned, due to the structure of our electrical energy system, it happens that in certain areas the consumers can only be mutually disconnected. Therefore the current limitation also affects the households, not only the enterprises, just like at the time of power failures caused by operational problems. On the other hand, natural gas limitations can occur only in cases of operational problems, such as when a pipe breaks, and this is because the amount of lost natural gas cannot always be made up. By the way, as far as the possible natural gas limitations are concerned, a more serious natural gas shortage could for example, force us to centrally decrease the temperature by ca.2°C during the day and as much as perhaps 4°C during the night in those centrally heated apartments where the heating furnace operates on natural gas.

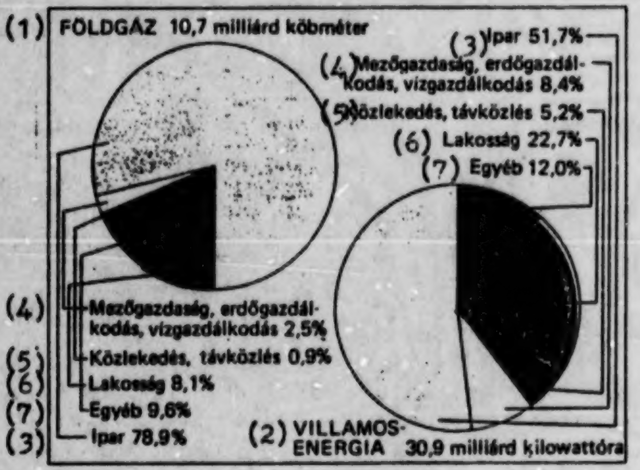
[Question] You have already mentioned several times that introduction of the new energy limitation system may become necessary in part because of the problems of the CEMA's electrical energy and natural gas networks. But at the time of these investments the emphasis was on how the international energy management systems will make the energy supply economical, balanced and last but not least, reliable. But last winter at times as if the opposite of everything happened: because of overdrafts by some countries struggling with electrical energy shortages, the consumption in Hungary had to be restricted several times.

[Answer] I am convinced that the CEMA's international energy systems are basically advantageous to Hungary. But for a long time we did not mention that besides the significant advantages such an international system may also have disadvantages if, for example, the contractual discipline is not followed. At the present time the joint electrical energy network is really the example that it may hurt us in a sensitive area if other countries draw over the contractual amount. But power failure due to an operational problem can also cause a serious problem. The one on 5 July, for example, decreased from one instant to the next the electrical energy capacity available in this country by 30 percent: performance in the long distance international power lines decreased by 1,500 megawatts, and the current's frequency dropped from 50 hertz to 48 hertz. Because of this latter, one block of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant also shut down, and thus an additional 440 megawatts of capacity was lost. Perhaps this example illustrates how important it would be for the cooperating countries to observe the contractual discipline.

[Question] It would obviously decrease the danger of a lasting shortage of energy if the country had more significant energy reserves. After last year's shortage of the supplies how is the country's energy reserve shaping up this year?

[Answer] At this moment the gas storage facilities at Pusztaederics, Kardoskut and the one which was expanded this year in Hajduszoboszlo, are full. This means that at this time the country has almost twice as much natural gas reserves as at the end of 1984. At the same time our coal reserves are lower: for example, last September there was 241,000 tons of coal intended for sale to the population at the TUZEP [Fuel and Building Material Trade Enterprise] lots, while now, one year later they have only 43,000 tons even though in the meanwhile extraordinary efforts were made to increase the domestic coal production as well as the import.

Consumption Structure of Some Energy Sources in 1984, by Consumer Groups, in Percentages



Key:

(1) Natural gas, 10.7 billion cubic meters
(2) Electrical energy, 30.9 billion kilowatthours
(3) Industry
(4) Agriculture, forestry management, water management
(5) Transportation, telecommunication
(6) Population
(7) Miscellaneous

Investments of the Energy Management Industry From 1976 to Today

Year	Energy management industrial investments billion forints*	Total industrial investments billion forints	Share of the energy management industry in the industrial investments, percentage
1976	14.2	59	24.2
1977	17.7	75	23.6
1978	20.0	80	25.0
1979	22.9	80	28.6
1980	23.8	70	34.0
1981	22.3	66	33.8
1982	23.4	69	33.9
1983	27.5	72	38.3
1984	29.7	74	40.4

* Combined investments of mining and of the electrical energy industry

Source: KSH [Central Statistical Office] yearbooks

8584/12223
CSO: 2500/104

BUREAUCRACY THWARTS REHABILITATION OF GANZ-MAVAG

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 44, 31 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Galina Lamberger: "Forced Paths"]

[Text] We can tie the beginning of the most recent economic difficulties of Ganz-MAVAG (GM) to the 1968 reform of the economic mechanism. At that time it became obvious that the enterprise--like other large enterprises--was producing uneconomically. The concrete causes of the unprofitability and the method of cure vary historically, but today the situation is made truly serious by the fact that there has not yet been the improvement in the situation expected from reconstruction costing about 10 billion forints, and the enterprise is again the beneficiary of a central aid action. What are the deeper causes behind the financial difficulties?

We must begin our investigation with the structural conditions of GM in the recent past. In the 1960's railway vehicles provided the decisive part of the production of the enterprise, the ratio of the other profiles was negligible compared to this, and the great majority of the products were sold on the socialist market. So the enterprise had a socialist market orientation and was tied to its chief market by a single product--4-part motor trains.

But for years--for decades--the socialist export was operating at a loss and the other marketing departments, or the other branches, were able to counterbalance this loss only temporarily. These are the conditions which represented a special disadvantage for GM in the 1970's--even compared to other large enterprises struggling with similar profitability problems. Today the situation has changed in that the significance of ruble accounting export of motor trains has decreased because of the increase in the weight of other markets and branches, although the central role of railway vehicle manufacture continues. The situation is worsened by the fact that for a long time socialist imports have forced the railway vehicles of GM off the domestic market.

The structural conditions include innumerable problems deriving from the gigantic size of the enterprise, problems which it is possible only to list in outline form: the bureaucratization of guidance, the strong centralization, the determining significance of direct plan directives in the relationship between the center and the factories, the organizational separation of the organically interrelated technical development and commercial production functions, and, last but not least, the unfavorable technical conditions for production.

The enterprise analyses in 1972 concerning the disclosure of internal management and market problems placed the emphasis on external environmental factors--the economic mechanism, the regulator system, etc.--but at the same time there developed a unique explanation of the internal problems, expressly composed for the external world--and primarily for the superior forums and organizations--in which the emphasis was placed on the unfavorable conditions of the enterprise: the historical circumstances of its formation, the biased neglect of enterprise investments, and the backward condition of enterprise machinery and buildings, not least of all the infrastructure, as a result of this.

The treatment of environmental and market factors as external persists even today; in the 1980's the competitive price system and the increase in interest burdens weighed on the enterprise. They plead the unfavorable effectiveness of capitalist business deals as an explanation for the deterioration in the economic situation, etc.

A reassuring settlement of the situation of the large enterprises was a political question at the beginning of the 1970's. The idea of the reconstruction of GM came up after the 1972 Central Committee resolution. The idea was based on the following logic: The enterprise is uneconomical because the conditions for production are unfavorable and its fixed assets are obsolete. The basis for an economical future is reconstruction, which would also create an opportunity for a transformation of the product structure in the direction of profitability.

This logic appears faultless, but life did not justify it, a fact which is explained by those forced paths which began to be taken at the moment the idea of the reconstruction of our "mired" enterprise came up. The original reconstruction ideas for the enterprise at the beginning of the 1970's centered around renovation of the completely used up infrastructure and the obsolete, dangerous buildings. It turned out, however, that the financial and structural difficulties of some large enterprises and the seriousness of the intention to set things right, when expressed in money, made probable investment sums many times greater than the enterprise dared think of originally. The KGM [Ministry of Metallurgy and the Machine Industry] would be "in for" the investment for the enterprise--to simplify a bit--just as it would be for the current supports with which the enterprise could keep itself on the surface. Superior forums decide about investment sums on the basis of definite conditions and requirements, among which the most important is giving preference to solutions providing long term guarantees.

All this has far-reaching consequences; the reconstruction became a public issue, it got into the "mill" of the decision making system, and finally became unsuccessful. It detracts from the responsibility of the decisionmakers that everyone knew that in any case GM would be the beneficiary of considerable investment possibilities.

Various reconstruction concepts took the place of the ideas aimed at creating the basic conditions for operation, and circumstances had a major effect on these ideas. An investment on the order of magnitude of 10 billion forints presumes a definite dynamism, so the concepts necessarily placed the emphasis on expanding production and increasing manufacturing capacity, so an extensive-expansive path was outlined. On the other hand, the idea had to give a reassuring answer to the major problems of the enterprise. Accordingly the 1976 proposal divided the basic burden between the railway vehicle manufacturing branch and the machine manufacturing branch in such a way as to maintain in modified form the motor train export and it made a recommendation for large series production of products from a machine factory and (consequently) for Soviet export. The result of all this would be an evenly burdened, mass scale production with its own favorable profitability.

This is how the enterprise proceeded, in accordance with its own ultimate interests and the desires of the superiors, but in the meantime it fell into a trap; there was no study of whether the chosen strategy would bring an economical solution. The reality content of this plan is negligible, because it was based on presumed markets to a certain extent and not on real markets. The 1976 ATB [State Plan Committee] decision initiating the reconstruction was made on the basis of this plan, although every interested party was clear about the uncertainties. The plans which followed this (avoiding this error) contain the most general goals (for example, proclaiming modernization or changing the chief branch ratios in the 10-year development plan, etc).

The fact that the plans are prepared primarily for superior organizations and forums has further consequences. For example, that the obligatory inclusion in the calculation of the higher demands prompts the enterprise leadership in many cases not to reveal their true intentions, in order to increase the freedom of their own decisions. There is a practice whereby the enterprise apparatus preparing the plans has more contact with the supervisory organization and so the "expectations" have much greater effect on their thinking than the control coming from within (from below), the control which is the result of an interest coordination process.

While the submitted proposals place the emphasis on development of the machine manufacturing branch, proceeding in accordance with the expectations (and even resolutions), the railway vehicle branch, stamped as uneconomical, is "rescued" to the periphery (organizational changes are carried out to make the weight of the profile appear smaller statistically, as a result of which machine manufacture doubles while railway vehicle manufacture falls to second place). This "rescuing" of railway vehicle manufacture means really forcing it into the background later; the share of the branch in investments develops accordingly, as a result of which the branch today meets the needs of the world market only at the cost of great effort.

An outstanding role in the superior expectations is played by investment ideas which take into consideration the attitudes and especially the unique interests of the KGM; after these are "sewn in"--we are talking about several billions--they determine the investments. For a good while time has not justified the need for capacity which has been idle for years, and in addition the infrastructure draws away valuable sources from other branches of fundamental importance for the enterprise. And the investments determine the possibilities for the decades ahead.

The character of the process whereby sources are allotted represents a very important forced path; although the sums for reconstruction are approved, the money is assigned to it by "salami tactics", the enterprise feels out by means of a series of iterations how much money can go to it at the time of the next decision. The concrete plans must be adjusted to the allotment which develops in the course of the bargaining, and developmental goals felt to be important earlier must be abandoned. It is probable that some of the investment "holes" derive from this. The enterprise can only rarely be certain about how much money it has in pocket, but it also happens that it must "give back" money already assigned (there are also after the fact increases in interest rates and changes in pay back conditions).

In addition to the above, it contributes to the failure of the reconstruction that sources are drying up, that there are bottlenecks. An analysis of the reconstruction process proves that despite the fact that seeking satisfactory solutions is in the interest of every link of the decision mechanism in the long run, the result develops contrary to the intentions, and in the final analysis the explanation of this is to be sought in the structure of the decision making system, which is embodied in the forced paths.

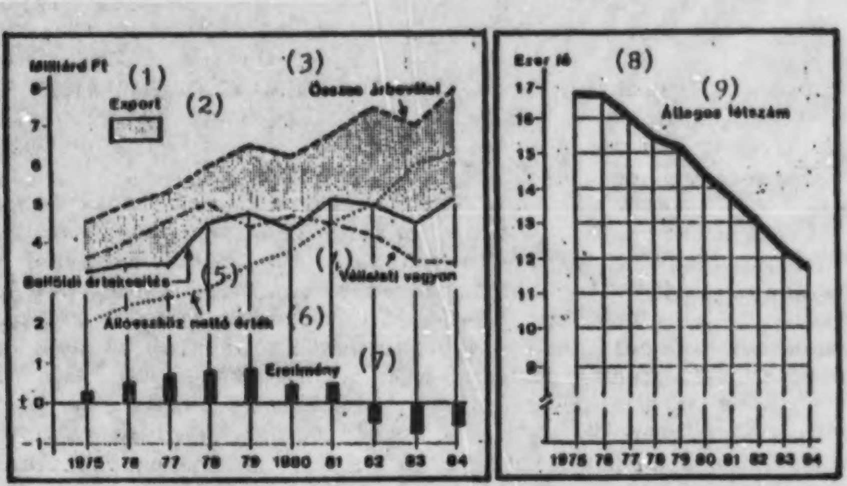


Table: Most Important Data for Ganz-MAVAG

Key:
1. Billions of forints
2. Export
3. Total sales receipts
4. Enterprise property
5. Domestic sales
6. Net value of fixed assets
7. Result
8. Thousands of people
9. Average Personnel

Note: Enterprise property is smaller than the net value of fixed assets because it does not contain the value of assets financed from state loans and from investment credit.

8984
CSO: 2500/88

GANZ-MAVAG MUST LEARN TO COPE

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 44, 31 Oct 85 pp 6-7

[Interviews with Dr Adam Juhasz, director general of Ganz-MAVAG, and Peter Havas, director general of the State Development Bank, by Dr Gyorgy Varga: "We Must Learn to Swim"]

[Text] In 1984 the Ganz-MAVAG Locomotive, Car and Machine Factory (GM) placed 29th in FIGYELO's list of industrial enterprises on the basis of production value, 11th on the basis of personnel and 19th on the basis of gross fixed assets available. The enterprise improved its placing by 10 positions on the basis of total export, compared to 1983, and occupied 22nd place in the enterprise listing. Among machine industry enterprises GM placed 7th or 8th on the basis of total export and was in 3rd place, after Raba and Tungsram, on the basis of convertible export. The enterprise is counting on 45-47 million dollars of export in 1985, which exceeds the 1984 figure by more than 40 percent.

For many years GM has struggled with periodically recurring management and financial difficulties. Reconstruction began at the enterprise in 1976 on the basis of a resolution of the State Plan Committee; the target figure for this reconstruction was about 12 billion forints. The efficiency indexes of the enterprise deteriorated precipitously from 1980 and in 1983-1984 the enterprise became a deficit enterprise and one with a fund shortage. Because of the deterioration in the credit rating of the enterprise the Hungarian National Bank suspended the extension of further credit for the reconstruction at the end of 1982.

What lessons has the new director general Dr Adam Juhasz, appointed at the beginning of this year, drawn from the operations of GM thus far and how does he see the future of the enterprise? Dr Gyorgy Varga asked him about this.

[Answer] For the sake of historical accuracy I must remind you that the Ganz factory was a successful enterprise of European reputation to the end. In the years following the liberation both Ganz and MAVAG [Hungarian State Iron, Steel and Machine Factory] played a key role in the reconstruction and in the reparations deliveries. The unification in 1959 caused the first big shock, although the products remained competitive. The periodically returning difficulties began actually in the 1970's. These can hardly be attributed to a single cause.

I consider the most important, perhaps, to be the economic environment which did not force the enterprises to make a real effort, to preserve and improve their competitiveness. Technical development was forced into the background in the absence of constant pressure for innovation, and there was a time when they virtually scorned creative technical experts from the enterprise. So it is no wonder if the competitiveness of GM gradually declined. But all this did not come out clearly until the second half of the 1970's, and then central action became necessary.

Nor is it a circumstance to be neglected in the development of the fate of GM that its buildings, its manufacturing equipment and its entire infrastructure gradually became obsolete.The worn-out tools were not replaced for decades. I want to emphasize that even the previous level was not maintained. We compiled a balance of the budgetary links of the enterprise which show that between 1970 and 1984 the enterprise paid more than 20 billion forints into the state coffers and received only 12 billion in the form of supports and credits.

[Question] Even that is customary, there is nothing extraordinary in it. Perhaps it would say more if we were to examine the balance of withdrawals and the supports which deviate from or exceed the normative prescriptions. Would the balance show something different this way?

[Answer] We did not calculate this, nor do I know what this would really describe, but we did calculate the discounted value of all supports, credits and payments into the budget, and this even increases the gap to the detriment of the enterprise. All this led to the fact that the old and used up fixed assets were not replaced or renewed, although one can find here a good number of buildings 100 years old, a sewerage network from the end of the last century, and so forth. Unfortunately even I do not know why there was no renovation.

[Question] But reconstruction began in 1976....

[Answer] Right. But this did not prove successful. The reason partly was that it began as a state fund award, then the construction was transformed first into a state loan with retroactive effect and finally into bank credit. That is, during the period of the reconstruction the use conditions for the sources changed several times in a way sensitively influencing the economic or liquidity position of the enterprise. The award which started originally as free money finally changed into bank credit carrying a 14-percent interest burden.

[Question] Can one presume that the reconstruction and the individual investments would have been planned and calculated differently if GM had had to face the strictest conditions from the beginning?

[Answer] I am certain of it. They planned the investments with an open hand on the basis of the original ATB [State Plan Committee] resolution and spent the money accordingly. I could give many examples of expensive specifications and oversized capacity.

[Question] As I understand it the branch ministry at that time even had a say in the technical details of the investments, for example what sort of machines should be purchased and from where.

[Answer] Yes, this was frequently so, but other organizations had a say too.

[Question] Do you agree that the reconstruction of GM repeatedly proved that it is not right for state administration organizations and bodies to decide about concrete enterprise development programs, because in such cases every risk falls on the national economy, i.e. on society, because no one is responsible?

[Answer] Iwould have always agreed with this, and the lesson must be drawn from this case too. In the course of the reconstruction of GM they also made the error of investing the money at too fast a pace. They had spent about 7.5 billion forints by the end of 1982. Such a rapid growth of production, sales receipts and profit did not and could not follow this pace. Just think, the value of the assets of the enterprise doubled in the few years of the reconstruction. GM was incapable of producing the repayment and interest burdens of this; it could not be capable of it if simply because a considerable part of the 7.5 billion forints spent did not increase producing capacity but rather served the indispensable renovation of the infrastructure. In my judgment a slower and of course more conservative reconstruction would have been better, because in this way the enterprise might have been able to produce the financial cover for the increasing burdens which accompanied it. Since things did not happen this way, and the burdens of the investments even increased, the investment debt of GM now--about 5.8 billion forints--exceeds the value of the property of the enterprise.

[Question] So we might say that at present it has no property of its own. But might the liquidity problems be eased with sources arising from amortization of the existing assets?

[Answer] No. In the first place the value of the existing stock was written off to zero at the beginning of the reconstruction. In the second place settling the 485-million-forint deficit and fund shortage of 1983 took all the amortization for 1984.

The enterprise was affected especially sensitively by the fact that personnel decreased at a pace much faster than planned. As a result the utilization of machines and equipment put into operation deteriorated to a large degree. The average number of shifts actually does not reach one, although the very valuable equipment should be operated in two shifts. It is a fact that there are more machines than producing workers at the enterprise. The fast paced decrease in personnel obviously had a bad effect on work discipline too, and this appears in a deterioration of quality. The cost of extra work deriving from quality mistakes occupies a leading place among the sources of the deficit of the enterprise.

[Question] Does not the fact that largely traditional machines were purchased in the course of the reconstruction play a role in this unfavorable man-machine ratio?

[Answer] Certainly that also played a role in the situation which developed, although a significant number of NC and CNC machines were put into operation and a number of modern technological procedures were introduced as well.

[Question] How is the fate of the enterprise affected by the fact that continuation of the reconstruction was finally suspended?

[Answer] Unfavorably. It is true that if it had been completed we would have had to face more serious financial difficulties temporarily. So now the uneven capacities, vertical structures which do not fit one another, are causing problems. We cannot say that the bottlenecks have been eliminated. The planned reconstruction of a number of plants and technologies did not take place.

[Question] But in the event of the realization of the entire reconstruction the shortage of personnel would cause even greater problems.

[Answer] No, because more productive equipment would be used. But what is most painful is the departure of a good number of the technical experts, which has an immediately felt effect in the deterioration of the competitiveness of our products.

[Question] What do you consider to be the chief characteristic of your leadership style?

[Answer] Perhaps the fact that despite the difficulties it is my goal that GM should approach and reach the international level with its products. I believe that this is possible. I would like to see the international standard become the criterion for judging performance everywhere at the enterprise, and thus we could take our place on ever more demanding markets.

[Question] This requires first of all a structural renovation of GM.

[Answer] That is so. We are now working on the strategic plan of the enterprise up to 1990. So far the enterprise has not had such a plan. The strategy is the product of collective work. Every organizational unit worked out its own plan and we have debated these and had them clash through several rounds.

In our judgment the profile of the enterprise is favorable from the strategic point of view, even if there are few progressive products. Over the long run we can count on increasing market demand, domestically and abroad, for the majority of our products--railway vehicles, hydraulic machinery, steel structures. It is also advantageous that the enterprise has a broad range of products, that production is diversified. So the enterprise stands on many legs and its market risk is smaller. To a certain extent GM carries out custom and small series production, just like the majority of our competitors. But we have products, such as turbines and pumps, the mass production of which has not reached the mass production of foreign factories since the 1970's.

[Question] So the GM strategy will not contain a modification of profile?

[Answer] No. However, product composition within the profile, the modernity of the products and quality must be improved.

[Question] Will the strategic plan contain a goal of ending production of some products which cause significant losses?

[Answer] We should cease production of those products for which there will be no market demand. Since we only produce to order, what is not ordered automatically disappears from among our products. So it is our opinion that the market should do the selecting. And since I have mentioned the market I must say that the domestic market is perhaps the least favorable for us. It may be that GM is the monopoly manufacturer of some products, but we are in contact with users who are also in a monopoly situation, with this difference, that they have the possibility of choice. For example, MAV [Hungarian State Railways] or BKV [Budapest Transportation Enterprise] can import rail cars, locomotives or trams from socialist countries too. These foreign products compete with the GM products primarily in price and not in quality. The users have now discovered their disadvantages and are beginning to return to GM. So we are again manufacturing trams and 4-part motor trains, and we are starting manufacture of metro trains, too.

[Question] Railway vehicle manufacture makes up about one third of the GM production. Selling them involves a loss of about 10 percent. How can this branch of production be made economical, especially considering that railway vehicles are an important export article for the enterprise?

[Answer] Traditional motor trains delivered to the socialist market are deficit items because of the depressed price. Capitalist export as a whole is profitable; the loss on some deals was primarily due to unsatisfactory quality and the price concessions necessitated by this, and in part by the costs of on the spot repair and assembly work. We will make immediate changes here to protect the honor of the trademark.

Even in the future railway vehicles will be a decisive part of our export. It is likely that we will be able to keep up with the average market demands, i.e. with the manufacture of locomotives, trains and rail cars satisfying the average needs. Unfortunately we do not manufacture the electric equipment; Ganz Electric does. Coordination of the developmental work of the two enterprises has been realized most awkwardly and this is one obstacle to faster railway vehicle development. But even here one can experience a positive change. Despite the difficulties our convertible account export of railway vehicles in 1985 will be most profitable and of greater volume than ever before.

[Question] The status of ruble account motor train manufacture, requiring significant state support, is thought provoking. The enterprise has been making trains of this type for many long years. Following the logic of the learning and experience curves and the cost curves going with them the manufacture of this type of train is so far along, it would seem that the losses are incomprehensible.

[Answer] They are not incomprehensible if we consider that wages account for about 10 percent in the cost structure of railway vehicles, and the rest is primarily the increasingly more expensive material and energy costs. The price which can be obtained hardly covers this.

[Question] What sort of developmental plans does the enterprise have in the other manufacturing areas.

[Answer] We are placing great emphasis on developing diesel motor manufacture, industrial driving machinery, pumps and turbines, oil drilling equipment, diesel generators and air and gas compressors. We want to increase the prime contracting activity of the enterprise. The enterprise has a good reputation and good traditions on the markets for the products listed.

[Question] Do you not attribute too great a role to tradition? Does this not hinder innovation, perhaps creating new traditions for the future, for example the introduction of more modern products requiring more highly qualified work?

[Answer] I believe that we are not exaggerating the strategic significance of the foreign reputation of GM. In Egypt, for example, the word for express train is identified with the name "Magyar." Turbines are still operating abroad which Ganz delivered at the end of the last century. In a word, the tradition is a great market value for us. Looking back does not necessarily mean some sort of unproductive nostalgia. For example, in the 1960's the factory produced more in physical volume than now. So achieving the level of two decades ago means progress in our case. We could produce substantially more modern products containing more highly qualified work only if we again strengthened the intellectual base of the enterprise, if there was money for development. Just think, the ratio of engineers is 8 percent for us and 15-20 percent for the competition. As a result of our efforts and as a result of more favorable material offers we have taken on 54 beginning technical experts so far this year. It is a good sign that a few of the old technical guard have returned as well.

In the interest of achieving an economical production volume we plan to do primarily final assembly work, requiring less labor, in the Budapest factories, while we will move the labor intensive manufacture to our provincial factories, while expanding our capacity. We must improve the conditions for flexible accommodation and better market work as well. It follows from all this that we have set a goal of realizing an expansive strategy based on a dynamic increase--about 7-10 percent per year--in production and thus in sales receipts. This is the only way to get out of the economic difficulties and ensure lasting profitability.

[Question] Your choice is thought provoking. According to my information foreign firms with similar profiles, struggling with partly similar problems, relatively quickly disposed of their factories which were not profitable, or barely so, in the crisis periods of the 1980's. They narrowed their offerings and the slogan of diversification is now replaced by a slogan, or if you like strategy, of "Let us produce what we understand best." The expansive strategy of GM now being prepared seems to assign a greater role to increasing volume than to improving efficiency.

[Answer] We could discuss this at length. I believe your view is only partly true and does not hold for the foreign situation in general. As for selling factories, we are in a different situation than the western firms. Partly because of the undeveloped nature of the background industry, we are forced to operate many vertical chains, which otherwise we would be glad to get rid of. In addition, we have factories, and we have buildings 80-100 years old, which we would be happy to offer, but who would buy them? There would hardly be any customers. The strategy selected by us reflects a certain constraining situation too, because a gigantic capital burden falls on the enterprise which can be borne only with a dynamic increase in sales receipts and profit. This is a consequence of the earlier developmental policy. I might also say that we are running after our money.... International comparisons also prove that the assets efficiency of GM is low. We can improve this only with better utilization of existing capacity, in part modern, and with the manufacture of more valuable products. And we can find a market for the extra products.

[Question] In 1984 the Economic Committee passed temporary measures to resolve the financial tensions of 1983, then a new salvage action was taken at the beginning of 1985, to get over the 349-million-forint deficit and the 357-million-forint shortage in the interest fund for 1984. What was the essence of these measures and what does the enterprise consider a lasting solution to its financial problems?

[Answer] Our obligations to repay credit and pay interest were temporarily suspended in 1985, we are receiving support--smaller than the normative amount--to ensure a certain minimal profit proportional to sales receipts in ruble account export, we are getting a fund award, with a fee obligation, to carry out the investments which cannot be postponed, and for one year we can use the central earnings regulation system.

[Question] How will GM close this year?

[Answer] According to our estimates we will achieve the prescribed 710-million-forint profit with sales receipts exceeding 8 billion forints.

[Question] This just about equals the suspended repayment and interest payment obligations.

[Answer] That is right, in this sense we expect a zero profit or loss. This is certainly progress compared to the deficit last year. The condition for a lasting solution to the financial problems is to settle the debt burdens which seriously burden the maneuverability of the enterprise and draw off sources indispensable for renovation.

[Question] What would the settlement mean?

[Answer] Essentially it means that a part of the present credits and loans--i.e. 5.8 billion forints--let us say at least about half of it should be transformed into a capital award and the rest should be rescheduled into some reasonable form. This is covered by the earlier payments made by the enterprise.

We are convinced that settling the outstanding debt would be advantageous even from the viewpoint of the national economy, because this would make it possible to achieve enterprise profitability level exceeding the machine industry average, to stabilize GM's export position and to improve its competitiveness. As a result of all this the enterprise would make greater profit and would pay taxes over and above the value of the repayment of the debt. This is not squaring the circle, we have proven it with calculations!

[Question] Soroksar Foundry separation in 1985 already relieved the enterprise of a large part of its capital burden--ca. 1.5 billion forints. Yet your proposal could be called a quasi-rehabilitation. Under what conditions?

[Answer] They have--correctly--obliged GM to prepare a strategic plan. An expert committee independent of the enterprise will judge the plan at the end of this year.

[Question] For decades there has been an unavoidable contradiction between the diversified production profile of GM and its organizational guidance system. In its time the reconstruction program already prescribed a certain transformation of the ossified and overcentralized guidance-leadership methods, but little of this has been done. It was decided in 1984 that of the 8 factories belonging to the enterprise the Elevator Factory, the Kiskunhalas Machine Factory and the Zalaegerszeg Machine Factory were to be transformed into subsidiaries in 1985. This did not happen either. Is it perhaps because these factories are incapable of standing on their own feet economically?

[Answer] To judge the organizational-guidance system it must be known that a total of 32 economists work at the enterprise. We have factories which have no economists. Now, when working out the strategic plan, it turned out that it was not even clear how cost-effectiveness should be calculated. In some factories they do not recognize the subsequently calculated production cost of their products, simply because frequently they do not even do subsequent calculations product by product.

As for the future, we have set the goal of creating maximum independence of the factories. This means that beginning 1 January our factories will become profit centers. The factories will prepare an independent balance and will manage from the profit they achieve themselves. This presumes that every cost at the enterprise must be borne where the cost arose. It is expected that 15 percent of the factory profit and 70 percent of the amortization will be centralized. The factories can get developmental money by means of a competition from the central source thus generated. Hopefully this will put an end to investment behavior based on in-kind considerations, and weighing payoff will come to the fore. We will put the money out to the factories as a sort of bank credit, with conditions somewhat more favorable than the outside interest rate. We expect from the competition for central developmental funds that in this way we will be able to concentrate our assets on the best developmental areas.

[Question] Operating this system will make it necessary to use real prices, if you like market prices, within the vertical structure as well.

[Answer] That is right. This is why we decided that where an internal user has the possibility of choice he can select a partner outside the enterprise in the event of a considerably more favorable outside offer. That is, in general the factories will trade with one another at market prices. If the enterprise assumes credit then we will burden the factories as a function of the goal of the credit assumed, just as with the existing debt burden. Finally, the factories will decide independently how much of their interest fund to use for development or to increase wages. Naturally, technical development and marketing will be referred basically to the factory sphere of authority.

It follows from what has been said that the central enterprise organizations will exercise only those functions which determine the operation of the enterprise as a whole and the strategy of its development. On the basis of the principle of exceptions the center intends to guide and to intervene in the life of the factories only if their management deviates to a considerable degree from the plan prescriptions, or if it becomes necessary to protect the financial balance of enterprise management. Now let me return to why the three factories mentioned by you were not transformed into subsidiaries. It was because they themselves gave up the plan when they learned of this decentralization program.

[Question] It appears that the personnel conditions for operating such a decentralized guidance system are missing in the factories. When can this system be operable under such circumstances?

[Answer] We are simply in a forced situation. We cannot wait until GM becomes so attractive that economists stand in line to be taken on. What is involved is that we cannot become efficient without a transformation in the internal enterprise mechanism. So we must drop the leading experts working in the factories into deep water and--with careful supervision and patient help--they must learn to swim, like it or not. We have no other choice. In addition, two foreign organizational firms, on a commission from us, studied the enterprise and both recommended, in a completely concordant way, decentralization and the development of profit centers. The system, at least in its major respects, must be operational in the first half of 1986, because financial accounting for 1986 will take place according to the new method. We are also preparing for the fact that a series of problems must be settled along the way. The manpower regrouping accompanying the organizational changes promises to be the most difficult task. In any case, 1986 will be a year of learning for the factory and for the enterprise center alike. Taking all this into consideration I see the future of the enterprise, its dynamic development and its even more dynamically increasing export to be realistic goals. I am an optimist.

"You Cannot Breathe Life Into an Enterprise From Outside"

As appears from the interview with Dr Adam Juhasz, a professional committee will judge the strategy of the Ganz-MAVAG Locomotive, Car and Machine Factory (GM) which is now being prepared. FIGYELO asked Peter Havas, director general of the State Development Bank and leader of the committee, about this work.

[Question] For the most part inter-ministry committees or the appropriate state administration organizations pass judgment on the strategic or measurements plans of GM and other enterprises in a similar situation. Does the professional committee represent a break with this practice?

[Answer] I do not say that a complete break is involved and that the old practice will not be followed. It is rather an experiment. The members of the professional committee will not represent the position of state institutions; rather, they will give their opinion on the basis of their own professional knowledge, experience and conviction concerning the conception submitted by GM and its various details.

[Question] We know that you were not inclined to participate in a traditional, inter-ministry committee, but you were a supporter and an initiator of creating the professional committee. Why?

[Answer] It is my conviction that you cannot breathe life into an enterprise from the outside. Each can master its economic difficulties only on the basis of its own abilities and decisions. One can give aid and council for this. An expert committee made up of impartial people not suffering from enterprise blindness may be suitable for this. This explains my behavior. The committee will work in cooperation with the leaders of the enterprise; it will confirm, criticize and recommend. The committee is also suitable for making proposals, more objective than those of the enterprise, to the government, or more precisely to the minister of industry who created the professional committee, in regard to measures to be taken in the enterprise's interest, a useful method of financial aid and defining realistic requirements that might be made of the enterprise. I also consider the creation of a professional committee to prepare such decisions better than the traditional state administrative procedure because an enterprise is an organism with many layers which cannot be judged from this or that functional viewpoint. All this is possible only if the members of the committee put themselves in the shoes of the enterprise.

[Question] The committee is a collective body. Is the responsibility also collective?

[Answer] In contrast to the essentially anonymous character of an inter-ministry committee the participants in the professional committee represent their individual positions and give their names to them. Their personal professional reputations are at stake. The committee, as a body, assumes collective responsibility for its advice and recommendations, but the members can have their different opinions and we will not round these off with the coordination process traditional in state administration. So the limits of compromise are narrower for us, and the different opinion of the individual will be voiced just as the collective proposal of the committee. So the individual cannot hide behind the body. I am convinced that an inter-ministry committee cannot be suitable for this type of work because, in addition to what has been said, the prior coordination process and the institutional authorization limit in advance the freedom or possibility of thinking or making proposals for those participating. It is characteristic that those same experts, as members of the professional committee, are capable of participating in the work relying better on the information, experiences and proposals of each other.

[Question] In your judgment, are there enough independent experts in Hungary?

[Answer] I say from experience gained in the work of the bank that there are not enough. The scientific, professional circles are very closed, and in our institutions the rigid hierarchy makes the free and responsible expression of opinion very difficult. But it is also true that underestimating outside expert opinion is a widespread disease with us. Only that can be good and clever which we discover for ourselves. It is time to oppose this attitude. One should not overemphasize what I said. The outside expert is not capable of setting an enterprise on its feet; he cannot decide for the enterprise leadership , and it is not he who must apply the strategy. What I am talking about is only giving advice, aid, which, however, can have very great value. I emphasize all this because the expert recommendation, even if forward-looking, is based on the given facts, on an analysis of the situation. But the proposals and the strategic recommendations must be applied amidst changing circumstances, and they must be adjusted in case of need. This also is a task for the leaders of the enterprise. I emphasize this because GM is not being put into some sort of wheel chair, and we should not regard it as having a disadvantaged situation requiring constant help. Not at all! GM must stand on its feet.

[Question] Will the members of the committee be paid for their work?

[Answer] This question did not come up. This work interests and excites the members of the committee. Everyone feels his responsibility, and that this is not a routine task.

[Question] What lessons does participation in the committee have for the director general of the State Development Bank?

[Answer] Independent expert opinion should be asked for more frequently in the bank judgment of investments. The experience of foreign banks proves this too. We have used this method already, but rarely. Far be it from me to overvalue the role of expert committees, but in addition to the professional advantages they make the preparation of decisions more open and contribute to the development of democracy.

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CSO: 2500/88

PROSPECTS OF ROMANIAN COOPERATION WITH CSSR

AU141548 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1212 GMT 14 Dec 85

["New Productive Prospects for the Development of the Friendly Romanian-Czechoslovak Collaboration"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Dec (AGERPRES)--The leading Romanian dailies of 14 December extensively comment on the results of the recent Romanian-Czechoslovak dialogue in Bucharest occasioned by the working visit paid to Romania by Gustav Husak, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as guest of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of the country.

The new Romanian-Czechoslovak summit in Bucharest, the whole unfolding of the official talks, the orientations set for the expansion of the collaboration in socialist construction, the fruitful results of the visit whose synthesis is reflected by the joint communique have disclosed once more the lastingness and profound character of the links between our parties and peoples, writes SCINTEIA.

After recalling that the links between the two peoples have deep roots in the past of common fight for national freedom and independence, for the removal of foreign oppression and the building of a better life, being cemented through the blood shed in common in the years of anti-Hitlerite war when the Romanian soldiers in close brotherhood of arms with the Soviet soldiers, with Czech and Slovak patriots, made an important contribution to Czechoslovakia's liberation, to the victory over fascism, and that the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and collaboration have recorded powerful development in the years of socialist construction, the same newspaper further writes.

As it was shown also during the current visit, the collaboration between the leading forces in the two countries--the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia--the summit meetings and talks make a decisive factor of strengthening the Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship and deepening the relations in all domains. In the light of the fruitful results so far very important becomes the two leaders' determination to expand further the contacts between the two parties, to enlarge the exchange of experience in the building of the new system between the party, state and civic organizations in Romania and Czechoslovakia.

The general development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations in harmony with the provisions of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, of the understandings and decisions agreed during summit meetings is a reason for mutual satisfaction. The volume of commercial exchanges has grown year in year out. Telling of the dynamics of these exchanges is the fact that the recently signed protocol stipulates an increase by over 40 percent of the bilateral deliveries as compared with the estimates for the current 5-year period.

No doubt, both the development programs of the two countries and their continuously growing economic potential offer, as stressed on this occasion as well, wide possibilities for an ever closer collaboration.

As an expression of the wish to ensure a still more lasting base to the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations, to deepen and improve the mutually advantageous collaboration, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak signed in a solemn framework the long-term program on developing economic, technological and scientific collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by 2000, a document of outstanding importance which gives wide prospects to the friendly collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

Mentioning that the new Romanian-Czechoslovak summit occasioned also an exchange of views on the major issues of current international life, the paper shows: starting from the tense situation in the world created especially by the intensification of the nuclear arming it was stressed that the fundamental problem of contemporary world is the halting of the arms race and the passage to disarmament, nuclear above all.

Emphasized during the talks was the importance of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva for marking progress at the talks on the cessation of the arms race on the earth and on averting it in the outer space, for strengthening international peace and security. At the same time, it is necessary under the circumstances that all states, the NATO and Warsaw Treaty ones first of all, should actively contribute to the efforts for the reduction and elimination of the nuclear weapons in Europe, to marking progress at the talks on this matter.

Very important for ensuring lasting peace in Europe and in the world--the joint communique stresses--is the observance of the current territorial and political realities established in Europe.

Of great significance in the current international circumstances is the correct, negotiated settlement of the conflicts in various zones of the world. The two countries share the same position also on the other fundamental issues of international life, working for their settlement in harmony with all peoples' aspirations for peace, independence and progress.

Through the importance of the understandings and conclusions disclosed, through the documents endorsed, the visit makes an important contribution to the consolidation of the friendship and the deepening of the collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the general cause of socialism, peace and collaboration internationally, concludes the major Romanian daily.

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SPEECHES EXCHANGED AT BUCHAREST LUNCHEON FOR JARUZELSKI

Jaruzelski Toast

AU271009 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 85 pp 1, 3

[Toast by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at luncheon given in his honor by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, on 22 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, dear Romanian friends,

I would again like to express my cordial thanks for your invitation to visit the SR of Romania. Likewise, I would like to express my thanks for the cordial reception prepared for us in Bucharest.

At the same time, I wish to express my satisfaction with the frank and substantive talks we held. We believe that these talks are a continuation of the meetings and talks we held last year during the visit you paid to Warsaw. That visit made a contribution to expanding and enriching the framework of our cooperation. Today we can see the good results we jointly attained in this direction.

We believe that this visit will give a new impetus to our activity to further expand our cooperation. As we have agreed, this expansion of cooperation has to refer to every field of activity--to cooperation at party and state level and in economic, scientific, cultural areas, and youth affairs. I consider it extremely important to expand cooperation between enterprises by directly approaching the workers class and the working people. This will be a confirmation of our traditional friendship resulting from the similarity of our peoples' destinies, and will be in accordance with our common and internationalist ideals, as well as with the programs of our Marxist-Leninist parties. This will be in accordance with the interests of our party and state, and will improve the level of socialist integration of the countries within the socialist community. We believe that Romania and Poland--two relatively big countries by European standards--must and can make an essential contribution to this integration and, at the same time, should contribute--within the Warsaw Pact--to the struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

I fully share the views expressed by you regarding the importance of the meeting we held in Sofia and the meeting held yesterday in Prague, where we exchanged views on the basis of the information presented to us by Comrade Gorbachev.

The situation of our countries, the great programs to overcome difficulties and continue the development process, and the contribution we have to make concerning the problems of general European security prove the importance of these contacts and at the same time stress the importance of the talks we hold and the decisions we will make. We, the Polish side will do everything to make these decisions as constructive as possible and lend them importance for the future, so that they should answer the real possibilities of our countries and our peoples' desire for progress.

Allow me to extend to you most cordial greetings on behalf of the Politburo of our party's Central Committee, of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, of all communists, and of the Polish people.

We wish our Romanian friends and you personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ever greater successes in building socialist Romania.

I would like to raise a toast to the friendship and cooperation between our people and to the unity of our parties:

--to your health Comrade Ceausescu;

--to the health of all our Romanian friends. (Loud applause)

Ceausescu Toasts Jaruzelski

AU251310 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 85 pp 1, 3

[Toast proposed by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 22 November Bucharest luncheon given in honor of visiting first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski, esteemed comrades:

Once again I would like to express satisfaction on behalf of myself and the party and state leadership with your visit to Romania and to extend warm welcoming wishes to you and the comrades in the delegation.

I view this visit also as an expression of the positive relations of cooperation between our parties and peoples. These relations have developed vigorously in the years of socialist construction and life has demonstrated that they have withstood and even developed in difficult conditions. I am convinced that during the talks today we will reach joint understandings that will open up new prospects for developing economic and scientific-technological cooperation between our countries, thus creating fresh opportunities to expand production sharing in various areas.

We also want to reach an agreement on expanding cooperation between our parties, mass organizations, and in other areas, a fact that will contribute to strengthening friendship and solidarity between our parties and peoples.

As for international problems, we have discussed them recently during the Sofia meeting and even yesterday we exchanged views on these subjects. Our countries hold common positions on the basic problems and act, together with the other socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact, in the direction of resolving the grave problems in the international arena by means of disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament and of achieving peace in Europe and throughout the world.

We believe that after the Geneva meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, which has paved the way for the continuation of negotiations, it is necessary for us to intensify our activity aimed at disarmament, at resolving problems between states by negotiations, and at a world of peace.

I would also like to mention our desire that, along with bilateral cooperation, we should also strengthen cooperation within CEMA and act toward fulfilling the comprehensive program on achieving scientific-technological progress in order to create optimal conditions for the development of our socialist economies and the economies of the CEMA member-countries and to open up broad prospects for cooperation with the other socialist countries and with all states in the world by proceeding from the fact that both economic cooperation and expanding exchanges constitute an important factor in the struggle for peace, understanding, and cooperation among all states, irrespective of social system.

I am convinced that your working visit--although short--and the talks we are conducting will identify fresh opportunities for cooperation between our parties and countries, this being in keeping with both the interests of our two countries and with the interests of the socialist countries in general, and with the cause of peace and cooperation among all world nations.

I want to toast the constant development of cooperation between our parties and peoples and I wish the friendly Polish people increasingly greater successes in socialist construction and in improving the material and cultural living standard;

I want to toast positive cooperation among the socialist countries; and your good health and that of the other Polish comrades. (Loud applause)

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ROMANIAN, BULGARIAN YOUTH MEETING HELD

Nicu Ceausescu Meets Bulgarian Delegation

AU170835 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2039 GMT 16 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Dec (AGERPRES)--A friendly get-together between representatives of Romanian youth and representatives of Bulgarian youth began on 16 December. Sponsored by the youth organizations in the two countries, this action fits in the context of the relations of close cooperation between the Romanian and Bulgarian youth, relations which deepen and diversify steadily in the spirit of the traditional relations of fruitful friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples, of meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov.

The Bulgarian youth delegation headed by Stanka Sopova, first secretary of the CC of the DYCL, was greeted by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, in Giurgiu Municipality.

Bobu Receives Bulgarian Delegation

AU162022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1807 GMT 16 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Dec (AGERPRES)--On 16 December Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, was called on by the chief delegates of the Union of the Communist Youth [LCY] and of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) of Bulgaria, that participated in a friendly meeting between representatives of the youth in Romania and Bulgaria.

The sides highlighted the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party, between the Romanian people and the Bulgarian one, between the youth in the two countries, stressing the special importance of the interviews and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov. The sides also brought to the fore the fact that the friendly interview between representatives of the Romanian youth and of the Bulgarian youth contributed to amplofying the relations of collaboration and friendship between the youth in the two countries as well as between the UCY and the DYCL.

Nicu Ceausescu Addresses Rally

AU172051 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Dec (AGERPRES)--Tuesday, 17 December, events continued in Brasov as part of a friendly meeting between representatives of the youth in Romania and Bulgaria. On the occasion a meeting of friendship between representatives of the Romanian youth and of the Bulgarian youth was held. Youth of economic, research and education units in the Brasov Municipality participated.

During the meeting Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of the Communist Youth [UCY], took the floor, addressing a warm salute to tne entire Bulgarian youth, to its revolutionary organization, the Dimitrov Young Communist League [DYCL]. Next, stress was laid on the fact that this friendly meeting was a proof of the good relations of collaboration established between the youth in the two countries, in the context of the relations of tight friendship and cooperation that are developing continuously between Romania and Bulgaria, relations that have been given a strong impetus by the talks and understandings between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

After the concerns and activity of the Romanian youth for the implementation of the targets set by the 13th RCP congress were set forth, the first secretary of the CC of the UCY showed that the cardinal issue of the contemporary epoch was the cessation of the arms race, of nuclear arming in particular, the defence of the supreme right of people, of youth to existence, to free and peaceful life. It was stressed that the young generation all over the world was in duty bound to work energetically, alongside peoples, for the application of specific and efficient disarmament measures, for nuclear disarmament above all. Shwoing that in 1985, the International Youth Year [IYY]--"Participation, Development, Peace"--was successfully observed throughout the world, the speaker stressed the fact that after the conclusion of the IYY, the young generation everywhere should campaign most forcefully for the settlement of the problems confronting the youth of the contemporary world to keep being in the focus.

Next to speak was Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, who highlighted the good relations in existence between the party and state leaders in Bulgaria and Romania, relations that stimulate the good collaboration between the youth organizations in the two neighbouring friendly countries. She then referred to the necessity and importance of diversifying and amplifying permanently the links of friendship between young Bulgarians and Romanians. Highlighting the importance and significance of the new meeting of Bulgarian and Romanian youth representatives, the speaker pointed out that it was yet another expression of the productive links between the young people in Bulgaria and Romania, also occasioning a fruitful exchange of experiences, views and information.

In concluding her address, the first secretary of the CC of the DYCL stressed the need for the young people everywhere to be plenarily involved in the general struggle for disarmament, security, understanding and collaboration.

Artistic ensembles, singers and instrumentalists from Romania and Bulgaria then performed a cultural show.

Youth Meeting Concludes

AU182100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Dec (AGERPRES)--The friendly get-together between youth representatives of Romania and Bulgaria came to an end on 18 December.

The meeting that proceeded over 16-18 December 1985, accounted for a very important moment in the process of amplification of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the young people of the two countries, between the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] of Romania and the Dimitrov Young Communist League of Bulgaria [DYCL]. It proceeded in a working atmosphere of warm friendship and occasioned a fruitful exchange of experience and information on the activity of the two youth organizations.

The delegation of the young people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was seen off in Giurgiu Municipality by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY.

A bilateral seminar took place in Brasov as part of the schedule of the last day of the get-together.

In their papers Romanian youth representatives stressed the priority directions of activity of the UCY for the communist, revolutionary education, in the spirit of the glorious fight traditions of the RCP. Emphasis was placed on the modalities of active participation of the young people in the implementation of the 13th RCP Congress resolutions.

In turn, the Bulgarian youth representatives highlighted the achievements scored by the young generation in their country for the translation into life of the tasks deriving for them from the party and state documents.

Both the papers and the debates emphasized the young generation's preoccupation for the achievement of the international youth year objectives, its specific contribution to the settlement of contemporary world's major issues, to the establishment of a climate of peace and detente the world over.

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BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO ZARKOVIC--To Comrade Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, Belgrade. Esteemed Comrade Zarkovic, on the occasion of the SFRY national holiday--the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and the 42nd anniversary of the session of the antifascist Council for National Liberation--on behalf of the RCP Central Committee the Romanian Communists and working people, and on my own behalf, I extend to you, the LCY Central Committee, the Yugoslav Communists, and working people, cordial greetings and best wishes for success in the socialist development of the country. I express satisfaction with the continuous development of the friendly relations of cooperation between the RCP and the LCY and between our two neighboring countries and I believe that these relations will permanently expand in the interests of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples and the cause of socialism and peace. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 85 p 6] /9604

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO VLAJKOVIC--To Comrade Radovan Vlajkovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, Belgrade. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and the 42nd anniversary of the session of antifascist Council for National Liberation--the SFR national holiday--on behalf of the State Council of the SR of Romania, of the entire nation, and my own behalf, I extend to you, the SFRY Presidency, and the Yugoslav peoples warmest greetings and wishes for prosperity and new successes in the socialist construction of your country. I believe that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, which register a continuous manysided development, will further strengthen and deepen, based on the understandings reached at the highest level and in the mutual interest of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples and the cause of peace, socialism, detente, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 85 p 6] /9604

GIOSAN, VADUVA GREET SFRY COUNTERPARTS--On the occasion of the SFRY national day, Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly sent a congratulatory cable to Comrade Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the SFRY Assembly and Comrade Ilia Vaduva, minister of foreign affairs, sent a congratulatory cable to Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY. At the same time, congratulatory cables were sent by party, mass, and civic organizations and central institutions to similar organizations and institutions in the SFRY. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

ROMANIAN-GDR SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PLAN--Bucharest, 12 Nov 85 (AGERPRES)--Talks were conducted in Bucharest between Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister for science and technology of the GDR. In keeping with the understandings reached during the summit meeting in May this year a collaboration plan was signed concerning the major targets of cooperation in science and technology between Romania and the German Democratic Republic over 1986-1990. The plan provides for technical and scientific cooperation in areas of mutual interest, more particularly in power engineering, the metal industry, chemistry, electronics, electrical engineering, machine building, agriculture, a.o. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 12 Nov 85] /9604

JARUZELSKI THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, Allow me to express my cordial thanks for the greetings and wishes you conveyed to me on my appointment as chairman of the State Council by the Sejm of the PPR. The Polish-Romanian friendship and cooperation, which is successfully developing, is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideas and represents our joint and solid achievement. We fully share your belief that the relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between the PPR and the SR of Romania will further develop and be fruitfully enriched, for the benefit of our countries and peoples and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world. Please accept, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, my best wishes for success in the activity you carry out for the benefit of your socialist homeland, and my wishes for much health and prosperity in your personal life. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the PPR. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

RAMIZ ALIA'S THANK-YOU MESSAGE--On behalf of Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the following thank-you message has been presented to our country's embassy in Tirana: "The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania conveys his greetings to the embassy of the SR of Romania and has the honour to request the embassy to extend to the president of the SR of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, the thanks of Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, for the wishes conveyed to him on his 60th birthday." [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Nov 85 p 5] /9604

CEAUSESCU MEETS YOUTH OFFICIALS--Bucharest, 23 Nov (AGERPRES)--On 23 November, Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of the Communist Youth [YCY], was called on by a delegation of the League of the Democratic Youth of Finland, headed by its President Rauno Topani Merisaari. The sides approached a series of aspects related to the current stage and the prospects of development of the bilateral collaboration, as well as problems concerning the international youth movement and the marking of the International Youth Year. The same day Nicu Ceausescu received a delegation of the League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia [LSY], headed by Fadmir Bejta, member of the LSY Presidium. On the occasion information was exchanged on the current activity and preoccupations of the UCY, UCSAR [Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romanis] and LSY, the sides expressing the joint wish to develop further the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian youth and the Yugoslav one. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1729 GMT 23 Nov 85] /9604

CONSTANTIN RECEIVES CSSR MINISTER--Bucharest, 23 Nov (AGERPRES)--Saturday, 23 November, Nicolae Constantin, Romanian deputy prime minister, received Milan Kubat, minister of the electrotechnical industry of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, now visiting Romania. During the interview, evoked were the fine relations of friendship and collaboration which develop continuously between the two countries and peoples, in the spirit of summit understandings and talks and new possibilities to diversify Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in electrotechnology and electronics were analyzed. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1658 GMT 23 Nov 85] /9604

BUCHAREST HOSTS DANUBIAN CONFERENCE--Bucharest, 13 Dec (AGERPRES)--At the initiative of the Romanian Government over 1-13 December Bucharest hosted a conference of Danubian countries on problems related to the management of the waters of the Danube, attended by delegations of Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia as well as by representatives of certain international bodies. On the occasion the sides debated problems related to the rational use of the Danubian waters and particularly to protecting them against pollution. At the conclusion of the proceedings the participants signed a "declaration on the collaboration of the Danubian countries on problems related to the management of the Danubian waters and particularly to protecting the waters of the river against pollution." The heads of the participant delegations called on Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, approaching on the occasion problems posed by the development of collaboration in domains of mutual interest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1649 GMT 13 Dec 85] /9604

CSO: 2020/55

SEJM ADDRESS BY DEPUTY RYSZARD BENDER

Warsaw DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY in Polish 27 Nov 85 pp 13-18

[Speech by Deputy Ryszard Bender (Independent, National List) at Sejm 27 November meeting]

[Text] Mr Speaker, Esteemed House,

Please forgive me that moment's silence. I have not spoken from this rostrum for over 5 years. I wanted to address the House during the previous sitting, when the premier presented his government's program. Unfortunately, the Council of Senior Deputies decided that only representatives of the caucuses and deputies' circles would take the floor. As I did not qualify, I withdrew. Nevertheless, I do not think it was good for only six official speakers to comment on the prime minister's speech. It provided an opportunity for a broad--I wouldn't want to say "stormy"--debate, as is the custom all over the world. For this reason, today I am not just going to speak about the financial and economic problems of the country. After all, the latter are connected with the general situation in the country.

I look around this House with interest--I have been away for 5 years--and everywhere I see new faces, most of them anyway, and that includes the Council of State and government benches. I don't see the arrogant faces of those know-alls who set out to build a second Poland. Nobody is going to build a second Poland, because for a thousand years there has been one and only one Polish Republic; although buried once by the partitioning powers it rose again like a phoenix from the ashes on 11 November 1918, after 123 years of bondage. And despite the subsequent maelstroms, it lives on and will live forever, for such is the will of the people.

Mr Prime Minister, I wish to express my conviction that your cabinet, like the previous one, will not return to that kind of strange terminology, which offends patriotic emotions. What I dream of--and I do not think I am the only one in this House or in Poland who dreams of this--is for the day of 11 November, which this month we commemorated in our hearts and at our places of worship, to be observed once more as a national holiday uniting all Poles. This would be a step in the direction of genuine national conciliation. I feel--and I pray that I am right--that the time for this has now arrived: We have a new Sejm, a new Council of State and a new government, so let us be bolder in assessing the past and looking into the future. The date 11 November: This is not a date that will divide the nation, it is one that will consolidate it.

I have used the word "nation." That is a noble word, one that embraces a multitude of civic attitudes and of political, social, and ideological concepts.

From the 1957 elections on it was a tradition for this House to include a symbolic group of Catholic deputies--usually five of them--who were close to the church hierarchy. The members of this group acted independently, taking sole responsibility for what they did, although they maintained close contacts with the Polish Episcopate. This appeared to be a lasting tradition up until the election of this Sejm. First there was the ZNAK group of deputies, then from 1981 on there was the Polish Union of Lay Catholics, the PZKS, and then in 1984, when the PZKS as an organization lost touch with the church, a Lay Catholic Deputies' Circle was formed, including Waclaw Auleytner, Rudolf Buchala, and Janusz Zablocki. I deeply regret that these people were unable to stand in the last elections. Janusz Zablocki, who headed the group in several Sejms, earned great respect in this House, in numerous Catholic circles, and especially in the "Odiss" milieu, whose patron is Professor Czeslaw Strzeszewski, the nestor of Catholic social thought in Poland and the last surviving member of the Social Council established before the war by the then primate of Poland, August Cardinal Hlond.

I will not hide my belief that the absence of a lay Catholic deputies' circle in the present Sejm is unfortunate. The question that arises is whether one or two deputies representing a similar lay Catholic orientation should form a deputies' circle. This has to be thought over.

I am raising this issue because the matter concerns the affairs of the nation and the good of the state, which is now led by a new government and--judging by the premier's speech--faces a whole tangle of international, geopolitical, national, economic, and social challenges.

Today we are taking a detailed look at the economic and financial tasks presented by the government. It does not often happen in the world today that there is a socialist government while the majority of the population are Catholics, people who are aware of their own ethic, not only the personal one but also the social one. The latter is embodied in the papal documents on social questions, from Leo XII's encyclical Rerum Novarum of 1891 to John Paul II's Laborem Exercens of 1981.

In this context, the words uttered by the primate of Poland, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, at Jasna Gora on 26 August 1985, are fully understandable. He said then: "Religious faith is so widespread in Poland that believers should also take part in the country's public life."

Someone could say that this is an artificial problem. After all, there are Catholics everywhere, running farms, working in factories and in offices.

But I would say in reply: No, this is not an artificial problem. There is an unwritten law in force in our public life. As a result of the workings of this law, Polish Catholics too rarely base their professional activity and social involvement on their religious beliefs. There is too much anonymity--for pragmatic reasons. Too many examples confirm that any motivation other than one based on the so-called scientific world outlook usually eliminates a person from active participation in public life, or at any rate from occupying senior posts.

I shall no doubt hear in reply that some Polish deputy premiers have been Catholics and that a representative of the PAX Association is currently a vice chairman of the Council of State. But that's at the very top! What about the bottom of the ladder? Please show me the economists, lawyers, and teachers who are holding senior posts at their place of work not anonymously, but laying emphasis on their Christian ideals. Unfortunately, as a rule they are forced to preserve their anonymity, in order not to offend the feelings of those around them, as I was once told.

I am convinced that if there were broader possibilities for people to demonstrate at work that they are motivated by the principles of Catholic ethic, then the benefits to our country of the activity of believers, which are already big, would be even bigger. When will that happen? I think, honorable colleagues, that this will happen when citizens feel that all the structures of the state, both the central ones and--more importantly--the local ones, are open and ideologically neutral, that the strong arm of the state does not support one selected world outlook, even when it is one that calls itself scientific. The right of citizens to preserve the identity of their world outlook in public life has to become generally accepted. This will accelerate the national conciliation we need so badly.

The events of August 1980 introduced many very precious values into our social life. The most important of them is citizens' feeling that they have the right to make sovereign decisions. I said in one newspaper interview during the election campaign that it was important for all the elements awakened in August 1980 that are positive for the development of society and the state to be reflected in our public life. I also expressed the hope--and I do so once more--that the Ninth Sejm would appreciate the importance of the values contributed by Solidarity and would ensure that they were reflected as far as possible in social practice.

I do not need to prove how much energy Solidarity released in society. Nor do I have to prove that its ideals are still held dear by a large part of society. This is a fact, and it has to be recognized as such. Of course, we may choose not to talk about this, but what good will that do? We must not repeat the mistake that previous ruling teams made in relation to the Home Army (AK). The officers and soldiers of the AK were shoved to the sidelines of social life, which was a waste of their energy and patriotism. True, in recent years, things have changed for the better here. But why wasn't it done earlier, before it was too late? The previous cabinet showed a great deal of determination by trying, whenever it was possible, to reduce the hardships that resulted from 13 December 1981. I would like to believe, Mr Prime Minister, that the cabinet you now head will continue along that same path.

We are headed toward agreement and national conciliation. Therefore it is all the more important to speak openly about various matters. There has to be a general consensus on this. Immediately after 22 July 1944, despite the enormous political differences and the annual struggle, the imperative of biologically protecting the nation and preventing any more Polish blood from being shed began to be generally accepted. This was understood by nearly everyone, not only those on the left.

Today, 40 years later, we have to be just as prudent. The state, liberated from captivity 67 years ago, recreated after the struggle of Poles at home and on the various battlefronts of World War II, cannot be undermined again, because that would be too dangerous for Poland, for Europe, and for our neighbors as well. An internally strong, economically prosperous and modern Poland means peace in Europe and in the world.

It is therefore imperative to show a common concern for the state and for the right of the nation to live in dignity. We cannot run the risk of seeing our level of development slump; we have to overcome our technological backwardness and do so quickly--all of us are aware of this backwardness, young people in particular. We cannot afford to lose our rightful place among the nations of Europe.

Mr Prime Minister, in your address I could see your concern for the whole tangled web of important problems facing the state, especially the need for better organization in running it. Today's debate also testifies to this concern. I consider the reduction of the number of ministries--the non-industrial ones, if I might put it that way--to be an important step.

I hope the time will also come for the reduction in the number of ministries remaining. There was a time--not before the war, but in socialist Poland--when we had one integrated ministry of trade and industry. On the other hand, I cannot shake off my doubts as to whether it was really necessary to create the post of minister for youth affairs. Young people, by their very nature, do not like their matters to be channeled in any way, even into the smoothest flowing stream. Maybe I am mistaken, but this innovation is unlikely to stand the test of time. But God guide and assist you anyway, Mr Kwasniewski. I hope you will tackle the problems important to Polish youth in an unconventional way, in a way that differs from previous attempts. Our youth has a plurality of world outlooks, with the majority of young people believers, and many of them ardent believers, too. I trust you will also take note of the aspirations of the latter group.

The concern for the state must extend to all social groups, including those who govern and those who call themselves the opposition. In all initiatives that go in this direction, the government should lead the way, because it is both a party to disputes and the arbiter of them. The opposition too, should carefully consider whether all government initiatives deserve to be rejected out of hand. Poland's future, and the future of its young generation, will depend on how we resolve our internal problems. The young are growing up critical of the activities of their elders. This is a good thing, but sometimes they do not understand the sense behind the phenomena of social life around them. This is something we have to reflect on. We all have to think about how we can reach the hearts and minds of our young generation. Then there is the problem of the nation's health. Moreover, Mr Minister Jarzebski, we must do everything in our power to avert the ecological disaster which is already on our doorstep.

Now let me look at the economic reform. I am not going to conceal, Mr Prime Minister, that part of society is concerned about the future of the reform, something I'm sure you are aware of. A lot of conjecture has been spurred by the fact that the office headed by Minister Baka no longer exists. There are suggestions and hints--sometimes in the press--that the reform might be slowed down, to put it mildly. Let us not permit this to happen. We will not come up with any alternative plan for the economy. Unless, that is, we return to the models of the past, whose negative effects we all knew too well. Many Poles continue to hope that the economic reform will help Poland overcome the economic crisis and will help them and their children to live a better life in the future. I pray those hopes do not prove misplaced.

The economic reform should be helped by the process of carrying out the Central Annual Plan, whose targets are modest, since the effects of the economic chaos wrought by past governments are still with us. Let's be frank here--this is not the kind of plan we would like to see. What kind of incentive is there for people in the fact that our national income is planned to grow by under 3.5 percent next year, or in the fact that per capita consumption in 1990 is expected to be several percent lower than it was in 1978? We need a plan that is realistic, yes, but also one that is ambitious, that will mobilize people to great efforts.

In its efforts to get the country out of its social and economic crisis, the government should seek and obtain the support of various social groups. There are all kinds of groups in the country, large and small, which are important from the social point of view and whose involvement in the decisionmaking process could make it more credible and effective--that includes economic decisionmaking, too. It is necessary to take account of these milieux--sometimes referred to as the "center"--and win them over to at least some of our common aims. A lot can be done by working together with the Poles, if only you want to--and know how to--reach agreement with them. One voluntary organization, even if it is as highly publicized as PRON, cannot cope with all our problems. Incidentally, I am not aware of PRON helping people to become active in the economy, in culture or in education on the basis of their Christian beliefs, especially in the countryside. Maybe I am mistaken, I have never been a PRON member. I certainly do not know everything, but last month I read in ZYCIE WARSZAWY that PRON's views do not always reach the authorities and are too seldom heard in public.

Why am I raising these questions? Because I am afraid of an institutionalization of expressions of public opinion. We witnessed that kind of thing in the past. We saw the National Unity Front issue statements about the unity of the nation. Then came August 1980, which showed that unity for what it was worth. Cheap optimism can still occasionally be seen today--the government spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, has a particularly impressive record in this respect. God be with him. Maybe he can do no better. What I consider especially harmful, though, is the fact that Minister Urban chooses to lecture the Roman Catholic Church in Poland about what forms of pastoral work are appropriate for it. For example, on 5 November he ironically observed that the church "expresses its sympathy for those imprisoned after they are punished." So when is it supposed to express this sympathy? Ever since the times of the Roman Empire, the church has provided help and spiritual comfort to prisoners. This is an evangelical duty of the church and of all Christians.

I have here a copy of a letter from the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate addressed to us, the deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. It is dated 30 October 1985. It says: "Esteemed Chamber, talk of dialogue and conciliation loses its credibility when people are being kept in remand centers and prisons for noncriminal offenses. Guided by a concern for social peace, the Polish Episcopate appeals to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to launch initiatives to gain the release of these people."

We know from the TV, press, and radio that the state authorities have already taken the first steps in this direction. That is very good. Let other steps follow. Let those released from remand centers and prisons also include the five detained students from my college, the Catholic University of Lublin. I am not aware of any of them having been released so far. I am appealing for their release to you, Mr Minister of Justice, and to you, Mr Prosecutor General. For social peace is today the most important matter for the nation. The Polish Church has been stressing this for some time now. Let me conclude by quoting a great Pole, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. In 1974 he said: "It is to the great credit of the church that it has never abandoned the Polish people and has not stopped its work, even in the most difficult situations." Let us remember this when we speak about creating proper relations between the people and the church, between the state and the church, in this, our homeland.

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MESSNER VISIT TO MOSCOW REPORTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] The 41st Extraordinary Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance began in Moscow on 17 December. The delegations of member countries are led by the heads of government. The Polish delegation is chaired by Politburo member, Premier Zbigniew Messner.

Other members of the delegation are Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, Vice Premiers Wladyslaw Gwiazda and Zbigniew Szalajda, head of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department Marek Holdakowski, ministers, and experts.

On the first day, the session was addressed by the chairmen of all delegations.

During his stay in Moscow, Premier Zbigniew Messner met with his Soviet counterpart Nikolai Ryzhkov.

During the meeting which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the two statesmen exchanged information on the development of the socioeconomic situation in both countries and the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress and the 17th CPSU Congress. Both sides voiced profound satisfaction with the state of fraternal Polish-Soviet relations, the growing role of cooperation between both countries in implementing the tasks of the building of socialism and in strengthening the international position of socialist countries in the interest of the consolidation of peace and in ensuring the security of their peoples.

The two premiers stressed the importance of the extraordinary Comecon session in Moscow in the context of the consolidation and increasing the effectiveness of the efforts of socialist community countries to further scientific and technological progress. The attainment of this important goal is enhanced by the implementation of the long-term program of development of Polish-Soviet economic, scientific, and technical cooperation up to the year 2000 and of the comprehensive Polish-Soviet program of scientific and technological progress. All of this creates new possibilities for accelerating the socioeconomic development of both countries.

The sides voiced the conviction that the decisive factor for the socialist community countries' success in their pursuit of progress in all areas and in safeguarding peace is the consolidation of their unity on the principles of socialist internationalism and the growth in the leading role of communist and workers parties in the whole creative activity of the fraternal peoples.

The meeting was attended by Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda and Soviet Vice Premier and Gosplan chairman, Nikolai Talyzin. (PAP)

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FOREIGN MINISTER ORZECHOWSKI VISITS MOSCOW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] Moscow (PAP)--Marian Orzechowski, foreign minister and alternate PZPR Politburo member, went on an official friendly visit to Moscow on Thursday at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

He was greeted at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport by Soviet Foreign Minister and CPSU Politburo member Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials. The airport was decorated with the flags of both countries. Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Stanislaw Kociolek and Soviet Ambassador to Poland Alexander Aksyonov were present.

Late in the afternoon the two foreign ministers began talks at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. They discussed the most important problems in the current international situation, pointing to its complexity. In this context they stressed the immense importance of the Soviet-American Geneva summit. The Polish minister expressed full support for the position taken by Mikhail Gorbachev during the talks with Ronald Reagan and for the Soviet peace initiatives.

They also examined the state of and prospects for the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in all areas, emphasizing the cooperation of the diplomatic and consular services of both countries in the struggle for peace and detente. They stressed the great importance of the Polish-Soviet program for cooperation in the economy, science and technology until the year 2000, which the leaders of the two countries signed in May last year. The two foreign ministers pointed to the predominant role of interparty cooperation in Polish-Soviet relations. They noted the continuing progress of cooperation and the considerable opportunities for expanding it in all areas, especially in culture, science and technology.

The talks will be continued on Friday.

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ORZECHOWSKI CONCLUDES FINNISH VISIT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 85 p 1

[Excerpts] PAP correspondent reports from Helsinki: Marian Orzechowski, alternate PZPR Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, concluded his 2-day official visit to Finland on 10 December.

The main point of the Tuesday program was a meeting at the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Minister Orzechowski met there Erykki Pystynen, the speaker. Present was his first deputy, chairman of the Finland-Poland Society, Matii Louekoski.

Minister Orzechowski gave an account of the Ninth Sejm's work and of the political situation in Poland. The two sides agreed that relations between the two parliaments should be expanded, in particular by exchanging parliamentary delegations and party groups. It was stated that this cooperation has a long-standing tradition and that experiences in this area can be further enriched and so can the contacts between Polish and Finnish communities.

The minister then visited Porovoo and Loviisa--industrial towns 100 km east of Helsinki. The first Finnish nuclear power station, started in 1977, is located near Loviisa. The station was furnished with two power-generating units with the capacity of 465 MW each supplied by the Soviet Union.

In the evening, a party was held at the Polish Embassy in Helsinki, attended by Finland's minister of foreign affairs, Paavo Vaeyrynen.

The following is an account of Minister Orzechowski's visit to Finland, supplied by PAP:

The minister of foreign affairs, Marian Orzechowski, visited Finland on 9 and 10 December at the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Finland, Paavo Vaeyrynen.

Marian Orzechowski was received by President Mauno Koivisto. On behalf of the Council of State chairman, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister Orzechowski repeated the invitation for the president of Finland to pay an official visit to Poland. The acceptance of the invitation was confirmed. The

Polish minister was also received by the speaker of parliament, Erykki Pystynen. The talks with Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. They focused mainly on international questions and bilateral relations.

The talks were attended by the Polish ambassador, Henryk Burczyk, and the Finnish ambassador, Olavi Rautio.

The ministers assessed the present international situation and the prospects for its development in view of the Soviet-American summit meeting. They expressed hope that the results of the meeting will prompt a desirable shift in relations between the two powers and will initiate progress in easing international tension and checking the arms race.

It was emphatically stated that the two countries hope some definite progress will be eventually achieved in disarmament negotiations. The Polish representatives pointed to the possibility for improving the international situation and achieving progress in disarmament negotiations which lies in the peace initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries during the Sofia meeting of the Consultative Political Committee in October this year.

Both sides pointed to the importance of UN activities toward alleviating tensions, settling disputes, and consolidating international peace and security. Both countries' contribution to the organization's work was recognized as an important factor in supporting the efforts toward peace and detente.

It was stated that Poland and Finland attach great importance to the continuation and consolidation of the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as an important instrument in upholding the positive tendencies in international relations and stabilizing the situation in that area. This year's meetings in Helsinki and Budapest were recognized as important elements of this process.

As regards bilateral relations, both sides noted with satisfaction that the Polish-Finnish political dialogue has assumed the previous intensity. The meetings between the foreign ministers of both countries, the visit by PRON delegation to Helsinki, and visits by other ministers, resulted in tangible progress in bilateral cooperation and brought about a rapprochement. It was also stated that the situation is ripe for elevating the dialogue to a higher level.

Economic relations were reviewed. It was stated that these have developed correctly due to the traditional forms of cooperation, the complementary character of the two economies and the agreements concluded. The meetings between the ministers of foreign trade and the decisions taken by the joint commission provide a basis for efforts to balance foreign trade between the two countries which has been more advantageous to Poland for many years now. This should be attained by expanding the areas and forms of bilateral cooperation and trade. According to the Polish side, normalization of financial and credit cooperation would be a factor stimulating such efforts.

Minister Orzechowski invited Minister Vaeyrynen to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted, and the date of the visit is to be agreed by diplomatic channels.

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POLITICS

POLAND

KOZAKIEWICZ SEES PRON WANING

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz by Alicja Matynia-Bonik]

[Text] Question: An important moment has been reached in the history of PRON. The movement successfully completed two big political tasks: the elections to people's councils and the Sejm elections. What next?

Answer: We now want to ask ourselves this question: Where are we, how far have we got and what will happen now that the two campaigns, which in a way drew this movement together and justified its existence, have ended? We shall be looking back at PRON's record at a meeting of the National Council and the Central Debating Club.

We have been preparing for the National Council meeting for a long time now. A group headed by Professor Marian Gulczynski has prepared a report on the attained progress toward conciliation and on the role PRON has played in this respect. The PRON Secretariat has made a survey among members of the movement in various parts of Poland.

Question: What was the outcome?

Answer: I will not hide that two trends exist within PRON itself. Some of the activists believe that the program of the movement has passed its test and, therefore, there is no need to reconsider anything as "all that is needed now is to go on in the same direction and in the same spirit." The other view, to which I myself subscribe, is that PRON has come to a crossroads and is facing some risks. After these two campaigns, it may lose its raison d'etre. That is why this appraisal will be discussed at the next National Council session.

Question: Do the appraisals differ depending on the level and scope of PRON activity?

Answer: Of course, the evaluation of PRON activities will differ, depending on whether you relate them to the original concept or the more modest assumptions adopted at the PRON Congress, or whether you relate it to what could be achieved in the given circumstances. The assessments will also be different at central level to that at voivodship or gmina level.

Question: Is your own balance positive or negative?

Answer: From the beginning, mine was a maximalistic program. I believe that the emergence of new forms of political activity, which did not appear before, is an achievement. I mean not only the forms but also the content and scope of the problems raised, the freedom of discussion, and the diversity of the participants.

Question: What exactly would you record on the credit side?

Answer: The launching of the ODRODZENIE weekly, for one. It takes up the most difficult problems. Or the establishment of the debating club, which is also an unprecedented formation thanks to the subjects it tackles, the wide spectrum of participants, the views presented there, the courage to address the most sensitive questions. There is the youth forum, the Catholics' forum, the film club. Such clubs came to life in the past in breakthrough periods but they collapsed very quickly, within a few months, under the so-called pressures of everyday life. Those set up by PRON have worked for over 2 years already.

Another great issue that makes PRON grow is the National School Aid Campaign. It proves that by addressing genuine social needs, PRON is capable of releasing the activity of society. We had the Society for the Construction of Schools and later the School Construction Fund, but the recent PRON decisions concerning the establishment of a special school foundation and to extend the program of the National School Aid Campaign to educational problems transcends the earlier experience. It should not be doubted that PRON contributed something new in this area.

Question: What then are the reasons for your feeling that all this is not enough and for your critical attitude?

Answer: Above all I am worried by the fact that apart from the achievements recent years have also witnessed our failures such as failing to take full advantage of those forms of work which I mentioned above, namely debating and film clubs. All of them, in fact, involve only "PRON people." They don't have any major influence.

Question: Why?

Answer: The public does not know much about what really takes place within PRON. So there is no major influence on the state of public consciousness. This activity is becoming a bit like art for art's sake. Limiting this activity to our own community has weakened the pressure exerted on the authorities to implement requests formulated by PRON. Every participant in these debates may say to himself: "We have discussed things freely but what has come out of it?" What seems important is the ineffectiveness of PRON activity and the fact that the debates act as therapy only allowing participants to get things off their chest but has no major influence on the real course of events. This is frustrating.

Besides, PRON has not become a mass movement. According to me this is the essential problem. We have failed with the movement, so be it, let's then make an organization. It may retain its name, PRON, but let us stop illuding ourselves that it has a chance of becoming the spontaneous mass movement which we dreamed of at the beginning.

Another important matter is connected with the fact that both in the congress guidelines and in other documents PRON was considered as a party for dialogue, as "someone" between the authorities and that part of society which either shunned the authorities or boycotted them altogether. Unfortunately, according to me, PRON has ceased to be a party for negotiations and is increasingly becoming an integral part of the authorities.

Question: This certainly is a controversial statement. But if we agree with it, what are the reasons for it?

Answer: It is to these reasons and to the remedial measures that the debates at the coming PRON National Council meeting and at the Main Debating Club, scheduled for this Thursday, are to be devoted. One reason why PRON has not become a movement is connected to the fact that it has not become a party for negotiations. As a matter of fact PRON involves the people who are friendly toward the authorities and help them while it was supposed also to involve those who are critical of the authorities. But those have failed to come.

Question: The friendly can also be critical.

Answer: Yes, but those who I am thinking of are severe critics with different views. Why haven't they come?

This is connected to the problem of the organization of the PRON leadership and the adoption of the wrong model for its structure. The distinction between PRON and the state authorities became blurred when members of the state leadership became members of the PRON leadership at the same time. This fact has diminished the credibility of some PRON appeals to the authorities.

For instance, PRON was designed at first as an element for reform of the system. But in my opinion it has become an element of the system. Changes taking place in the system are not a product of discussions or negotiations conducted by PRON but are introduced by the authorities themselves.

In addition to the many useful projects which I have discussed already, many activities multiply which are only window-dressing and people are repelled by them. At the same time, at lower levels, as polls indicate, some local party and administration authorities seem to have concluded that PRON's role ended after the electoral victory.

Question: And what does the report you mentioned at the beginning apply to?

Answer: The report first and foremost deals with the national reconciliation, how advanced is it, what new trends are emerging, and how are people's attitudes changing. The report concludes that PRON should not be the only platform for agreement. Formerly, the dominating trend was that PRON should hold the monopoly for agreement, while currently the dominating opinion is that PRON alone will not succeed in this role, and other platforms for agreement independent of PRON should emerge. The report is founded on more than 20 polls conducted by various public opinion polling centers.

Organizational changes can only be introduced at the PRON Congress in 2 years' time, but both at the PRON National Council's and at the Central Debating Club's meetings we want to clarify what is necessary to change PRON's conception and its methods of operation, in order to enable it to fulfill its functions more effectively, including its role in socially and politically activating members of the nonaggressive opposition not directed against the system. There are fears that if this is not done, PRON, a useful movement, will not develop and press for modernization of Poland's sociopolitical system. Neither will it give persons outside parties and organizations a chance to politically influence the flow of events, thus failing to achieve PRON's main target.

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PRON DEFENDED IN INTERVIEW

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 85 p 1

[Interview with Professor Jerzy Ozdowski by Alicja Matynia-Bonik]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY: How do you perceive PRON's future, Professor? ZYCIE WARSZAWY has recently published an interview which indicated that PRON was more of an organization than a movement.

Professor Jerzy Ozdowski: It is too early for comprehensive assessments. We should bear in mind the situation in which PRON emerged and the fact that it had to search for its own principles of operation, while pursuing important and ambitious targets: agreement, revival and progress in democratizing the system of power in Poland. Let us recall the origins of the movement. It emerged spontaneously from the Civic Committees of National Salvation (OKON). It is our duty to do all that is possible to support good causes and strengthen the trends which arise from the wishes of the public.

PRON played a positive role not only in preparing the elections to people's councils and the Sejm, but also in direct social and interpersonal relations, linking various initiatives which emerged on a regional or national scale. PRON is a very broad movement, open to diverse approaches. It constitutes a bridge facilitating the flow of information from the public to the authorities, and also a platform upon which the authorities can present their point of view to the public. This notion of a bridge perhaps best suits the trends of the people, who first set up OKON Committees and then the advanced forms of activity which took shape as PRON bodies. The more flexible PRON is, i.e., the better it reacts to the changing situation in Poland, the better it will play its role, because the past does not determine the future.

So PRON should be treated dynamically, as a movement created by Poles who were guided by civic concern. The more searching that is carried out, based on the Constitution, but at the same time open to public needs, aspirations and hopes, the better for PRON in meeting its tasks formulated at the First Congress during the next 4 years.

We are only half-way through this 4-year period, and we are continually searching for methods which must be adapted to the tasks facing Poles in the late 1980's in the sphere of dialogue, shaping approaches and behavior, and in the area of national agreement.

Perhaps PRON could have done more, could have been more effective, could have been a more active movement in some sectors of national life. But its achievements are--I will not hesitate to say it--historic. PRON was an innovatory movement and I hope it will remain a movement shaping the climate in which Poles can be brought together and strengthened in their daily concern for public affairs. PRON described itself as a movement, but not a mass movement, which would authorize its political role by quantitative results.

ZW: Some say that PRON is a part of the authorities and not the authorities' partner. What do you think?

Ozdowski: I became involved in this movement early, when answers or defined main ideas were not available. PRON was to be a movement proposing initiatives, acting as a patron, supporting proposals serving national agreement. This was clearly defined in the declaration issued by PRON signatories on 20 July 1982. This declaration provided acceptance for everything that joins Poles, for all the supreme values, which comprise a collective and individual obligation to serve for our state's common good. This declaration strongly emphasized the double openness of the movement--both to social aspirations and to public affairs presented by the state authorities. It prescribed what patriotism should be today, patriotism expressed in thoughts and actions.

A search for agreement between all who accept the constitutional principles of social life and are guided by the Polish raison d'etat makes PRON an opinion-forming movement, which does not strive for monopoly for social initiatives, but on the contrary, supports these initiatives and various forms of society's self-organization. PRON is not the authorities' institution, but a platform from which to influence the authorities and society.

As I have said, PRON plays two important roles: that of a two-way bridge between the government and society, and a promoter of processes of society's self-organization. And this is what we, PRON activists, should be accountable for. It is a pity that the ideological value of the principles defined in the declaration and PRON Congress' resolutions have not been fully used.

ZW: Why?

Ozdowski: We live in a civilization of pictures, not written words. People do not read enough, they have not examined the documents adopted at the PRON Congress, for instance. This is very important, because it is difficult to propagate values without knowing ideas, which are the main spur of action.

ZW: The need persists for politically activating the passive part of society, and also the antistate opposition. But these people remain outside the PRON movement.

Ozdowski: Right from the outset we strongly emphasized that we are open to all who in the thick of the storm would like to make efforts to save their homeland. PRON was and has remained an invitation to all who feel responsible for the Poles' future. One thought included in the declaration is particularly important: "In work for Poland, there should be no divisions into PZPR members and others, into believers and nonbelievers." We have no desire to discriminate against anyone who bases himself on the Polish Constitution and is willing to participate in the movement in the name of the supreme good, the good of all Poles. We addressed our declarations and appeals with vigor to all who had become lost and passive during the crisis, and remained alienated. We are continually turning to all guided by the love of their homeland and believe that our activists should be involved in social matters, ready to object to all that is evil or leads to evil. We do not wish to be a movement of conformists. We do not wish to produce people who resort to evasion and blindly copy others.

Believers predominate in Polish society, hence the July declaration and the program adopted at the congress were addressed to Catholics and Poles representing other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions. It was an innovation that PRON signatories, in addition to the PZPR and political alliances, included three associations of Catholics and Christians. We asked believers not belonging to any civic organization to join PRON. The July declaration emphasized the great authority of the Catholic Church and the need for dialogue between the state authorities and the Roman Catholic Episcopate. This invitation has to a large extent been well received.

The basis of such openness to the masses of Polish Catholics was PRON's recognition of the great role of the Catholic Church is shaping Polish history, protecting our national identity and educating believers in the spirit of responsibility for the good of the homeland. PRON became an opportunity for Catholics to have greater involvement in promoting ethical attitudes in national life. Catholic social thought is close to the idea of revival and national agreement in that it promotes truth, justice, love, and freedom--the four pillars of social peace.

A new formula of meetings for exchanges of thought and initiative called the Forum of Catholic Social Thought was set up for Catholics who do not belong to civic organizations. In 1983-85 we met many times to examine and put into practice the ideas contained in the social teaching of the church, and in particular in the documents of Vatican II and the teaching of Pope John Paul II. Here are a few of the forum's leading topics: the guidelines stemming from the teaching on peace, the civic duties of lay Catholics, work ethics, forms of family assistance, moral revival as the basis of national agreement, and the role of Polish lay Catholics with regard to the Sejm elections.

The above topics were examined practically, searching for conclusions that can be drawn from the church's social teachings for the good of the Polish people. Strong emphasis was laid on agreement and unity among Poles, in accordance with Pope John Paul II's words: "Unity is a meeting in truth and love."

ZW: What is the scope of the Forum of Catholic Social Thought?

Ozdowski: Hundreds of people arrive from all over Poland. Thoughts were expressed freely. Constructive criticism is also heard.

I wish to stress that PRON faces the opportunity to shape public opinion and consciousness without being a mass movement.

The idea of telling Poles that the situation is worse than it is in fact is just as discouraging as overoptimistic assessments. Our movement demands open statements. Some, however, see nothing but fault, failing to perceive the good sides. I believe that confidence should not be allowed to vanish in spite of obstacles and difficulties. Such an approach makes one energetic and strengthens persistence.

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MIODOWICZ ON OPZZ AT FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman, by Romana Kalecka: "A Year After"]

[Excerpts] Nearly a year has passed since the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] was set up in Bytom. The group of deputies recommended by trade unions which sits in the Polish Sejm is the strongest in the postwar period and the OPZZ chairman is now a Council of State member.

There is no office of minister for trade unions in the newly formed government. This means that a certain stage has been closed in the trade union movement's operation and also that the movement has become a lasting element of the state's sociopolitical structure. PAP asked OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz for more detail on the subject.

PAP: What is your assessment of the first stage of the OPZZ work?

Alfred Miodowicz: It can be assessed from two angles. For the OPZZ Council and the Executive Committee, this was a period of intense activity in order to make sure that none of the first assembly's accomplishments were lost, and so that the OPZZ could come up to public expectations. We were also preoccupied with organizational matters, including the OPZZ statutes, its legal status and also, with taking over the former trade unions' assets. We must use these assets very economically and this is not easy given the OPZZ's modest income which comes only from the voluntary contributions of trade union federations.

As for trade union members, however, this period has left them with a feeling of anxiety and doubt as to whether the organization will be in a position to protect the living standards of working people. It is a fact that some improvement in the consumer market has been observed, although this is accompanied by alarmingly high price increases. Summing up, the progress achieved during this year generally fell short of public expectations.

Question: Did you start any important ventures?

Answer: The unquestioned successes of the OPZZ include the priority the housing question has received, although so far this has happened only in the sphere of propaganda. In order to pilot the issue in accordance with public expectations, the OPZZ leadership resolved to take part in the National Housing Council. So, it is advantageous to us that after the most recent cabinet reshuffle, all the problems relating to housing are concentrated in one hand.

The government's decision to abandon the practice of embarking, at the beginning of each year, upon major price increase operations is another of our achievements. The planners seem to be finally aware of the fact that a price policy cannot amount to a random operation carried out in isolation from an income and in particular a wage policy, which has to be tied closely to productivity rates.

We have also succeeded in persuading the central state administration to agree to introduce new collective agreements beginning next year, which are supposed to ensure that wages are tied closer to the results of work.

We have also frequently spoken out about the, often very dramatic, situation of pensioners who have worked for the country most of their lives and who are entitled to decent financial conditions on account of their ZUS [National Insurance Board] contributions, if for no other reason. Due to our determined position on this issue, the problem has now become one of the most urgent; it cannot be resolved without amendments to the relevant legislation.

Our major accomplishments also include the return of our trade union movement to the World Trade Union Federation--the greatest international trade union organization in the world in which Poland had been active for 40 years now.

Question: What kind of questions are still at a stalemate?

Answer: We have problems trying to execute the demands regarding the establishment of a minimum standard of living as a starting point for the pursuit of a reasonable social policy. This is why it is essential for us to determine our own position on this issue.

Question: There must be something wrong with the system of cooperation with the government. Recently nothing has been heard about government-trade unions negotiations. Could they possibly be limited to behind-closed-doors talks?

Answer: The government's Committee for Trade Unions was a good cooperation platform at a time when our movement was being reborn, when the first federations were being formed. Today, there is mainly a need for negotiations on strictly economic matters and, in this respect, the present contacts are inadequate. If these were behind-closed-doors contacts they would permit discussion. As it is, there are only contacts of a formal nature. Out of the many government-union bodies established half a year ago, only one seems to still function normally, the one in charge of the money supply--consumer market equilibrium.

I cannot imagine the future government-trade union contacts being limited only to the sectoral and ministerial level. It is the trade union movement's statutory right to express its opinion on matters of crucial importance to the working majority. This is why there is an urgent need for a central platform for the exchange of opinions in the form of periodic meetings between the government Presidium and the OPZZ Executive Committee Presidium. The first meeting should be devoted to next year's price policy obviously within the Central Annual Plan limits. The question involving the extension of working time in certain enterprises should also be urgently raised; it is quite understandable that such a possibility could have been considered for a 3-year period, up to the end of this year. However, people should understand the reasons why the relevant regulations were to be extended. It is enterprises themselves which ought to take decisions to this effect should the necessity arise, provided they are able to provide people with a job to do in the extended working time, and, provided their work force agrees to such a solution.

Question: Let's pass on to another matter. Trade unionists' presence in parliament is seen by some people as the trade union movement being incorporated in the state authorities' structures.

Answer: I am aware of these doubts. However, already during the meeting in Bytom the opinion prevailed that trade unions must have an influence on whatever is going on in the Sejm. We could choose between becoming an outside pressure group, or kind of a union lobby within the Sejm. As a trade union movement of a class character, we have chosen to demonstrate our responsibility for our socialist state, and our presence within the supreme state authority. As a result of the election campaign, during which the trade union movement displayed exceptional activity, 52 candidates recommended by the movement were elected Sejm deputies.

"Our" people operate primarily in those Sejm commissions which draft decisions regarding matters of the utmost importance to working people, including social policy, national education, youth, housing, environmental protection, economic planning, the budget and finance.

We are also in the process of organizing a group of trade union-recommended deputies to operate within the PZPR Sejm caucus, but it will be open also for deputies from other political alliances.

Question: Won't such a location of this group limit the independence of trade union-recommended deputies?

Answer: I do not think so, at least, not after our past experiences. I hope for sharp clashes of opinions and for heated discussions during the meetings of the Ninth Sejm's commissions, and also during plenary sittings, as we represent different points of view on the methods of reaching the same overriding goals. We also hope for understanding from trade union members who consider the protection of the working people's interests to be their chief duty, even if this duty is conceived subjectively.

Question: And how do you, an active trade union leader, feel as a Council of State member?

Answer: I see this as a consquence of the fact that I represent trade unions at the Sejm and also an expression of recognition for an organization numbering 5.6 million. This has nothing to do with being incorporated in the central administration apparatus. The Council of State supervises the operation of people's councils, has an influence on law and order in the country, including the exercising of social justice, and on many other matters of crucial importance to working people, and--which is particularly significant--has legislative prerogatives.

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SECOND NATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE BEGINS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Nov 85 p 1

[Excerpts] PAP--On 27 November, the Second All-Poland Party Ideological Conference opens in Warsaw to discuss the PZPR draft program.

The meeting will be attended by about 500 delegates, including party activists, researchers, scholars, experts in Marxist ideology, and members of the Editorial Board for the PZPR Program.

Taking part are also representatives of major industrial plants, representatives of large civic and political organizations, trade unions, literary and artistic communities, and journalists.

The main objective of the meeting is to discuss the draft PZPR program and, against this background, key problems involved in the policy pursued by the party. The conference is taking place at a time particularly significant to the organization, on the eve of the campaign preceding the 10th PZPR Congress.

Based on class and ideological unity of the party, the Ninth Congress resolution states that the program should spell out the goals of socialism, specify long-term guidelines for socioeconomic development and for improving socialist democracy in Poland, and lay down tasks for the party and the methods of exercising its leading role in Polish society.

The work on the draft program is still in progress and it is extremely comprehensive; proposals and suggestions regarding the document have been forwarded within the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission and during PZPR Central Committee plenary meetings, including those devoted to the joint PZPR-ZSL agricultural policy, and to specific questions such as methods of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, the working class' role in the party and in the state, problems faced by the younger generation, the role of the intelligentsia in socialist development, tasks for the party in strengthening the state, in developing socialist democracy, in consolidating law and order and in enhancing social discipline.

In accordance with the position taken in March last year during the National PZPR Delegate Conference, the draft program, supplemented with conclusions from nationwide party discussion and from consultations held within local party organizations, and subsequently endorsed by the Central Committee, should be submitted to PZPR delegates before the 10th PZPR Congress.

The conference will be held at two levels: on the plenary forum and, simultaneously, within eight problem groups whose terms of reference correspond to the subject--matters discussed in individual chapters of the draft PZPR program. The debates will last for 2 days.

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IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE REPORTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28-29 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The Second All-Poland Ideological Conference of the PZPR was held in Warsaw on 27-28 November. The debates were attended by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and members of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat. The conference was called to discuss the PZPR's draft program.

In all, the conference was attended by 500 people--party activists, academics and experts in both theory and practice, and also representatives of the biggest factories, of mass organizations and trade unions, and of cultural milieux and the media.

Opening the conference, Jozef Czyrek recalled that the first ideological conference held 3 years ago had mapped out the tasks facing the party in its ideological work during the period of emerging from the worst phase of the crisis. It contributed a great deal to the consolidation of ideological unity and the strengthening of the party, he said.

"Today the situation is qualitatively different, both in the party and in society as a whole. However, this is not to say that the importance of the party's ideological work has diminished; on the contrary, the tasks it faces have become even more demanding. One such strategic task is for the 10th Congress to draw up the party's new program."

The conference was later addressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski then presented a report on the programs of the PZPR's sister communist parties and the conclusions to be drawn from them. He pointed out that "in a world characterized by class divisions, there is an objective need for close cooperation between the socialist nations and states to solve the crucial problems of internal development and of our foreign and defense policies, for socialist economic integration, for a broadening of cultural exchange and for a consolidation of our understanding of the community of the ideological aims and historic destiny of the socialist nations and states.

"The recently published draft of the new CPSU program, which sets out guidelines for developing socialism in the new and higher stages of communist construction, is an important document both politically and theoretically for the world working class movement, and especially for the socialist system. Work on the revised draft programs of the CPSU and the PZPR has been going on in parallel, yet independently.

"In their draft programs, both parties put emphasis on similar themes, namely, on economic efficiency, especially the progress of the scientific and technological revolution and the revolution in management techniques, on the need for a constant deepening of socialist democracy, on the development of fully humanistic interpersonal relations, in line with the immense possibilities opened up by our system on the importance of the unity of the socialist community and on the strengthening of the international solidarity of working people in the struggle for peace and social progress."

The conference then split up into eight working groups to examine individual chapters of the PZPR program.

Reports on the work of individual groups were presented on the second day of the conference.

Many valuable remarks were then submitted during the plenary debate. Speakers voiced the view that the draft program presented to the conference provides a good basis for further work on this important document. The important thing is to make sure that the proposals included in the PZPR program stand the test of practice, withstanding external and internal pressures and satisfying the needs and aspirations of the working class, the main force of the nation. It was strongly emphasized that the political philosophy of this document must express the desire for a creative continuation of the proven line of the Ninth Congress, the line of struggle, conciliation, and socialist reforms.

The discussion was summed up by Politburo alternate Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the Editorial Commission responsible for the draft PZPR program. He pointed out that 120 speakers had taken the floor in working groups and at the plenary sessions, and 36 more had submitted statements to be entered in the minutes. He added that the problems raised at the conference often transcended the scope of the program itself.

Orzechowski also voiced the view that, unlike similar party documents in the past, this program must answer the challenge of modern times.

Jozef Czyrek, who was the last speaker, emphasized the significance of the conference for the discussion of the party program. He said the conclusions from the conference would be analyzed by the Politburo, which would then pass on its instructions to the Editorial Commission. Thus amended, especially taking into account the remarks contained in the speech by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, the draft program is to be submitted to the Central Committee, which will decide on presenting it to the party and to society as a whole.

Jozef Czyrek emphasized that the course of the discussion demonstrated how badly it had been needed to improve the draft program further. "From this point of view, the conference lived up to the hopes we had placed in it."

Jozef Czyrek then pointed out--as Wojciech Jaruzelski had emphasized: "The PZPR program must be the work of the whole party, not just of party academics working in their cozy offices, and it must reflect the collective wisdom and experience of the whole party. We need a program that will receive the support and trust of the working class and of all working people in Poland."

Czyrek then stressed that the discussion on the draft program would be an important element of the precongress campaign and should enliven the ideological life of the party. It should confirm the importance of the party's ideological work for the successful implementation of the line of the Ninth Congress and, most important, strengthen the unity of the party on the basis of joint assessment and a joint selection of the principal lines of development of society and of the state, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism is a live and creative ideology which provides the basis for the working class, led by the party, to build a system of social justice.

The party intends to present this program for the development of our socialist homeland to the whole nation, in the conviction that the necessary conditions have already been created for overcoming the difficulties and dangers and facing the challenges on which development depends. We have to attain a rate of development that will make the country strong while ensuring the just and democratic character of social relations, strengthening our economic and cultural potential, and helping Poland to regain full respect in the world and resume a significant role in the international life." [quotation marks as published]

Jozef Czyrek expressed the belief that the broadest possible discussion of the draft program would constitute an important new step in expanding national conciliation. "For this conciliation, for the bonds between the party and society, nothing can be more important than agreement as to the direction in which we want to proceed, what we want to achieve, and what we want to concentrate our efforts around."

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COLUMNIST BLASTS ATTACKS ON PRIVATE HOUSING INITIATIVES

Warsaw VETO in Polish 3 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Scorpio: "Being and Consciousness"]

[Text] I have for a long time felt certain that the press published outside Warsaw is an endless source of true information about our country. I was not, therefore, surprised to learn from GAZETA KRAKOWSKA No 210 of 9 September that "nothing and nobody was spared" during the last public discussions. This catchy phrase headlined a report by two GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reporters, Mr E. Cegla and Mr S. Rydza, who summed up the subject matter of these meetings. Everyone knows that many diverse proposals and postulates are made at meetings and during discussions, and they include just ideas as well as totally irresponsible opinions. The reporters' role is to collect these proposals, select, and publicize them. GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reporters met this task with ardor. Let us quote:

"A lot of dissatisfaction among city residents, especially young people, stems from the housing situation and municipal undertakings. The public predominantly agrees with the opinion of the All-Poland Trades Union Alliance (OPZZ) that only radical solutions which change the entire housing system will bring about the desired results..."

What are these radical solutions to consist of, ask impatient readers. The answer comes immediately:

"A lot of criticism was heard of social injustice in cities and villages, tolerance of nouveaux riche schemers who own several apartments and are often protected by a special social status, and the antisocial attitude of thousands of private farmers, whose beautiful new houses stand vacant waiting for their children or grandchildren in 10 or 20 years from now, while modest and honest people wait for a place to live, often in tragic conditions. After all, these beautiful villas are constructed from materials and equipment in short supply. If only some of these houses could be let out for teachers, doctors, veterinarians, and other specialists badly needed in villages, the problem would be partially solved."

End of quotation, perhaps too lengthy anyway, but one which precisely explains how GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reporters think the housing problem in Poland should be solved. I doubt that the essence of the new OPZZ proposals expected with great impatience will offer the same solution.

I must admit the above ideas did not come as a surprise to me. A return to obligatory housing management and the depriving of upstarts of their fortune corresponds to the consciousness of the Polish public, especially as there is a precedent for such an operation, although it led to a total ruin of housing resources, as has often been mentioned in the Sejm and at various meetings devoted to the need to salvage the housing situation from total devastation. Those willing to distribute other people's property think that joint ownership is a higher form than private ownership as long as this does not involve their personal property. Arguments in favor of doctors and veterinarians are always available. Let us note that according to these supporters of social justice, the very fact that "mean schemers" build houses for their children and grandchildren, using their own money, is highly censurable. It is socially just, however, for the state to allocate apartments to citizens for a fraction of their value, financing the remaining part from the state budget, i.e., from taxes paid by the whole of society.

The approach of peasants is particularly blameworthy. Instead of wearing rags, feeding on pigweed and living in mud huts, this greedy class of land owners has built for itself houses with toilets and bathrooms from bricks which are in short supply. There were plenty of bricks in Poland as long as private brick-kilns existed, but these were shut down and are now impossible to rebuild in spite of the most lenient--according to the finance minister--tax system in Europe. But then who cares about facts? Although housing construction run by the state is clearly insufficient to meet the needs and it is even difficult to determine how long one must wait for an apartment, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reporters propose a fast and radical solution to housing shortages. First we should promote private housing construction--let various naive guys full of energy and loaded with money build their own houses, villas, palaces, and residences, and then extra residents can be assigned to these houses, thus eliminating the owners' status of kulaks, and absolutely everyone will have an equal share, because this, as we know, is the essence of social justice. And besides, everyone will be living in a villa, and not in an apartment house.

This is no joke. On 9 September, ZYCIE WARSZAWY published the results of public opinion polls on the consciousness of Poles. Only half of the respondents thought that the employees of prosperous enterprises should earn more than those working in a firm which loses money, and manufactures bad products which do not sell. When asked who should be given more money--those who work best and help the economy, or those with the lowest earnings, only 30 percent of respondents thought good workers should be rewarded! In reply to another question, over 60 percent of respondents said that the state, and not individuals, should secure the people's well-being, which proves that an overwhelming majority does not wish to do any extra work and thinks the state should divide national income so as to ensure that the more efficient workers support the lazy ones. Finally, the respondents were asked if they would rather have a state in which incomes are similar for all, and there are no rich and no poor, or one in which success depends on energy and enterprise; a great majority opted for the former version, once again confirming the truth of an anecdote about a cauldron of hell filled with Poles, which does not have to be guarded, because anyone seeking to escape will immediately be pulled back in by his fellows.

The above polls were made to determine whether or not the social consciousness of the Polish public indicates a readiness for the economic stagnation and leveling differences to the lowest level, must be replaced by rewarding the efficient and the educated and those with enterprise. Unfortunately, there is nothing to indicate that the public has any concept at all of rewarding achievement, good work, invention, organizational innovation, etc. Worship of mediocrity cultivated in public consciousness for years is hard to get rid of. The public refuses to accept the fact that some are more diligent, more talented or better educated than others. This can be seen from the monthly salary supplement paid to those who have a PhD, or know foreign languages; these supplements are only enough to pay for a few bottles of beer. The public criticizes miners for working weekends and earning more than the national average, farmers for the fact that their crops grow when they are asleep, or sailors for getting ridiculously low expense allowances, but paid in dollars.

This is a purely Polish phenomenon. All over the world people would like to work less and earn more, but they understand that better and more diligent work means higher pay and better living conditions. It is only in Poland that anyone who is better off is considered a personal enemy, and one can get away with calling such people schemers, dodgers, and nouveaux riches, although Polish society was leveled economically in 1945 and the present differences between two farmers with equal plots of land result primarily from work and good management, or waste and drunkenness. With only a few exceptions, the current differences between the living conditions of families--in cities too--stem not from their ownership of prewar capital or property, but from the families' work and achievements in our socioeconomic system. The concept of continually improved social justice, which is not interested in greater production outputs, but in taking things from others, does not bring hope for more products or for implementing the economic reform.

The opinion seems to be spreading that our crisis is neither economic nor social, but first and foremost a crisis of will, intelligence, and a desire to overcome the crisis, linked to hope that someone will solve the problem for us, work a miracle, and give us success and prosperity as a gift. Unfortunately, so far no society representing such a passive approach has ever overcome a crisis.

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COLUMNIST BEMOANS STATE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Dec 85 pp 1, 10

[Article by Jerzy Topolski: "Historical Science's Needs and Possibilities: A Sense of Doom"]

[Excerpts] History is one area rather conspicuous on the map of research activity in Poland. During the past 40 years, historical researchers have explored different events of the nation's past in more and more detail, which, incidentally, is in line both with the more general world trend in historiography as well as with the needs of Polish historical research. Many very significant scholarly discussions have been held during the past 40-year period which cast a better light on some major moments in Poland's national history.

One important feature of Polish historiography in the postwar period has been its ability to combine case studies with generalizing syntheses. Simultaneously with this particular kind of research, Polish historians have been engaged in theoretical and methodological studies. Polish history can be said to have won a lot of prestige in the community of historians worldwide on account of this general line of research work. Polish historical studies have been translated into foreign languages more and more often.

The development of historical research in this country has resulted in the appearance of the term "the Polish historical school" and its relatively high rank in world historiography. The prominent modern historian, Professor Arnaldo Momigliano in his 1979 review of world historiographical accomplishments, named Poland as among the three leaders in historiography in the world--next to the French and American historiographies--praising it for the variety of inspirations it displays. Whether or not this particular ranking is legitimate, it is unquestionable that Polish historical research has won a strong position both in the international community and among different research disciplines inside Poland.

The latest crisis found Polish historical research with considerable intellectual potential and high prestige both at home and abroad. While the overall slide in living standards instantly created the same difficulties for historians as for other people, research activity, preparation of studies for print, research planning, and even efforts to establish new contacts for research cooperation, all remains as vigorous as before. I am underlining this to reject the occasional charges which imply that research activity has generally declined in Poland's universities.

Checks

Having said all this, I have to say now that I see flourishing historical research in Poland facing a period of various checks which are likely to block its development in the future, and that in my view its prospects for the future strongly depend on the extent to which these checking mechanisms will be weakened or neutralized. Although different difficulties appeared before, it is in recent years that the above-mentioned mechanisms have been multiplying dangerously, creating multiple hazards for the future and making historians fear for the future of historical research.

The worst of these recent developments is the limited potential for publishing historical studies and the prospects in this area. The situation is particularly bad as far as the printing of books is concerned. Whereas in 1980 more than 4,000 scholarly works appeared in Poland, only some 2,300 appeared in 1983. The backlog of historical books at publishing houses, research institutes, and universities waiting for publication has been growing, while journals have been appearing far behind schedule. Historical studies need first to appear in print before their full value can be assessed by reviewers. In a letter I recently received from a research institute I read: "If a journal takes 2 years to appear in print, does it make any sense to write reviews or polemics if the entire span of time from a book's appearance until a reply to the reviews can appear can grow to some 5 years?" This may well be one of the chief reasons for the evident decline of scholarly criticism and discussion.

Foreign Contacts

No less dramatic is the slide in possibilities for contacts with foreign historical research centers. As such two-way contacts have long been very close, the community of historians is particularly upset over the growing difficulties in this respect. Above all, the already small flow of foreign publications to Poland has decreased to a trickle. Some historical institutes have been barred from buying even a single publication for convertible currency in recent years.

As for trips abroad, because Polish institutions are now virtually devoid of all funds for financing such trips, Polish historians have become almost entirely dependent on foreign research centers in this respect. The latter should be thanked sincerely, for their invitations enable Polish historians to maintain foreign contacts thus acquainting themselves with foreign research and "exporting" their own research results. However, as things are now the Polish historical community is unable to draw up any sensible plans for training researchers, especially young ones, in foreign centers.

Whereas Poland's current economic troubles make any significant early change for the better a remote possibility, expanding the above-mentioned "export" of Polish historical studies seems a more feasible possibility. Apart from sporadic studies appearing in foreign languages, the historical community has managed to found both ACTA POLONIAE HISTORICA and STUDIA HISTORIAE OECONOMICAE as regular collections of studies designed to keep foreign historians informed about Polish historical research, as well as POLISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY (issued by the Polish Historical Society together with the Polish Academy of Sciences Historical Committee) as a series of translations of original Polish studies. But each of these series is facing serious difficulties.

Financial Plight

Generally, Polish historical research is on its way toward isolation from world historiography, chiefly because of its financial plight. This continuing and aggravating process is in itself painful, but the fact that contacts established previously are being lost while practically no possibilities exist for any sensible planning in this area is no less distressing. It has already become difficult to finance Polish historians' trips to attend international congresses.

Another of the checking mechanisms to be mentioned is the overall shortage of funds for financing collective research undertakings. These projects are now quite common in different countries as a good way of arriving at more general results than an individual student is able to produce in isolation. Funds are drawn from different sources in these countries (say, from various endowments), and the amount of money assigned for such projects seems to be growing generally. In contrast to this, Polish historians unfortunately see the amount of funds for collective research undertakings diminishing. Policies in this respect should be more favorable for this kind of research, provided that they do not get bogged down in red tape. Maybe a special fund should be created for financing research projects proposed by historians (perhaps of a similar type to the Mianowski Endowment)?

Parochialism

Another distressing development to mention is the growing parochialism, or marginality, of historical research in Poland. This process has become particularly aggressive recently, presenting a danger not only to small research centers but even to the largest ones. The inept foundation of new colleges in Poland, along with the practically nonexistent horizontal mobility of researchers--which elsewhere is a major motive force of progress in research--has resulted in what is a caricature. Try to envisage the life of a historian who stays in some provincial institution bearing the name of an academic center in its designation, who publishes solely in the local journal and has no ambition to explore anything above regional facts. Constant movement of researchers from lesser to more prestigious centers or, if they fail to prove themselves, their elimination from the race, should be a matter of principle. Needless to say, this should hold not only for the small centers. But the general shortage of material facilities (apartments, the cost of living in general) pushes such an ideal picture of research activity virtually to the realms of utopia.

Senior Lecturers a Nuisance

Much the same is true of attracting young talented people to historical research. The chief obstacles in this case include the shortage of new posts as well as the above-mentioned immobility of staff. The overall degradation of the intelligentsia's prestige and the growing hardships of day-to-day life, especially for the young, are extra factors making any effort to follow any sensible personnel policy in historical research futile. Since universities must combine their personnel policies with training tasks, the resulting employment structure is gradually becoming a pyramid turned upside down, for young researchers constitute a decreasing proportion of the staff. As for older researchers, we are now at the stage of an exchange of generations. Outstanding historians of the older generation are leaving to make room for others who do not always match their predecessors in scholarly quality. There is the problem of senior lecturers [adiunkci], those who have been condescendingly allowed to stay at the universities after the new law on higher education took effect and who often do most of the teaching while coping with everyday hardships and bowed under by the weight of the obligatory dissertation they are required to write for the degree of assistant professor [praca habilitacyjna].

The parochialism of historical research is deepened not only by the general immobility of personnel or the retirement of outstanding researchers but also by the long-standing inadequacy of the material base. By now it no longer suffices to talk about continuing shortages of basic equipment (e.g., copiers); we should be entering the microchip revolution in historical research. Libraries and archives should be modernized as a matter of urgency.

To get a true picture of the situation, we ought to realize that historical research has been going through something like a revolution in the past few decades, traditional historiography is being supplemented by factual historiography, explanatory historiography, and theoretical historiography. This is not to say that traditional historiography, which basically establishes facts, is going to be superseded by the new model. The point is that this new model has been increasingly a yardstick of progress in historical research and a condition for the true description (mainly explanation) of the past. This new model has been more and more obvious a fact both in Marxist and non-Marxist research. In Poland, Jan Rutkowski paved the way for this, and later Witold Kula and Henryk Lowmianski did the same. Elsewhere this new type of historiography has been practiced by people such as Fernand Braudel, Miroslaw Hroch, Ivan Kovalchenko, Aron Gurevich, and Jurgen Kocka. This model typically seeks to base research on theoretical concepts.

While Polish historiography is of a good professional quality, it is also, as in most of the world, predominantly traditional (as it establishes facts). It has the potential needed to keep step with the leaders in this area in the march toward the new model, but it must commit itself to a long and arduous effort to build a theoretical foundation. Unless this kind of work is undertaken, Polish historiography is likely to fall increasingly behind, perhaps not in quantitative terms but in its scholarly quality, especially compared with the rapid progress now being made in world historiography.

Theory Inadequate

One may ask why it has happened that Polish historiography, which benefited so much from applications of Marxism in the first postwar decade, is now suffering from inadequate theoretical foundations, despite its considerable quantitative growth? The answer is actually simple. The assault launched by dogmaticians--which called forth a reaction in 1956, among other things--was responsible for the fact that Marxism's influence on historical research confined itself practically to the choice of research method. Marxism then inspired many historians to study the masses--peasants and the working class--class struggle in urban and rural areas, etc. However, no remarkable progress was made in applications of Marxist theory to more involved questions, and especially to historical explanation. Being a Marxist in historical research amounted basically to endorsing a definite ideological or political attitude rather than to demonstrating one's commitment to Marxist theory and method.

This particular approach to historical materialism had different consequences. It deprived historical studies of all theoretical foundation because, apart from Marxism, no other specific theory was proposed. Instead, students invoked some isolated general propositions of no specific affiliation, or else, especially in historical studies of recent events (mainly of developments in People's Poland), they sat down to work with some preconceived ideas which their empirical material was supposed only to substantiate. In this way, many studies--say, on the history of the Polish working class movement--amounted to attaching selected facts to some preconceived contention. Needless to say, such practices always implied a certain amount of self-censorship, a deliberate ambiguity of some terms, and so on. It is also increasingly obvious that, in the light of later research, the history of socialist Poland will have to be written anew from the beginning, with many earlier studies being useful only as auxiliary materials or as models of how historical studies should not be written.

There are many more reasons for ambitious Polish historiography to work out solid theoretical foundations for itself. Theory is the main frame of reference permitting an all-embracing analysis of the historical process, that is, by relying on good theory historians can eventually overcome the divergent approach to the past which is so typical of Polish historiography. Only in this way can they overcome the opposition between micro- and macrohistory and that between factual description and theoretical explanation.

Gaps, Ambiguities

Apart from the necessity of creating foundations for solid theory and method, without which traditional historical research may find it difficult to overstep the interpretation barrier of ordinary day-to-day experience, historians must realize that the picture of our country's past they are reconstructing is full of gaps and ambiguities. This holds not only for the description of facts but mainly for the truth that without certain kinds of new research it will be impossible to provide any systematic explanation. Thus, to explain human actions (of individuals, groups, classes, etc.), that is, to account for the process of "making" history by people, it is necessary to reconstruct motivational structures, and hence primarily different forms of awareness of cultural patterns. It is through such studies that history can join directly in the resolution of practical tasks.

Historians in future studies should rely more heavily on all kinds of comparative research, which implies they should expand their own work on world history. Social history should continue to attract the interest of researchers, while the decline of research in economic history must be halted. Synthesizing studies, the most difficult of all historical research, should continue to be undertaken. Such studies put historical events into their global perspective and give an idea of how well a given matter has been explored. Synthesizing studies in the new model should concentrate primarily on explanation. This would make society more familiar with its own history and enhance the potential influence historiography may have on education.

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WALESA ATTACKED FOR BORDER STATEMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Dec 85 p 7

[Text] PAP--Lech Walesa gave a joint interview to the West German weekly VORWAERTS and the ultraconservative daily DIE WELT.

One question, and in particular one answer, were of exceptional interest. The question was: "What do you think of the discussion continually instigated in West Germany on the issue of Poland's western border?" Walesa's reply: "I am and shall always remain a Pole. I am a trade unionist, however, and not a politician, so I don't want to speak out on the matter."

What can you say to that? We all know that Walesa, although he assures us he is only a trade unionist, talks to the Western press on every topic on earth. He thinks he can and should do this. And then he considers himself incompetent to speak out on a subject about which every Pole should feel competent to talk!

During his recent visit to Rome, Jozef Cardinal Glemp--not a trade unionist--spoke on the matter unambiguously in the presence of West German cardinals.

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URBAN DEFENDS HIGHER EDUCATION PERSONNEL CHANGES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 85 pp 1, 5

[Report on Jerzy Urban, government spokesman, regular weekly news conference; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] "There is one problem which must be discussed at greater length," he [Urban] continued. "I promised I would discuss personnel changes at universities and colleges, about which you asked me last week, today.

"The fact that the ministers supervising universities and colleges recalled some rectors, deputy rectors, deans, and heads of other university organizations should not have surprised anybody. Last year the Government Sociopolitical Committee issued a report on the situation at universities and colleges. That was a critical report. The negative aspects of their performance were discussed at a PZPR plenum devoted to the problems of the intelligentsia. The Sejm also extensively discussed unwelcome aspects of university life during the debate on amendments to the law on higher education," said Urban.

Numerous Western commentaries, as well as those by certain employees of higher schools, on the recent dismissals represent the point of view that academic freedom, autonomy, is a benefit for the satisfaction of the academic community alone. Higher schools are public property, playing an important role on behalf of the entire society. Autonomy should be a means to improve the manner in which higher schools fill this role. If autonomy fails to be such a means, the situation must be corrected. The amendment [to the law on higher education] has strengthened, not weakened, that autonomy. It has given real dimensions to university autonomy. Reasonable, limited rights that are real are better than almost unlimited rights which cannot be adhered to because, for example, they fuel conflicts between the state and its policy representing the universal goals on the one hand, and the sometimes contrary political or narrow professional aspirations of a part of the academic community on the other hand.

The Sejm amendment to the law [on higher education] does not go any further or deeper than the relevant laws regulating life in state universities in the West. Today, the extent of autonomy in Poland is not narrower than in Western countries, on the contrary, it is generally wider. To expose the few personnel decisions and to miss the extent of autonomy in the Polish university system is a sign of ill will on behalf of Western commentators on the recent personnel decisions.

"In Sweden, all top university positions are filled by appointment. The government appoints the university rectors and chairs. All university personnel are civil servants not entitled to any autonomy. In the United States, the relevant state authorities appoint university boards, delegating their own representatives to sit on them. In Great Britain, the government draws up university budgets, determines enrollment and the number of personnel. In the Netherlands, rectors are appointed by the queen. In West Germany, the minister appoints one of the three candidate-professors proposed by a given university, however, he can discard all the candidates.

"Every country eliminates opponents of the ruling system. It is usually done by the relevant dismissals and appointments. West Germany, however, has passed a special decree banning the employment of so-called enemies of the constitution in public institutions. Employees are required to defend and strengthen the constitutional order. This decree eliminates Communists, for example. Teachers participating in the communist or peace movements, or strikes are particularly victimized in the lands that make up the West German federation, ruled by the Christian Democrats. The total number of political opponents dismissed in West Germany in the 13 years since the decree was passed amounts to 2,500.

"Sometimes the dismissals involve even engine-drivers.

"And yet you have described our moves as astonishing repression. The situation in Poland is measured with a different yardstick.

"After the law on higher education was amended, none of the thousands of academics in top posts at universities submitted his resignation, although anyone could have said that he did not want to work within the new legislative framework. This means that they agreed to work in the system created by the amended law. Nevertheless, some people in top university posts have been acting contrary to state policy, disloyally to the state, and against the socialist character of universities.

"In some cases, the ministers in charge of universities did not reappoint people to administrative posts at universities not only for political reasons. One person has been dismissed primarily because inspectors of the Supreme Board of Inspection [NIK] have found him responsible for obvious wastefulness; yet, the Western press has discussed this as a political case. Some people elected to the top academic posts have turned out to be highly inefficient in organizational terms. Contrary to claims by the Western press, not just political criteria have been considered; proof of this is the fact that a few party members have also lost their positions.

"In accordance with Article 133 of the law on higher schools, a review of the work of rectors and other university administrators was conducted. As required by the provisions of the law, these people's research, didactic, ideological, and organizational work and their civic responsibility have been evaluated. At universities subordinated to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the reviews have been performed by commissions led by top ministry officials, including representatives of the central and voivodship authorities of the PZPR and the political alliances. The reviews have been comprehensive and very thorough; the managerial personnel of universities have taken part in them. Special attention has been devoted to the efficient management of universities and the ability to ensure that they function in accordance with the provisions of Articles 1-3 of the law on higher education, which say that they are socialist state universities.

"Moreover, as I said before, the results of inspections performed by the NIK, fiscal chambers and ministries have been taken into account. The amendments to the law on higher education adopted in July have increased the responsibility of the university administration, especially of rectors, for the functioning of universities. In view of this and the fact that the people administering universities were appointed last year according to different selection criteria, Article 6 of the amendments to the law on higher education, which were passed on 25 July 1985, stated that by 30 November the relevant minister or rector could decide not to reappoint certain persons to their posts. In view of certain anomalies in ensuring that universities function in accordance with the provisions of the law, of results of inspections, and the fact that the voivodship party authorities have withdrawn the recommendations they granted to some people (which is in line with Article 3 of the Polish Constitution, which defines the position of the PZPR in the state), the minister of science and higher education has decided not to reappoint the following rectors: Professor Wladyslaw Findeisen of the Warsaw College of Science and Technology, Professor Franciszek Kaczmarek of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Professor Tadeusz Puchalek of the Poznan College of Science and Technology, and Professor Karol Taylor of Gdansk University. Professor Piotr Zalewski has resigned from the post of rector of the Hugo Kollataj Agricultural Academy in Cracow.

"One can hardly expect all rectors elected under different legislation to be willing to put the July amendments into practice. I would like to stress that the results of research work of these people have also been thoroughly reviewed and confidence has been expressed that these people will continue to contribute their knowledge and experience to the development of learning and that their research will promote the development of national culture and economy. The Western reports of professors being dismissed from work were untrue. Only their administrative positions were involved. All of them can continue to carry out their main vocation.

"By virtue of the aforementioned provision, the minister of science and higher education has appointed Professor Zbigniew Grabowski to the post of rector of the Warsaw College of Science and Technology, Professor Jacek Fisiak to the post of rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Professor Andrzej Ryzynski to the post of rector of the Poznan College of Science and Technology, Professor Miroslaw Krzysztofiak to the post of rector of Gdansk University, and Professor Wladyslaw Bala to the post of rector of the Agricultural Academy in Cracow. Moreover, Professor Aleksander

Kabsch has not been reappointed rector of the Academy of Physical Education in Poznan. We do not know if a new rector has already been appointed to replace him.

"The results of the review have also led to decisions not to reappoint many people to lower administrative posts at universities. At a total of around 90 state civilian universities, 60 people have not been reappointed (rectors included), whereupon another 13 handed in their resignations, which means they have not been reappointed either. This produces an average of one personnel change per university.

"Now for the scale of the move. Of the more than 9,000 administrative staff, only 73 have not been reappointed to their positions (of which 13 were on their own initiative). The move has not affected or has only slightly affected two major universities--the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and Warsaw University.

"We believe that the universities will benefit from these personnel changes. Slack research and lax discipline of study are of general public concern. Anomalies in the functioning of universities affect the country's future. The legislation explicitly articulates the tasks of universities, which include socialist education of students. The government expects that all university staff will act in line with the state's policy on science, education, and ideological training. These demands will be made part of regular personnel policy, which is and will continue to be tolerant and patient. This policy will be stable and will be pursued in consultation with and by the academic community. We are not planning any personnel campaigns in the academic community, but people who oppose the socialist state cannot expect that the state will entrust them with the education of young people, to say nothing of university administrative posts," Urban said.

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NEW HEAD OF PHYSICAL CULTURE, TOURISM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] PAP--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Boleslaw Kapitan (MA) as the new head of the Central Authority for Physical Culture and Tourism (GKKFiT).

Boleslaw Kapitan, who comes from a peasant family, was born at Ostrow Lubelski in 1932. He holds an MA degree in history from the Lomonosov University in Moscow. In the years 1958-1965 he worked as a secondary and college teacher. Kapitan was also involved in political activity in various capacities including that of propaganda secretary at the Lodz-Polesie District Committee, and later as head of the propaganda department, and then as organization secretary at the Lodz PZPR Committee until 1973. From 1973 to 1978, he successfully headed the Central Authority for Physical Culture and Tourism. At the same time he performed a civic function as chairman of the Polish Olympic Committee. When in 1978 GKKFiT was divided [into two organizations], Kapitan returned to his political activity. Until 1980, he acted as the elected first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Torun. In the years 1980-83, he was engaged in parliamentary work as a deputy to the Eighth Sejm. Since January 1984, Kapitan has been the director of the Center for Personnel Training at the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" publishing concern.

In connection with the appointment of Boleslaw Kapitan as head of GKKFiT, on 17 December Deputy Premier Zbigniew Gertych, Minister, Lieutenant General Michal Janiszewski, who is the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and Leszek Miller, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Youth Department, met to discuss the key problems and tasks facing GKKFiT in the coming years.

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POLITICAL ROMANIA

ROMANIAN JOURNAL ATTACKS BULGARIAN 'DISTORTION OF HISTORY'

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Dec 85 pp 27-32

[Article by Dr. Viorica Moisuc and Dr. Cristian Popisteanu: "What Is the Purpose of Distorting Historical Truth?"]

[Text] As a science of human development, the mission of history is to explain the present by researching the past, and to shed light on the future by explaining the present. And through its conclusions, history is also called upon to help perfect the present society, develop the relations among states and nations, encourage peaceful cooperation among all the peoples of the world, and promote the loftiest ideals and achievements of human civilization.

History can fulfill these functions only if it presents facts and events objectively, according to historical truth, and without animosity and bias. Tendentious interpretations of history, devoid of objectivity, destroy its scientific basis and turn it from the "fundamental book of any nation" into a tool of discord and enmity, confusion and misunderstanding, detrimental to knowledge and friendship among nations, and to understanding and cooperation.

As an historian, this is what the work of Bulgarian researcher Antonina Kuzmanova "Romania's Balkan Policy," brought out in 1984 by the Publishing House of the Bulgarian Science Academy, brings to mind.

In her new work, Antonina Kuzmanova, a popular name in Bulgarian historical science, manages an unspeakable performance: it unleashes a cascade of historical theses full of untruths, invective, and denigrating labels that have nothing in common with a scientific spirit and historical truth, but are reminiscent of a profoundly anachronistic past.

From the very beginning we experienced a bitter taste, as if faced by a pseudo-historical attempt, which is even more disturbing for dealing with a particularly important period in the struggle of the Romanian people and Romania against fascism and war. Much to the reader's amazement, the author's "methods" of research and analysis are wielded to fabricate theses completely unfounded in fact and historical reality, which mutilate the truth either by omission or by falsifying documents, or by presenting them in a truncated manner; at the same time, the author sets down judgments and opinions on contemporary Romanian historical science with the ease of one who thinks of herself as the holder of absolute truth. Essentially dismissing the achievements and conclusions of Romanian historical science, the author states: "The characteristic traits of the various stages of Romanian foreign policy are difficult to delimitate in the works of Romanian historians" (p 6). It is clear that Z. Kuzmanova understands nothing of Romanian historiography, or perhaps does not want to understand, which is worse, because moral disqualification is more compromising than professional disqualification.

In view of such a statement, any person of goodwill would inquire where one is to find the truth about the history of the Romanian people? By whom and where is written the true history of the Romanian people?

It is incomprehensible how Kuzmanova can take upon herself to label, admonish, and amend the contemporary Romanian historiography, and to unfavorably compare it to works by historians from other countries. We wonder whether the author would agree that the best and most historically truthful works on Bulgarian history are those written in Romania or in other countries.

The method of distortion, falsification, and evasion of historical truth is from the very beginning revealed by procedures that are all the more reprehensible as the author repeatedly availed herself of opportunities to consult documents in Romanian archives and libraries where, at least on the fundamental issues of our national history, she had the correct information on hand. We will dwell here on only a few points of Romanian and world history to which A. Kuzmanova attributes a false meaning, placing them within an empty hull without substance, and in connection with which she takes the liberty of circulating errors with serious implications for the understanding of historical truth.

The author presents her pseudoarguments as if she had not the least idea that in 1918 the revolutionary struggle for national liberation of peoples in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy led to the establishment of sovereign and independent states, thus securing the victory of the principle of nationalities in central and south-east Europe; she writes as if she never heard that the existence of reunited Romania within its natural boundaries, of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland, as well as of Austria and independent Hungary preceded by 2 years the signing of the peace treaties, which did nothing but confirm their existence at an international level. A. Kuzmanova seems to lecture us that Romania made "territorial acquisitions" in 1878, 1913, and 1918 which the peace conference then recognized (pp 17-18, 19, 203, etc.). According to the thesis that the Paris peace treaties of 1919-20 were of a clearly imperialist nature, we learn that Romania was "alloted" foreign territories and populations, the ensuing result being "a multinational, imperialist state."

Along this line, the author allows herself to assert that "Romanian historiography ignores Lenin's description of the Versailles peace as 'highway robbery,'" "and revises the views of Marxist historiography on the imperialist nature of the Versailles system," "ignoring the fact that the peace treaties left unsolved or provided unfair solutions to the minorities problem in certain countries, Romania among them," "and presents in a false light the results of World War I, which left lasting contradictions between victors and vanquished." (pp 7-8). Even if A. Kuzmanova draws a thick curtain over historical facts known to all, and even if she indeed believes that a correct image of Romanian foreign policy can be found in the works of foreign historians, particularly in her own work dealing with international relations in the 1930's nothing and no one gives her the right to stick such labels on Romanian historiography. This bizarre inversion of judgment elements leads the author to minimalize an objective historical process--the formation of united and independent states on the ruins of the big multinational empires--thus passing the sponge over all the national liberation struggles waged within the Ottoman, Habsburgic, and Tsarist empires. What would A. Kuzmanova think if Romanian historians were to write that the disappearance of the Bulgarian state and the more than 5 centuries of Ottoman domination over the Bulgarian people were a progressive factor, while the rebirth of the independent Bulgarian state was a retrograde act?

Romania's foreign policy in the 2 decades that followed the Great Unification is presented--not analyzed--by A. Kuzmanova according to the same methods of looking at historical truth through a distorting glass: omitting facts, reversing values, and labeling Romanian historians. As a derivation of the erroneous concept that Romania were a "creation" of the peace treaties, there appears the equally erroneous statement that Romania's foreign policy in the period between the two world wars of defending the territorial status quo in Europe, was "counterrevolutionary," whereby the author states that "the government circles engaged the country and its armed forces as an important point of support for and a tool of the counterrevolutionary strategy of the imperialist forces of the Antente;" that Romania allegedly was a "potential counterrevolutionary force in the Balkans, particularly concerning Bulgaria, where the revolutionary processes that had spread to all the Balkan countries, including Romania, were of the most intensive" (p 203). Romania allegedly took an "anti-Soviet course" (p 27) throughout the period (with a certain exception in 1933-36, when Titulescu attempted a rapprochement to the USSR), while on the eve of World War II, "Romania refused to coooperate with the USSR on the basis of collective security and mutual assistance" (p 204); A. Kuzmanova adds another so-called "characteristic trait" of Romanian foreign policy: the "consistently anti-Bulgarian line," which "sapped a small neighborly country, and, given the specific conditions prevailing at the time, compromised any Romanian resistance to the aggression..." (p 210).

The same method of turning historical truth upside down leads A. Kuzmanova to attribute to Romania's foreign policy all the capital sins, although it is a well known fact that Romania was the country in which fascism came to power only in September 1940. This particularly relevant fact was not due to any strategic failure on the part of fascism, but to the heroical struggle of all the revolutionary, democratic, and patriotic forces led by the RCP, and to the Romanian nation's resistance to fascist practices and ideology. In this connection, we were astonished to see that A. Kuzmanova left out the views of contemporary Bulgarian historiography, according to which as of 1923, Bulgaria's foreign policy was led by a fascist dictatorship.

As for the main objective of Romania's foreign policy, the author totally ignores the fact that this objective, which remained unchanged throughout those 20 years, was to preserve the independence and sovereignty of the united national state established on 1 December 1918 and the country's territorial integrity, as it emerged from the 1918 referendum decisions, the legitimacy of which had been recognized by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-20. Romania's foreign policy was in accord with the will of the entire nation and with its vital national interest. All the social forces and political parties, including the leftist ones, whose backbone were the communists and socialists, unreservedly supported the preservation and defense of the boundaries of the Romanian state; one eloquent proof of this were the great struggles organized and led by the communists in the 1940's. Equally significant is the massive contribution of the masses and of all the people to defending the country's borders at a time when the Hitlerite armies, having invaded Czechoslovakia, were preparing to invade Romania. That was only natural in view of the fact that Romania's status had resulted from the victory of the principle of nationalities in that part of Europe and was the objective consequence of the historical process of formation and perfecting of the united national state, and constituted the natural framework for the development of the modern Romanian nation.

The orientation of Romania's foreign policy and the nature of its foreign relations naturally stemmed from its very objective; as one of the founding members of the League of Nations, throughout the period between the wars Romania remained faithful to the Pact of that international organization, whose aim was to consolidate peace and security on the basis of respect for the principles of international law. Consequently, far from having aggressive designs on any state—neighborly or more remote—Romania not only rejected any attempt or "offer" to involve it in any action against its neighbors, but it consistently carried out a policy of developing relations with all the countries, without any interference in their internal affairs, strove to create a climate of peace and cooperation in its geographical area, and spoke out and acted, according to its means, against the policy of force and dictate in international life.

Thus, in 1920, the French and Polish governments put pressure on the Romanian government to secure Romania's participation in the war against the Soviet Union. A report of the French minister in Bucharest, Henri Cambon, to the Foreign Ministry, dated 31 March 1920, stated: "I have felt out the Romanian government about an accord which, leaving Poland complete freedom of maneuver, would invite Romania to expand along the Black Sea. The Romanian government," Henri Cambon specified, "rejected this offer, stating that it did not seek adventures beyond its boundaries." (French Foreign Ministry Archives, series: Europe 1918-29, Poland, vol. 137, report No 168, Bucharest, 31 March 1920, signed Henri Cambon). In his political notes, Raymond Poincare, president of the French Council of Ministers, remarked: "We took an unrealistic step in Prague, Bucharest, and Belgrade to persuade these states to agree to a joint action, together with Hungary, in favor of Poland, against Soviet Russia" (Raymond Poincare, "Histoire Politique, Chronique de la Quinzaine," 15 September 1920-1 March 1921, paris, 1921, p 18).

In February 1921, referring to Soviet Russia's international position, V.I. Lenin wrote: "But there are still some states, like Romania, which have not attempted to fight Russia... Naturally, if Romania did not decide to go to war at a moment favorable to it, now that Vrangel's front has been completely liquidated, it is even less probable that it would venture to take such a step." (V.I. Lenin, "Works," vol. 42, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1966, pp 327-328).

Along the same line, on 17 May 1922, at the Geneva international conference, Romania issued an official declaration featuring a permanent unilateral commitment of non-aggression toward Soviet Russia. This commitment acquired an even greater international weight on 10 June 1926, when the Romanian government reconfirmed its "permanent non-aggression commitment toward Russia, based on the status quo. Romania," the document stated, "is ready to extend this commitment to all its neighbors. Romania's interpretation of this commitment implies its obligation not to attack Russia with its own regular troops and, of course, not to tolerate the mobilization on its territory of irregular attack troops against Russia." (Societe des Nations, "Recueil des Traites," vol. LVIII, 1926-27, p 230). The above mentioned protocol was an integral part of Romania's treaty with France of 10 June 1926, and was registered at the League of Nations.

In August 1928, Romania, together with the USSR and many other states, joined the Briand-Kellog Pact which banned recourse to war as a means of solving interstate conflicts. A few months later, in February 1929, upon the initiative of the USSR, the Romanian government signed in Moscow a protocol for the earlier enactment of the war-prohibiting pact. On that occasion, Maxim Litvinov, USSR foreign minister of the time, stressed the fact that "Each signatory of the protol assumes an obligation toward the entire world to defend peace in a given geographical area." (Foreign Ministry Archives, League of Nations series, vol. XV). Faithful to the same position, in July 1933 Romania signed in London—together with the USSR and other interested states—the convention on defining aggressors and territories, and on 9 June 1934 it reestablished normal diplomatic relations with the USSR. During the same period, Romania supported at many levels the French-Soviet initiative of establishing an eastern security system, to which it wanted to belong (the "Eastern Pact"), hailed and effectively supported the signing of the Soviet-French mutual assistance treaty of 1935, and the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty.

The above facts, to which many others can be added, are perfectly well known to any international relations historian and have been in scientific circulation for dozens of years; it is not possible that A. Kuzmanova is not aware of them. And knowing these facts, it is equally impossible to attribute the above-mentioned orientation and character to Romania's foreign policy. However, the author has chosen a third path: she consciously ignores them, or fabricates inexistent facts. A. Kuzmanova also ignores the fact that in 1938-39 Romania was the only state which correctly and directly supported Czechoslovakia under attack, going as far as to give shelter to thousands of refugees fleeing the invading German-Horthyst troops, an act of great courage which drew heavy pressures from Hitlerite Germany; during that time of serious international crisis, when Czechoslovakia had been abandoned by all its allies, the Romanian government refused an offer to have a share of the partitioned territory of that country. Similarly, A. Kuzmanova "forgets" Romania's position toward Poland, which had been attacked in 1939, the fact that it received and sheltered Polish refugees, the government and leadership of that country, and its retreating army, and helped rescue its treasures.

Romania paid a heavy price for that help by, among other things, the assassination of Prime Minister Armand Calinescu upon orders from Berlin, and heavy military threats and pressures. A. Kuzmanova not only ignores Romania's peaceful efforts, but goes so far as to blame it for the failed policy of collective security and for the failure to establish a European resistance front against the Axis aggression.

As for the "anti-Bulgarian" character of Romania's foreign policy and the repression of the Bulgarian revolutionary struggle, we believe it sufficient to remind Antonina Kuzmanova of the many testimonies found in Bucharest, Braila, Ploiesti, Calarasi, Giurgiu, and other localities, attesting to the fact that Bulgarian revolutionaries organized national liberation actions on Romania's hospitable soil; of the documents of Romanian universities attended by many young Bulgarians; of the documents concerning the defense of Bulgarian insurgents in 1923, and so forth. It is not possible that A. Kuzmanova never came upon such testimonies during her periods of research in Romania. Moreover, we doubt that she is not aware of the statements of the party-state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria concerning the Romanian-Bulgarian ties of militant solidarity and the assistance extended by the Romanian people to the Bulgarian revolutionaries and patriots.

The thesis that Romania and its Balkan policy were the main cause for Bulgarian's isolation (p 252) appears to us as utterly fantastic. The author completely forgot that any historical analysis must be based on the specific and objective data of the situation prevailing at a given period, and that anyone approaching history with prefabricated theses can only fail as an historian, and produce confusion, or even worse, falsify reality.

This manner of "interpreting" recent history is particularly evident in the many pages that A. Kuzmanova devotes to the Balkan Entente, although the author does bring many interesting pieces of information which contribute to better understanding certain political and diplomatic questions (for example, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations and the "Treaty of Eternal Friendship" between the two governments, the Thessalonica accord of 1938, etc.). Unfortunately, A. Kuzmanova formulates views and conclusions contradicting the facts that she herself cites, or historical logic. For the Bulgarian author, both the Balkan Entente and the Small Entente served as "regional gendarme" (p 4), while the "real orientation of the Balkan pact was directed precisely against Bulgaria" (p 5). Further, she writes: "Romania endeavored to fashion the Balkan Entente into a military and political alliance against any attempt to revise, even peacefully, the status quo in the Balkans. This alliance was directed against Bulgaria, whose major foreign policy principle called for revising treaties solely through peaceful means." (p 211) From here, A. Kuzmanova develops one of the most blatant reinterpretations of historical truth, claiming that Romania's policy was aimed not against the real aggressor, and that it barred Bulgaria's involvement in effective Balkan cooperation. She then writes that "Beginning with Take Ionescu after World War I and until Grigore Gafencu, on the eve of World War II," Romania's foreign policy was a consistent "opponent of the policy conducted by the Bulgarian government of peaceful revision of the Neuilly Treaty. This attitude was directly linked to the main foreign policy objective, which was to preserve territorial gains, and was not influenced by changes of concept concerning the general directions of Romania's foreign policy." (pp 23-24) And finally, on this basis, the reader is urged to believe that "The purpose of Romania's foreign policy was to eternalize this situation of inequality and the weakness of the vanquished countries." (p 4)

Faced with so many false conclusions, one cannot but ask oneself: what use did the author make of the thousands of documents studied, if she has ended up developing ideas that have nothing in common with the facts as they occurred?

Through a process of reversal, the author accuses Romania and other members of the Balkan Entente and the Small Entente of promoting a consistent antirevisionism, a fact which greatly prejudiced peace in the Balkans, allegedly "broke" the peace front in this area, and alienated and isolated Bulgaria. Has the author never heard that revisionism--especially after Hitler came to power in Germany--became the flag bearer of the aggressive policy of the fascist states, and a tool used by the Hitlerite policy to coalesce all the political forces that could be used to undermine peace and security? Suffice it to recall the fact that the process of "shifting" borders, and thus of "revising" them, "peacefully" begun by Nazi Germany with the annexation of Austria, could not be halted any more and led to the disappearance of independent states from the map and, in the last analysis, to war, and suffice it, we think, to demonstrate the truth that antifascist politicians like Litvinov and Titulescu never stopped stressing: revisionism = war.

Among the many arguments that testify to the presence of the Balkan Entente in international life, which in point of fact the author herself repeatedly mentions, we will cite here only one: the Balkan Entente, a regional, open, defensive alliance of peace, security, and cooperation, concluded between Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey on 9 February 1934 for the purpose of defending the territorial status quo, manifested itself in international relations--despite its inconsistencies, weaknesses, and limitations--as a factor designed to defend the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the four member-states, to develop their cooperation in various areas, and to assert the role of small and medium-sized countries in Europe. Along this line, it repeatedly adopted a line favorable to the interests of peace and collective security in Europe and, implicitely, to stemming the political-diplomatic offensive of the fascist powers.

This is how the reputed Bulgarian researcher of international relations, Christina Daneva-Mihova described the character of the Balkan Entente Pact: "The objective of the Balkan Pact was to place a barrier in the way of the economic and political aims pursued by fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany in the Balkans by manintaining the status quo as it had been sanctioned by the Versailles Conference." (Christina Daneva-Mihova, "La Diplomatie Francaise et la Preparation du Pacte Balcanique--1934," in "Studia Balcanica," No 9, sofia, 1975, p 31) She correctly stated that in 1933 the Small Entente "tried to attract Bulgaria to its side through bilateral or trilateral accords, which were viewed as the basis for a future Balkan pact." She notes that the Bulgarian government rejected these proposals. (Idem, p 39) Historian I.S. Stavrianos concludes in his analysis of the undermining of the Balkan Entente: "The main reason was the pressure brought to bear by reborn Germany." (I.S. Stavrianos, "The Balkans Since 1453," p 740)

In point of fact, despite all the contradictions, differences, and disputes between Bulgaria and the members of the Balkan Entente (contradictions, differences, and disputes that must be examined in a strictly scientific spirit, and not in the subjective desire to make white seem black and vice versa), amicable relations did develop among those states in those years, reflected in, among other things, the Thessalonika agreement of 31 July 1938 on abolishing the military, air, and naval clauses of the Neuilly Treaty.

The joint communique issued after the signing of the Thessalonika agreement emphasized: "This agreement, concluded among equal countries, is the happy outcome of free negotiations conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding." The contribution made by the Thessalonika agreement to detente and improved peaceful relations between the Balkan Entente members and Bulgaria was also noted in the communique of the session of the Permanent Council of the Small Entente, held in Bled on 21 and 22 August 1938. The Permanent Council of the Small Entente notes in the minutes of the session that it learned with the greatest satisfaction of the signing on 31 July 1938 of the Thessalonika agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, appreciating at its just value the great support that this agreement can provide not only for bolstering mutual trust and cooperation among the Balkan countries, but also for jointly defending general peace. The three foreign ministers noted that the "Thessalonika agreement in no way affects the rights and obligations of mutual assistance devolving from the commitments previously assumed by each of the signatory states. This finding is based on the fact that the non-aggression and mutual assistance commitments made, far from being mutually exclusive, complement each other by their very nature." (Foreign Ministry Archives, Small Entente series, vol. 19, p 86. Minutes of the 21-22 August 1938 session)

Thus, the following statement made by Bulgarian Prime Minister Kyossevanov on 19 February 1939 was quite natural: "We are friends with the Balkan Entente member states." As for the opportunity and role of regional pacts--the Balkan Entente and the Small Entente--we would remind A. Kuzsmanova of Maxim Litvinov's words: "It is beneficial for each continent to be covered by regional pacts defending each area against any aggressor. The fulfillment of these regional obligations is viewed as equal to the fulfillment of the obligations envisaged in the League of Nations Pact, and has the full support of the league members." (Foreign Ministry Archives, League of Nations series, vol. 15, Report No 538, Geneva, 15 July 1938, signed by Antoniade to N. Titulescu)

It has not been our purpose to discuss the entire presentation of Romania's foreign policy in the 1933-39 period in Antonina Kuzmanova's book. We only wanted to call attention to several theses and views that, unfortunately, constitute the foundations of an inevitably bankrupt historical demonstration. Historical truth cannot be hidden, it inexorably will come to light. The diplomatic history of the years preceding World War II is much too important and rich in lessons to be counterfeited.

As for the Romanian historians, they never tried nor do they now attempt to teach historians from other countries how to write their national history. However, any attempt to interfere with the manner in which the history of the

Romanian people is written can only be resolutely rejected. Romanian historians have not permitted and cannot permit anyone to falsify and distort facts concerning our history, or to invent "truths" about the Romanian people, or, in short, to turn history into anti-history.

Historical research must serve to develop the friendship and cooperation among all the peoples, including between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. However, in view of the way A. Kuzmanova has written this work, it does not serve the friendship that has developed between our peoples during the socialist period. This is even more so since in the past, too, historians of good faith in both countries endeavored to present the relations between the two peoples in a spirit of truth, esteem, and respect. That is why today, when our countries are building a socialist society, history must highlight the traditions of joint struggle and cooperation to defend the cause of progress, national freedom, and peace.

Whatever the motives and background that guided the publication of this work, it can only arouse the legitimate question: Whom does it benefit? This book clearly reawakens harmful, revisionist, revanchist, and anti-Romanian theses that contradict not only historical truth, but also the principles of international relations and norms.

12782
CSO: 2700/44

DECREE ON PASSPORTS AMENDED, SUPPLEMENTED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 66, 7 Dec 85 p 1

[Council of State Decree Amending and Supplementing Decree No 156-1970 on the Passport System]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--Decree No 156/1970 on the passport system, which became Law No 35/1970, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 32 of 12 April 1970, with subsequent modifications, is amended and supplemented as follows:

1. Paragraphs 4 and 5 of Article 1 will have the following content:

"The documents issued by competent Romanian organs which give the right to cross the Romanian state border are: the diplomatic passport, the official passport, the ordinary passport, the passport for Romanian citizens living abroad, the travel certificate and the passport for persons without citizenship.

The categories of persons who can benefit from the documents stipulated in the preceding paragraph are determined by decision of the Council of Ministers."

2. A new paragraph, with the following content, is inserted in Article 23, after paragraph 4:

"The travel certificate is issued for a period of 6 months, and can be extended for an additional 12 months by the issuing organs."

3. Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 31 are abrogated.

Article 11--Decree No 156/1970 on the passport system, with subsequent modifications, as well as with the modifications and additions made by the present decree, will be republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 5 December 1985
No 381

/6662
CSO: 2700/53

DECREE ON AIR ROUTES, AIRPORTS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 16 Dec 85 p 1

[Council of State Decree Amending Annex No 1 to Council of State Decree No 287/1980 on the specification of air routes, airports and airfields intended for civil aviation]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--Annex No 1 to Council of State Decree No 287/1980 on the specification of air routes, airports and airfields intended for civil aviation is amended as follows:

1. Section A, point 6 will have the following content:

"The border point with the Bulgarian People's Republic (43° 50' N- 23° 15' E)-Tirgu Jiu-Deva-Oradea--the border point with the Hungarian People's Republic (47° 15' 30" N- 21° 52' 00" E)."

2. Section B, point 7 is abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 12 December 1985
No 390

/6662
CSO: 2700/53

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Teodor Coman is appointed chairman of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems. Comrades Gheorghe Ion and Stefan-Romeo Dragomirescu are appointed deputy chairmen of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems. Comrade Neculai Ibanescu, first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Iasi County Peoples Council and Comrade Maria Nitu, chief engineer in the Slatina food equipment enterprise and deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County Peoples Council, are also appointed deputy chairmen of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 24 Sep 85 p 6] /6662

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mihai Paraluta is appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee. Comrade Gheorghe Codreanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 24 Sep 85 p 6] /6662

FOREIGN TRADE PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrades Ion Stoian and Ion Stanci are relieved of their positions as deputy ministers of foreign trade and international economic cooperation and comrades Dan Vicentiu Constantin and Micu Mihail Vasile are appointed deputy ministers of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 64, 26 Nov 85 p 6] /6662

CSO: 2700/53

READER OPPOSES EXTENDED TERMS FOR LCY OFFICES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 85 pp 4-5

[Letter to editor by Enver Redzic: "Why Should They Be Reelected?"]

[Text] The dailies of 19 November printed speeches and fragments of discussion from the LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade 18 November. I found the following viewpoint in Comrade Jure Bilic's published speech: "With respect to the term of office for members of the LCY CC Presidium, the provisions of the current statute would remain unchanged, provided that a term could be cut short--with no possibility for a third term--in special proceedings. The extension of the third term is explained by the current situation. The idea is that certain individuals with great experience, who have been prominent to a greater extent and have demonstrated ability on the job, are still needed to provide continuity alongside the younger people to be elected to the Presidium."

If, as a communist, I did not expect something from the draft of the new LCY statute, it is precisely this behavior, this insistence on extending the term of office for members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. I ask myself why this large-scale discussion, of significance to the next LCY Congress, was conducted in the party grassroots as initiated by the 13th session of the LCY CC. Insistence on a third extension of the term of office of CC members and Presidium members is prime confirmation of ignoring the demands of the party membership to turn over a new leaf in the life of the LCY at the next congress. In the view outlined by Comrade Jure Bilic, some LCY CC members obviously want not to turn over a new leaf but rather to retain a procedure which ought to be abandoned as soon as possible in the interest of progressive trends.

I am surprised by the arguments with which Comrade Bilic "explains" these views. In the first place, according to him, the "current situation" demands the extension of the terms of office. I do not know how Comrade Bilic views the connection between the "current situation" and the aspiration and "need" to facilitate reelection for the members of the current Central

Committee, but the point is more than clear that the interests of our development call for the "current situation" to end as soon as possible, along with everything that led to the current situation, including a definitive end to opportunities for asserting and achieving desires for endlessly repeated terms of office.

The abolishment of monopolies in staffing policy, and of the privatizing of sociopolitical offices, ought to begin in the LCY Central Committee, in deeds and no in verbal proclamations of views.

Comrade Bilic goes on: "The idea is" that the individuals involved have acquired "great experience," have "been prominent to a greater extent," have "demonstrated ability." All of these "debating points" need to be defined more specifically so that we know exactly what is to be understood by the terms "great experience," "have been prominent," "ability," etc. Life exposes large and fundamental differences in this respect. It is one thing for a communist to have genuinely acquired great experience in the direct and specific struggle for the development of self-management and to have been prominent and to have demonstrated ability in that area; it is another thing for a member of the LCY and its forums to acquire great experience, to be prominent, and to demonstrate ability by strengthening the bureaucracy and by bureaucratically taking away power from the working class and isolating the working class from its rights to self-management.

In my opinion, allowing continuity in reelections to the LCY CC and Presidium resulted inevitably in continuity in the following: stagnation and rollback in self-management, stagnation in the development of the LCY, self-isolation of the republics and autonomous provinces, growth in the country's indebtedness, growth in inflation, decline in the living standard of working people and citizens, growth in unemployment, disintegration, chauvinism, irredentism.... The process by which these aspects of Yugoslav reality are revolutionarily overcome and dialectically negated stands in explicit opposition to the aspiration for continuity in office, both party and governmental. We cannot be against bureaucracy in words while fortifying it in practice.

In conclusion, the proposal to elect LCY CC members at republic-level congresses and province-level conferences through secret voting among a variety of candidates is not--in my opinion--the way to reaffirm the principle of democratic centralism, rather just the opposite; this is the way to the "democratic" consolidation of party federalism in the LCY. That is not the way to restore the unity of the LCY or to fight against statism.

/6662
CSO: 2800/113 END

JPRS-EER-86-010

24 January 1986

East Europe Report

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JPRS-EER-86-010

24 January 1986

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AGRICULTURE

CURRENT 5-YEAR PLAN PROGRESS REPORT FOR CEMA AGRICULTURE

Moscow/East Berlin INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT DER LANDWIRTSCHAFT in German No 6, 1985 pp 480-485

[Article by Ngok Bin and Petr Ivashov, agriculture department, CEMA secretariat: "Agricultural Development in the CEMA Countries During the Current Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] The communist and workers parties in the CEMA countries look at stably supplying the population with foods as an exceptionally important economic and sociopolitical task. Its successful solution is sought by each country's resolutely implementing its agrarian policy and by the coordinated commercial and economic policy in the integration process of the countries of the socialist community. The principal goal lies in obtaining stable growth in food production and an improvement in the food supply structure for the population through using the CEMA countries' potential, the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress and the best practical experiences. That policy found its concrete expression in the preparation and adoption of specific long-term food programs and other important documents in some CEMA countries, where complex material-technical, socioeconomic and organizational measures were set down on the proportionate development of all branches in the agrar-industrial complex (AIK), especially of its central sphere, agriculture.

The fraternal countries closely coordinate the national development programs for the AIK branches with the chances arising for the implementation of these programs from the multilateral international cooperation and the specialization and integration in the agro-industrial sector within CEMA.

The 37th CEMA session in 1983 discussed andapproved, in complementing the long-term target program for cooperation in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, "complex cooperation measures for improving the supplying of the population of the CEMA countries with food." They embrace a broad number of tasks in economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the branches of AIK.

Combining the national and international efforts of the CEMA countries around the solutions for the problems that are connected with the development of AIK has positively affected the increase in food production. The agricultural working people in the CEMA countries (somewhat more than the 6 percent of agricultural workers on the world scale) greatly boosted the output of the most important farm products in recent years, relative to world production (Table 1).

Table 1: The CEMA countries' proportionate share in world output of the most important agricultural products, in percent

Products	1980	1984
Grain and leguminosae	17.8	19.4
Sugar beets	44.2	44.8
Potatoes	49.0	50.0
Milk	28.1	30.0
Wool	21.1	21.0
Eggs	20.0	20.5

Meteorologically, this Five-Year Plan (1981-1984), especially the first 2 years, was extremely unfavorable to farming in some CEMA countries. However, the states in the socialist community concentrated their efforts on solving the many topical and long-range tasks contributing to a consolidation of the material-technical base in agriculture, to expanding amelioration projects, to technical conversion in agriculture as well as to putting into practice progressive technologies, the accomplishments of science and the experiences of the best units. Against the natural forces they pitted the organized and exemplary labor of the working people in crop and livestock production and increased the farm output under tough weather conditions.

Investments to Consolidate and Develop the Material-Technical Base in Agriculture

Among the measures for solving the food problem, investments and rational use play an important role. Between 1981 and 1984 total investments, compared with 1980, rose by 22 percent in Bulgaria (not counting the allocations for reforestation), by 98 percent in Vietnam, by 11 percent in Cuba, by 71 percent in Mongolia, and by 25 percent in the CSSR. In other CEMA countries the average annual investment rate slowed down.

At the present time, the chief investment trends in agriculture lie in the reconstruction and modernization of existing capacities and in technical conversion and amelioration to increase the intensity and efficiency of crop and livestock production and improve soil fertility.

Another peculiarity of the use of investments in the current five-year plan lies in the elimination of still surviving disproportions in the development of the AIK branches and their infrastructure.

The proportionate share of investments in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry relative to total ivnestments is 11 percent in the GDR, 22 percent in Poland, and more than one-third in Cuba. In Mongolia, circa 17 percent were annually used in this period for agricultural development and in Vietnam, 20 percent of total investments in the economy. They were used mainly for building irrigation systems, creating new land, expanding the growing of technical cultures, and setting up new state-farms. In Romania, 16 percent of all investments went to agriculture in the 1981-1984 period. They put 43 projects into operation, including irrigation systems and cattle breeding and fattening installations. Large amelioration projects were carried out.

In the Soviet Union, the proportion of investments in agricultural development came to 20 percent of the economic investment effort in the seventh Five-Year Plan, 23 percent in the eighth, 26 percent in the ninth, and 27 percent in the 10th and the 4 years of the 11th five-year plan. In its agrarian policy the CPSU pays great attention to enhancing the stability of farm production as an important prerequisite for the planned development of the entire economy. Amelioration tasks are getting primary attention there. The October 1984 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ratified a long-term program on amelioration and the efficient use of amerliorized areas for the 12th five-year plan and the long-range time frame up to the year 2000.. This program provides for more than R 50 billion of state investments for the years 1986-1990. By the year 2000 up to 32 million hectares are to be irrigated and 19 to 21 million hectares, to be dried.

For developing and reinforcing the material-technical base of agriculture in the CEMA countries is its technical equipment and conversion and, on that basis, the initiation of a complex mechanization of farm production very important.

Agriculture in the CEMA countries got new tractors and farm machinery. In 1984 there were as many as 4,191,200 tractors (not counting Romania), as compared with 3,631,000 in 1980, an increase thereby of 15 percent. Other than the larger number of tractors and other machines, there came their technical upgrading and the addition of higher-capacity modern tractors of the K-700, K-701, T-150, T-150K, MTS-80, MTS-82 and other models. Simultaneously, the CEMA countries' agriculture is being equipped with technically improved highly productive combines for the grain, potato, beet and vegetable harvest, means of transportation and strong trailers, and machine systems for livestock and feed production.

Between 1980 and 1983, the energy installation in agriculture in the CEMA countries rose from 285 to 298 hp per 100 ha of acreage, in Hungary from 192 to 211 hp, in Poland from 308 to 371, in the USSR from 270 to 307, and in the CSSR from 438 to 478 hp.

The increasing extent of technical and energy equipment in farm production makes possible mechanizing more and more production processes in crop and livestock production, whereby labor productivity is boosted. In the European CEMA countries, plowing, all the seeding, silage and hay preparation, harvesting of grain, leguminosae and oleaginous plants, organic and mineral fertilizing, and chemical herbicide, insecticide and weeding operations are fully mechanized, and so are many projects in livestock production, especially in cattle and poultry installations with an industrialized setup. In the USSR, for instance, the mechanization degree in 1983 in the milk production installations came to 99 percent, in the cattle breeding plants to 94 percent, and in pig breeding to 92 percent. All told, however, the agricultural labor productivity in the CEMA countries, in spite of the expanded degree of technical equipment, rose but slowly.

What with farm product output retreating per unit of acreage in the years 1981/82, USSR agricultural labor productivity rose only 1 percent above that of 1976-1080, yet by 11 percent in 1983/84. Between 1976 and 1980, the direct labor expenditure (AKh/dt [manhours of work per dt (1 dt = 100 kg)] in the kolkhozes (including inter-enterprise facilities) came to 1.3 for sugar beets, 3 for potatoes, 53 for the cattle increase, 37 for that of pigs, 10 for milk, and in 1983 the appropriate proportions were 1.0; 2.6; 49; 37 and 9.

The comprehensive introduction of industrialized methods in crop and livestock production in conjunction with progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration has a great impact on higher labor productivity in the CEMA countries. According to the USSR ministry of agriculture, three-fourth of the maize in the Soviet Union, one-third of the sunflowers and more than 60 percent of the soy and sugar beets were industrially produced in 1984. In 1985, winter cultures and summer wheat were grown by means of intensive technologies on 17 million ha.

The transition to industrialized methods in farm production is being hastened greatly, and the efficiency with which they are used is being heightened. Many initiatives are simultaneously being aroused. Brigades and taskforces are assuming economic cost accounting and collective contracts and obligations that enhance the responsibility of each working person and of the entire work collective for the end product. In 1984, 40 percent of the acreage in the Soviet Union got regular taskforces that are working by collective contracts. In cattle production, 9 million cows, or 27 percent of the total, are taken care of by the assembly line system. Two-thirds of all pork is produced by conveyer belt technology in the public sector. An industrialized technology for sheep breeding is being introduced in complex mechanized breeding installations.

Also in the other CEMA countries are crop and livestock production placed on an industrialized basis. There still are branches, however, where scientific-technical progress makes but slow headway and labor expenditures are still extremely high. Thus far, for instance, the projects in vegetable and fruit growing, the growing and harvesting of some technical cultures, and certain labor processes in the livestock production branches are hardly yet mechanized. In the USSR the average of complex mechanization in cattle installations is 50 percent, in pork production installations 60 percent, an in poultry combines 67 percent.

A very important prerequisite for an intensive development of agricultural production and the increase in its efficiency is the hastening of technical-technological conversion and of fond appropriations. Because of what is specific to agricultural production, its degree of production fund allocations should not be smaller than that of industry. An analysis shows, however, that agricultural appropriations are far below the industrial ones in the CEMA countries, and this gap has remained virtually unchanged also in the years of the current five-year plan. At that, the changes made between 1980 and 1983 in the production fund structures of the state-farms and producers cooperatives in most CEMA countries, with the exception of Mongolia and the CSSR, are marked by a reduction of the proportion of machinery and equipment.

The development of scientific-technical progress in agriculture is linked with the achievements in machine building and the quality of machines and equipment furnished. Two problems exist here still, however. For one thing, approximately half of the trailer and tilling machines for efficient tractors, developed within the scope of CEMA's international machine system (IMS) are not being produced. And then, the high outlays for the technology (tractors, combines and so forth) often are not covered by higher harvest yields or labor productivity.

Resolving these technical and economic problems will have a positive impact on the fixed assets structure in agricultural production and its more efficient use.

Of all the measures for consistently intensifying agricultural production in the countries of the socialist community, the application of chemistry deserves high attention. Much has been done in recent years to expand production capacities for mineral fertilizer, chemical crop protection agents and means for microbial synthesis. In the 4 years of the current five-year plan, the production of mineral fertilizer climbed by more than 5.6 million tons. All told, in the CEMA countries in 1984, almost 44 million tons of mineral fertilizers (pure nutrients) were produced, 18 percent more than in 1980. The output grew the fastest in the USSR (25 percent), in Romania (25 percent) and in Vietnam (22 percent). Through such a production increase, the application of mineral fertilizers in the CEMA countries in these years could be raised altogether from 106 to 119 kg/ha, generally speaking, or by 12 percent.

The CEMA countries are setting greater store all the time by increasing the production and expanding the assortments of chemical plant protection agents. In 1984, the output rose by 19 percent above that of 1980 and came to 495 kilotons. From 1981 to 1984 the production of crop protection agents rose fast in Hungary (by 28 percent), in the USSR (21 percent), the GDR (13 percent) and the CSSR (11 percent).

In spite of that, CEMA country requirements for crop protection agents, especially herbicides, are not fully covered as yet. This calls for multilateral efforts for the further development of the fraternal countries' collaboration in producing chemical agents on the basis of specialization and cooperation.

The Production of Agricultural Commodities

Through constantly consolidating and perfecting the material-technical base of agriculture as the foundation for the intensification of crop and livestock production, through applying new forms of production management and progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, and through using the results of cooperation, the CEMA countries from 1981 to 1984, in spite of tough weather conditions, achieved new successes in increasing the output of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials. Total agricultural gross production in the CEMA countries had risen by 3 percent in 1984 over 1983 and 12 percent over 1980. Agricultural production developed faster in the 4 years of the current five-year plan in Vietnam and Mongolia (23 percent), Romania (19 percent), and Cuba (12 percent). In the USSR, gross agricultural output climbed by 11 percent, in Bulgaria, Poland and the CSSR, by 10 percent.

In these years the CEMA countries paid special attention to the development of crop production, so that the rate of development in that branch surpassed that of livestock production. This tendency can clearly be seen in Bulgaria, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and the CSSR. The focal point continues to be the further increasing of grain production. It may be observed that in the CEMA countries (not including the USSR) between 1981 and 1984 the average annual gross yields of grain have risen in comparison with those in the 1976-1980 period.

The increase lay between 7 percent in the CSSR and 20 percent in Vietnam and Mongolia. The weather in 1984 showed large contrasts. For Hungary, the GDR, Romania and the CSSR, 1984 brought a record in the gross output and hectare yields of grain and granular leguminosae. In Mongolia and the USSR, the complicated weather conditions had a negative effect on farm production. In spite of that the USSR managed to keep the volume of output on the 1983 level. The increase in the gross production of grain and granular leguminosae was achieved in the CEMA countries although their growing structure proportion of 58.2 percent in 1980 was reduced to 57.6 percent in 1984.

More sugar beets, potatoes and some other crops were harvested in the CEMA countries in 1984 than in 1983.

Of great importance to increased yields, in addition to the above mentioned intensification factors, is the cooperation of the CEMA countries in seed growing and its augmentation, which takes place within the scope of the "accord on multilateral international production specialization in seeds and crops." On the basis of that document, the USSR specializes in the seed growing of winter wheat, maize, pea, sunflower and hemp varieties and hybrids, the GDR, in the production and supplying of summer barley seeds, Poland, in sugar beets and winter rye, and Romania, in grapes. From this specialization the CEMA countries derive great economic benefits.

The close cooperation in crop cultivation started with an exchange of seeds and crops for cultivation purposes and now embraces regular reciprocal deliveries of seeds and crops to satisfy production requirements. In some CEMA countries varieties and hybrids of certain useful plants from other CEMA countries are grown over 50 to 70 percent of the total acreage. More than 70 Soviet varieties, e.g., are authorized in CEMA countries and are grown over more than 7 million hectare. The USSR, in turn, is growing from 4 to 5 million hectare with varieties and hybrids cultivated in other CEMA countries.

Livestock production was also further increased in the CEMA countries between 1981 and 1984. That is the outcome of effective measures for the further intensification of this branch and for strengthening its material-technical base through the reconstruction of old and the building of new installations and compounds facilitating the progressive technologies and modern forms of production organization and the application of the latest achievements of science and technology. The main concern there goes to qualitative growth factors in milk production and fattening.

In the outcome, gross livestock production in Bulgaria rose by 1.1 percent in 1984 against 1983, meat production, by 2.1 percent. The cows' average milk production in agricultural enterprises rose by 5.1 percent, the performance of laying hens, by 3.4 percent. The cattle inventory in Hungary remained unchanged. Pork dropped further. Meat production (fat stock) rose, however, by 2 percent, the milk production rose somewhat, and egg production dropped by 5 percent. Poland, after some decline in animal production (1981 to 1983), especially in pork production, recorded a gradual revival early in 1984. Meat production rose by 0.7 percent, milk production by 4 percent, and egg production by 5 percent against the year before. Remarkable successes are reported of the livestock production in Romania. The cattle inventory increased by 4 percent over 1983, that of the pigs, by 6 percent, and the production climbed in meat, milk and other animal products. In the USSR livestock production average annual gross production rose by 6 percent in the years 1981-84, compared to the years 1976-80. In 1984 the heads of cattle grew by 1 percent over 1983, pigs declined somewhat, and sheep and goats increased by 8 percent. In the public sector the average milk yield from cows rose. As the result of it, the production of meat rose by 2 percent, that of milk and eggs, by 1 percent. In the CSSR, despite curtailing the cattle stock by 39,000 heads, or 0.7 percent, compared with 1983, and that of pigs by 327,000 animals or 5 percent, through a higher livestock performance the production of meat rose by 4 percent, of milk by 4 percent and of eggs by 4.5 percent. The average annual milk performance rose by 4.2 percent, that of the laying hens, by 4 percent, compared with the year before. The output of animal products has thus far in the current five-year plan risen all over in the CEMA countries, which is also true of the per capita output (Table 2).

The successes achieved in livestock production in the CEMA countries are due to a consistent intensification and the use of multilateral cooperation among the countries. Of great importance were reciprocal deliveries of breeding cattle, poultry and sperms of high-grade breeding bulls, which is constantly growing in scope. This form of cooperation was a sound basis for the further development of international socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation in sharing the use of genetic stock. The CEMA countries in 1979 signed an international multilateral accord on the genetic stock for cattle, pigs and sheep. In line with the specialization generated on that basis, the GDR is the chief supplier of high-grade breeding cattle, Hungary, for pigs, the USSR, for sheep and so forth.

Between 1981 and 1984, these countries furnished other interested CEMA countries with some 400 breeding cattle, 2,830 pigs, more than 15,000 sheep and goats and, furthermore over 100,000 doses of breeding bull sperm. These breeding cattle are used with good benefit in developing cattle breeding in the import countries.

The Complex Cooperation Measures in Intensifying Agricultural Production

The CEMA countries are working on the draft plans for the chief trends in economic and social development for the years 1986 to 1990 and for the time span up to 2000. Connected with that is an analysis of results achieved, the discovery of positive and negative sides in economic development and the specification of the economic intensification tasks based on the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress. Special attention while drawing up these plans is paid to AIK, which is supposed to be planned, financed and managed as a unified entity. That comes with the search for the most efficient ways and means of management and planning, organization and remuneration for labor, which can still make more of the advantages of socialist economic management based on scientific-technical progress.

Merging, with maximum effect, the national R&D potentials into one uniform international potential of the CEMA countries, using the advantages of the international division of labor and with regard to the natural and economic specifics in each country, is the most important task for the economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the agro-industrial sector.

In the CEMA economic summit declaration (Moscow, 1984) it is stated: "The participants in the conference rated the all-round hastening of scientific-technical progress as especially topical and agreed to work out jointly, on the basis of the national programs, a comprehensive scientific-technical progress program for 15 to 20 years as the basis for working out a coordinated policy, in some fields even a uniform scientific-technical policy, for the purpose of finding the fastest possible solution for the most important problems in science and technology through common efforts and handing on the results achieved to the interested countries on mutually advantageous terms." That affects the branches of AIK directly, especially agriculture, where production intensification is linked with the latest and most up-to-date means and methods of production. "For considerably enlarging the volume of capital invested in the soil," Lenin wrote, "new machines, new agricultural systems, new methods of animal husbandry, shipments of products and so forth have to be invented." (Footnote) (V. I. Lenin: "Works," Vol 5, p 103)

At that also are aimed the conclusions and proposals of the CPSU Central Committee conference on hastening scientific-technical progress. The conception presented at the conference for hastening the country's socioeconomic development, for the qualitative transformation of the material-technical base of the economy through introducing the accomplishments of science and technology, and for perfecting the management of the economic mechanism, was received with great interest in the CEMA countries.

Ensuring a stable development of AIK as a technical-technological, economic-organizational and socioeconomic task for solving the food problem remains the first and foremost strategic task in agrarian policy in the communist and workers parties of the CEMA countries. The courses for solving this task are written into the basic documents approved by CEMA--into the comprehensive program for further deepening and perfecting the cooperation and development of socialist economic integration, and the long-term target program for cooperation in agriculture and the foodstuffs economy.

Altogether the implementation of the cooperation measures envisaged in these documents had an essential influence on the further development of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, farm machinery construction and other branches of AIR and its infrastructure.

In the CEMA countries, the degree of agricultural intensification has grown as did labor productivity, and the character of and respect for labor have changed.

In the resolutions of the CEMA economic summit and the conference of the central committee secretaries of the fraternal parties in Moscow, the priority trends for the development of cooperation were set down and the need of lifting them onto a higher qualitative level was pointed out. The declaration of the economic summit states: "The participants in the conference regard as a top priority task the utmost development of the AIK branches and cooperation in this sphere. The CEMA countries shall direct their efforts at increasing the production of food through the introduction of progressive technologies, the development and perfection of the material and technological base of agriculture and the food industry, and also at increasing mutual deliveries of foodstuffs with the aim of improving the supply of food to the population and the consumption structure."

Much attention is paid in this connection to the implementation of the "comprehensive cooperation measures for improving the supplying of the CEMA countries' population with foodstuffs." They are an important element of the comprehensive organizational measures adopted at the 38th (extraordinary) CEMA session and aimed at the fulfillment of the economic summit resolutions.

The main trends of cooperation, as contained in the comprehensive program and the long-term target program of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, retain their importance but are complemented and made more specific by the comprehensive measures. The measures give more substance and stronger impulses to the CEMA countries' multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the agro-industrial sector. In their implementation, 15 representative CEMA organs and five international economic organizations take part. The integration and cooperation in science, technology and production embraces all three spheres of the AIK in the CEMA countries. The priority goes to the cooperation that is linked with the development of those branches of AIK that furnish means of production, the products of which are needed for the material-technical base of agriculture, the food industry, the refrigeration and storage industry and others.

Expanding production while improving product quality is possible, as one knows, either by increasing the production potential and drawing in additional resources or through more efficient use of extant capacities, a faster introduction of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress, and the application of the experiences of the best units. In any case, though, the growth of products and their value must be higher than the extra expenditures for producing them. If that principle is ignored, the price trend for agricultural products seen in recent years in the CEMA countries cannot long function as stabilizing factor for economic conditions ensuring a normal development of that branch of the economy.

One of the most important tasks in solving that problem lies in working out and applying fund and energy-saving technologies, which make production increases possible while the ecological equilibrium is preserved. Solving the problem of resources-saving technologies has become most relevant in crop and livestock production because in some CEMA countries the technological material and energy consumption grew faster than labor expenditure was reduced or crop yields or livestock performance improved.

The comprehensive cooperation measures envisage the development of resources-saving technologies for the most important products in crop and livestock production. In conjunction with progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, these technologies will create the prerequisites for going into working with standards in computing the input/output ratio (yelds, animal performance) with regard for natural conditions and the degree of the practical use made of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress.

The comprehensive measures pay much attention to the agricultural application of chemistry. The CEMA countries are trying hard to increase their mineral fertilizer production. To do away with the deficit in phosphor fertilizer, one expects to cooperate in raising the production of highly concentrated and combined mineral fertilizers, the extracting of phosphorite deposits on the Chubsugul Lake (MPR), and the producing of production capacities for phosphor fertilizer, yellow phosphor and other phosphor products. Then there are also further measures of cooperation to satisfy the CEMA countries' needs for micronutrients.

The application of chemistry also provides for the broad application of anti-weed, anti-pest, and anti-plague agents innocuous to the environment.

Chemical application leads to an increase in labor productivity in field work. Not rarely, the introduction of industrialized technologies for growing maize, sugar beets, vegetable and some other agricultural crops is delayed because there are no herbicides.

One reason for so slow an increase in the efficient application of mineral fertilizers and chemical crop protection agents is the inadequate material-technical base for chemical application, the inadequate technical level of the machines and the equipment for the transport and application of chemical agents and for their storage.

The comprehensive measures contain tasks for deepening the cooperation in the chemical industry, for production increases and assortment broadening in mineral fertilizer and crop protection agents, and for the joint production of machines and equipment for the transport, storage and the application of those agents.

Great is the importance of the industrial branches of AIK for further boosting the production and improving the quality of foods. The decisive foundation for farm production yet are the soil, the agricultural cultivated plants and the domestic cattle; through them, with the help from solar energy, the product is created.

That is the reason why the CEMA countries' cooperation continues in breeding new varieties and hybrids of grain, granular leguminosae, vegetable, forage plants, fruit and berries that make a better use of solar energy, have valuable nutrients, are ecologically resistant and conform to the demands of modern industrialized technology.

More efficient use should also be made in livestock production of the biological potential.

The most important objective of the comprehensive measures is the extention and deepening of cooperation in further increasing grain, mainly feed grain, production. For an accelerated development of the grain economy, the comprehensive measures, in addition to breeding and growing highly productive assortments, envisage the development of new and the perfecting of established production procedures for grain and granular leguminosae, by using new high-capacity harvester-threshers. Also not yet exhausted are the opportunities to increase grain production by perfecting the cultivation structure, such as expanding the kernel maize acreage in traditional cultivation areas. For the future, expanding the kernel maize acreage in the northern regions will also constitute a reserve for production increases. But that requires concrete results from meeting the agreement on scientific-technical cooperation in maize growing, especially early ripening and super-early hybrids, which would make possible the growing of kernel maize also in the northern regions of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the CSSR, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR and Romania.

The comprehensive measures attach great importance to consolidating the feed base and raising the production of crop, animal and microbial protein.

Intended are not only higher grain yields, but also the cooperation in developing new technology and storage methods for feed grain, in increasing the yields of meadows and pasturages, in perfecting the canning and storage of bulk and juice, and in working out methods for cultivating, harvesting, transport and storage of alfalfa and soy and other granular legumiosae. Through successful work it will become possible to expand the acreages for these cultivated plants (today, granular leguminosae make up only 4 to 6 percent of the total of grain and granular leguminosae growing). If one considers the value of granular leguminosae for enriching feed rations with protein and essential amino acids and as nitrogen collector in the soil through binding nitrogen from the air, it becomes obvious that the opportunities inherent in these types of plants are too little used.

An important protein source will be the products of the biochemical and microbiological industry (feed yeast, lysine, vitamins and other food supplements). Their joint production is being planned.

The CEMA countries' cooperation in solving the grain and feed problem will make possible gradually elevating the intensity of livestock production, its capability and its efficiency. Cooperation with the industrial branches of AIK will also contribute to it, as they will supply livestock production with the technical means it needs, with means of transportation, installations for the drawing and long-time storage of the sperm in valuable breeding cattle, for its transport and for its use in artificial insemination.

Altogether the implementation of the comprehensive measures will help raise the intensity and efficiency of agricultural production and better supply the population with high-grade foodstuffs.

Länder Country	Insgesamt Total									Je Kopf der Bevölkerung per capita								
	Fleisch meat (Schlachtmasse) weight-- kt slaughtered			Milch milk kt			Eier eggs Mio Stck. million pieces			Fleisch meat (Schlachtmasse) kg			Milch milk kg			Eier eggs Stck. piece		
	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980	1980	1984[1]	1984 in % zu 1980
Bulgarien	781	849	109	2 217	2 560	115	2 405	2 672	111	88	95	108	250	286	114	271	298	110
Ungarn	1 566	1 825	117	2 557	2 851	111	4 385	4 239	97	146	171	117	239	267	112	409	397	97
DDR	1 899	1 988	105	7 297	7 694	105	5 514	5 772	105	114	119	104	436	462	106	329	346	105
Mongolei	227	231	102	226	252	112	21	24	114	136	125	92	136	137	101	12,7	13	102
Polen	3 141	2 500[2]	80	16 499	16 093[2]	98	8 902	7 642[2]	86	88	68[2]	77	464	440[2]	95	250	209[2]	84
UdSSR	15 073	16 745	111	90 899	97 614	107	66 882	75 314	113	57	61	107	342	355	-04	252	204	109
CSSR	1 499	1 536	102	5 966	6 823	114	4 900	5 504	112	98	99	101	390	441	113	320	356	111

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CSO: 2300/119

CEMA CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT PILOT TRAINING SCHOOL DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 47 1985 (signed to press 18 Nov 85) p 10

/Article by Dmitri Zassorov: "I Got Off the Airplane During the Landing Approach"--Visit to the CEMA Pilot Training School in Ulyanovsk/

/Text/ I obtained permission for this flight from Honored Pilot of the USSR Viktor Rzhevsky, deputy director of the Joint Training Center for Flying, Engineering and Air Safety Personnel of the Civil Air Transport Companies of the CEMA Countries in Ulyanovsk. Full of curiosity, I enter the cockpit of the Tu-134. Even though I have never before touched a joystick, I am offered the copilot's seat. I feel a little funny about this, and I settle for the flight engineer's jumpseat. I find the mass of fittings in front of me and above me somewhat confusing. There are more of them here, it occurs to me, than in the control center of a power station. The flight mission states: takeoff and landing, or, in pilot vernacular, one go-around. To take off, make a turn and line up for a landing is probably about the most difficult task in aviation.

The takeoff is smooth, the turn has been made, and we are starting the final approach. The instruments clearly provide all the necessary information: altitude, speed, and other things. Suddenly pilot Aleksandr Yeshotkin reports that the landing gear will not lower. The flight engineer calmly states that he will "fix this" immediately. The aircraft gains altitude and once more prepares for final approach. This is repeated several times. The constantly repeated operational sequences are beginning to bore this non-participant and I decide to get off. I step out of the flight simulator, which the pilots use to familiarize themselves with that aircraft model, in the middle of the final approach.

This group of buildings of the center contains simulators for every type of aircraft as well as operators' consoles for ground aircraft controllers and dispatchers. In other words, all possible and impossible flight scenarios can be reproduced at the center. I find myself surrounded by highly sensitive electronics. "This center was founded in 1935 and at the time modestly called itself Advanced Flight Training Course for Civil Air Transport," says Deputy Director Valdimir Deldyushov. "Pilots of bombers and transport aircraft were trained here during the Great Patriotic

War. After the war the courses were reconverted to civil aviation. In 1981 the center became a CEMA facility. Since then experienced flight commanders, pilots, navigators and ground controllers have gone back to school here. The students do not have to pass an entrance examination, but experience, college degrees, or at least 3 years of college are prerequisites.

"Why do experienced people have to go back to school?" I ask.

"There is no other way in today's aviation," says Vikto Rzhevski. "New generation Soviet aircraft are introduced in many international airlines: the Tu-134, various modifications of the Tu-154, Il-62 and Il-86. Even experienced pilots must retrain for them. Even the second class of the Jak-42, which uses small airports required that the pilot undergo special training. There is great interest in this new aircraft. This turboprop model operates very economically and can be used for short or medium runs. At the moment we are swamped with applicants for the Tu-154M. This upgraded model uses 20 to 25 percent less fuel than its predecessor, the Tu-154 B."

"What does the specialists training consist of?"

"We are dealing here with retraining, more specifically, familiarization with the new equipment and an upgrading of flight procedures. In the beginning there are classroom sessions and the flight simulator. Then there are actual flights. But since we are dealing with experienced pilots, we do mostly without cross-country flying and use 90 percent of the time for local takeoffs and landings. But even for this the flight captains require 3 months. Copilot training takes a little longer."

During the past four and one-half years thousands of specialists from the European socialist states have been retrained here, as have others from Angola, Syria, Libya, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea and China. At the moment things are a little quieter in the center. One course has just concluded, but the replacements are already arriving--one specialist group each from Guyana and the GDR.

A few years ago I asked the director of Moscow's Little Theater, Mikhail Tsaryov, prior to his theater's guest appearances in the Mongolian People's Republic, how he planned to overcome the language barrier. His reply was brief: "Art needs no translation." Surely no one will deny that flying is an art also; but here, more than anywhere else, it is important to explain to the students the smallest details of such a complex piece of machinery as an aircraft. Thus the question of communication certainly commands attention here. Viltor Rzhevski calms my worries: "The European pilots all speak Russian. For pilots from Arab countries for example, we provide simultaneous interpretation. Our working languages are Russian, English, French, German and Spanish."

This year the Ulyanovsk center will be 50 years old. Its graduates fly on all continents today. I believe they all have fond memories of their training time in Ulyanovsk.

9273/12276
CSO: 2300/109

FORMER CZECH ECONOMIST EVALUATES CSSR SYSTEM

Stuttgart OSTEUROPA in German No 11, 1985 pp 813-826

[Article by Jiri Kosta, Dr. rer. pol., Csc. oec., Professor of Economics (specialty: Socialist economic systems) at the University of Frankfurt/Main: "Relaxed Central Planning--Without Success"]

[Text] On Economic Development in Czechoslovakia

It is an old experience that pressure for reform increases with growing functional weaknesses of Soviet type planned economic systems. Czechoslovakia (CSSR) is an eloquent example of the interrelationship between economic crises and reform attempts. The growth and supply crisis of the early 1960's was followed by an economic reform whose fate was sealed by the foreign policy intervention in August 1968 and the ensuing, forced change in course of the country. A temporary upswing at the beginning of the 1970's, under the conditions of an essentially centrally-directed planning system, made possible mostly due to favorable external factors, but also containing system-inherent weaknesses, was superseded by a trend of recessive growth, which led to a critical decline in development around 1981/1982 and brought about new discussions of reform.

Economic Starting Situation

The growth rates of national income produced (Table 1) not only show the gradual slackening of the development road of the Czechoslovakian economy after 1975, but also indicate that actual figures remained permanently behind the corresponding target figures.

We have reproduced both the gross and net values of national income, because Czechoslovakian publications in the years after 1982 juxtapose the former growth rates of the net national product with the comparatively higher growth of the gross product. This makes for a "rosier" picture.

The obvious downswing of the Czechoslovakian economy in the period of 1976 to 1982 was strained by a number of difficulties to be indicated here only with keywords. It was a matter of increasing shortages in basic materials and energy, the country's continuously deteriorating foreign trade position, supply problems in the agricultural sector, etc.

Table 1: Annual Growth of the Czechoslovakian Economy 1971-1983 (in percent)

		1971-75[1]	1976-80[1]	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
National Income Produced											
Gross Value[2]	Target	5.3	5.2	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.3	3.7	2.8	0.5	2.0
	Actual	5.1	4.0	4.6	4.3	4.5	3.4	3.3	0.8	0.6	2.6
Net Value[3]	Target	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.1	4.6	4.0	3.5	2.5	-0.2	1.6
	Actual	5.7	3.7	4.2	4.2	4.1	3.1	2.9	-0.1	0.2	2.4
National Income Spent	Actual	6.1	2.2	3.1	1.6	2.7	1.1	2.7	-3.4	-1.6	0.7

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[1] Annual average; [2] Gross material product (including write-offs); [3] Net material product (without write-offs).
Source: Statisticka Rocenka CSSR 1983, pp 136-138; 1984, pp 127-129; Economic Survey of Europe in 1983, Geneva/New York 1984, p 125.

It would be all too simple to attribute the unfavorable development of the Czechoslovakian economy only to causes inherent in the functional problems of the central planned economy system. Similar to other countries deficient in raw materials, whose high degree of industrialization implies strong foreign trade dependency, the CSSR was hit in an almost catastrophic manner by the deterioration of the terms of trade which, subsequent to two oil price shocks, raised the price level of raw materials in proportion to the prices for industrial products to an extent unknown before. A further difficulty for the CSSR economy consisted in the recession in the West, which considerably impaired the absorption capacity of the markets in the capitalist industrial countries. (Compare J. Kosta, F. Levcik: Economic Crises in the East European CEMA Countries, Cologne 1985, p 7 ff.).

In addition to unfavorable external conditions, one must also take into account internal problems not directly attributable to central-directive planning: such as the more costly raw material deposits, and increasing stress on infrastructure and environment in extraction and processing of raw materials. In particular, the enormous quantities of West Bohemian brown coal, extracted by strip mining, constitute an impairment of the environment with which the CSSR economy was unable to cope. Furthermore, there is the economic structure, imposed through foreign policy and running counter to the country's natural conditions, which led to a one-sided predominance of heavy industry due to the political conditions after World War II, and which was further expanded through total integration into the CEMA bloc (compare text further on, and J. Kosta: Outline of the Socio-Economic Development of Czechoslovakia 1945-1977, Frankfurt/Main 1978).

Well-Known Functional Shortcomings of the Economic System

Despite these influencing factors external to the system, the crisis tendencies in the CSSR must be attributed largely to the system-inherent weaknesses of the centrally directed planned economy (in which East bloc integration can also be considered caused by the system).

Table 2: Average Annual Productivity Growth in the Producing Sectors of the Czechoslovakian National Economy 1971-1982 (in percent)

	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1982
Work productivity	4.8	3.1	-0.1
Capital productivity	-0.1	-2.4	-5.9
Total economic productivity	2.35	0.3	-3.0

Source: J. Kosta, L. Levcik: Economic Crisis in the East European CEMA Countries, Cologne 1985, p 31.

The indicators listed in Table 2 point to three decisive weaknesses of the Soviet planning system, which was essentially reestablished after revocation of the reform elements of the 1960's, i.e.:

--first, the waste of resources, expressed in low work and capital productivity,
--second, the lack of structural adaptability to changing basic conditions,
--third, the enterprises' lack of willingness to introduce technical and organizational innovations (J. Kosta: Economic Systems of Existing Socialism, Cologne 1984, p 92).

The functional weaknesses mentioned become very clear if we focus on the development data of the CSSR national economy in the international context. The example of use and consumption of energy resources is particularly characteristic for the waste of production factors. Compared to the two Western industrial countries of Austria and the FRG, the energy-intensity in the CSSR was almost three times higher, a fact which is not attributable to a more favorable consumption level in family households, but rather to extremely high losses of energy use in industry and in transporting energy (R. Dietz: Energy Economy in East Europe and the USSR, Vienna/New York 1984, pp 34 and 39 ff.).

The two other shortcomings of the system--difficulties in structural adaptability and slowness of innovation--can be seen in the results of CSSR Western exports. According to computations by the Vienna Institute for International Economic Comparisons, the loss of market shares for CSSR exporters amounted to 33.1 percent between 1970 and 1980, in the case of the GDR and Hungary, 20.8 and 21.4 percent, respectively. The CSSR share of exports of machinery and other technological products, typical for the technological level, to worldwide imports of this class of goods dropped from 2.1 percent (1970) to 1.47 percent in 1980 (F. Levcik, J. Skolka: East-West Technology Transfer. Study of Czechoslovakia, Paris [OECD] 1984, p 20).

Basic Features of Reform Measures from 1978 to 1981

On 1 January 1978, a "complex experiment for controlling the efficiency and quality of production" was introduced in about 150 enterprises which are united in 17 production associations; in Czech terminology, "economic production units" (VHJ) (HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 2/1978, supplement).

The emphasis of the corresponding directives was placed on utilizing monetary instruments and strengthening material incentives. The basic tendencies of the "complex experiment" consist, on the one hand, in a combination of small steps of decentralization, and in centrally administered regimentation, on the other hand, but not in a reform concept oriented to market economy (ibid.). On the basis of allegedly positive experiences with this experiment (F. Chval, J. Cerny, in: REVIEW OBCHODU PRUMYSLU, HOSPODARSTVI, 7/1980, p 80), the government in 1979 passed a new resolution which has been called a "complex of measures of the system of planned direction of the national economy after 1980" (RUDE PRAVO, 14/3/1980). Based on the appropriate resolutions, at the beginning of 1981 measures specified in the document were introduced in industry as well as in the construction and service industries.

Overall, the reform steps can be seen as an attempt to relax somewhat the present economic plan system in order to increase efficiency without shaking the foundations. It appears that this is a case of a compromise between different opinions of experts that had to be accommodated. As will be shown, this impression is also confirmed by the discussions of the problem in CSSR trade journals in recent years. (Our statement is based on articles in the trade journals PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, and POLITICKA EKONOMIE, which will be quoted later on.) The spectrum of opinions, which becomes only partially visible in the above-mentioned document of resolutions, ranges from the evidently less influential economic scientists advocating a larger reform to those economists aiming only at improvements in the economic index system and forms of incentives, whereby the instruments of central-directive planning are possibly even to be expanded.

Administrative and Managerial Structure: Small Changes

The structure of administration has hardly changed under the resolutions of 1980. The leading role of the party, the strong position of the state planning commission, which continues to enjoy a predominant place vis-a-vis the numerous sector ministries, subordination of the VHJ syndicates under the ministries, and last but not least, the enterprises operating at the lowest level of the managerial pyramid--this order corresponds to the traditional Soviet-type administrative structure. There are, however, a few new accents and peculiarities.

The VHJ as the middle management level (it corresponds approximately to the combines in the GDR) is to be expanded, to a much greater extent than up to now, as a fundamental member of the administration. VHJ was created in 1958 as a counterbalance to the overly powerful ministries of industries with their former central administrations, and later on was reorganized several times. Of the three VHJ types--the horizontally organized "trust", and the two types of "syndicates," usually of vertical organization--the strongly centralized type of syndicates, sometimes called combines, was recommended as the prospective form after 1980. According to the complex of resolutions, the general managers of the syndicates now fulfill--vis-a-vis the central authorities--the function of planning executant, tax payer, fund manager and borrower, whereby action by the central authorities and banks against individual enterprises has been greatly reduced, albeit not eliminated. (V. Stepanik, in: FINANCE A UVER, 6/1984, p 393).

It must be conceded that certain limits have been put on the decision-making authority of the management of the syndicates vis-a-vis the enterprises, which are probably not as tight in all cases as they appear at first glance. Overall, however, just a listing of the manifold functions of VHJ would show the strengthened position of the mid-level administration, both vis-a-vis the central authorities and at the level of individual companies. Also, it cannot be overlooked that a side-by-side existence of large, medium and small enterprises is being advocated, and the arguments for it, because they are plausible, do not need to be repeated here.

National Economic Planning: New Elements

The 5-year plan is to be the basis of planning; incidentally, a demand made time and again in earlier declarations of intent by the political leaderships. The complex of measures demanded that the goals of the seventh 5-year plan (1981-1985) be incorporated in a forecast stretching to the year 2000, formulated in "complex development programs" and finalized in "state target programs," which was to be linked with the "long-term target programs" of CEMA. Finally, to be determined in the 5-year plan were the "basic tasks" and "limits of funds," including "normative material stimulation." (On the following, see J. Kosta, in: OSTEUROPA-WIRTSCHAFT, 2/1982, p 96; L. Strougal, in: Ke zdokonaleni planoviteho rizeni narodniho hospodarstvi, Prague 1980, pp 15-42, 123-128, and Sbornik stati ke zdokonaleni soustavy planoviteho rizeni narodniho hospodarstvi, Prague 1980, pp 30-37).

On the one side, the basic tasks take the shape of quantitative indices: among them are indicators such as "selected products in commodity units," "deliveries for investment building according to sectors," "operation of new industrial installations," "production tasks in selected new issues," "deliveries for export according to sectors," "exports of complete installations," etc.; on the other side, the reform measures deal with qualitative indices, among them: "profitability of funds of fixed assets," "work productivity compared to company performance (i.e., net product)," "differential indicator of foreign trade and domestic prices," "kilogram prices of export goods."

Among the numerous binding indices to be incorporated in the 5-year plan, which are to express efficiency and satisfaction of demand better than the previous target indices (gross production, investment volume, etc.), the new index of "adjusted company performance", conceived as a measuring stick of success, stands out. This indicator of the "type of net production" (gross production minus the costs of materials) forms the basis for normatives, especially for stimulation funds (see later in the text).

In allocating the 5-year plans, "tolerance limits" (values from - to) are to be allowed. In the yearly plans, individual binding indices are no longer to be set, but rather the above-mentioned normatives. Assumption of greater planning tasks by the enterprises through "counterplans" are recognized through higher wage and premium allocations. In case of non-fulfillment of the plans, post facto cuts have to be made. The document and all commentaries stress that the stability of targets set over a period of several years and economic rules, i.e., normatives, tax rates, etc., are a prerequisite for the effectiveness of the extensive and sophisticated plans. On the other hand, it is conceded that long-term plans under changed basic conditions, especially in view of interlocking international relationships, should not be set once and for all.

This shows an almost unsolvable contradiction between the principle of stability of planning on the one hand, and flexible adaptation of the national economic plans on the other hand. The rapid changes in world market prices after the second oil price shock of 1979, in particular, made price adaptations necessary which delayed preparatory work on the national economic plan. Thus the VHJ and enterprises received, much too late, the necessary information regarding their particular plan targets. Up to then, "the economy" was directed "essentially according to the yearly plans which deviated from the original plan targets." (NOVE SLOVO, 6 Sep 1984, p 4f.; also compare V. Kadlec: Rok 1984 ekonomicky, in : LISTY, Rome, 1/1985, p 34 f.; this article by a formerly prominent economist, published in the exile journal, bases its critical statements on a great number of quotations from the CSSR trade press.) It shows that the intention of giving up, in the annual state plans, the traditional plan indices such as production targets and input allocations in favor of normatives, was not implemented.

In Soviet-type planned economies, balance-sheets of materials have always been one of the fundamental instruments of coordination between the availability of a product and its use. The fact that balancing has partly been moved from the central authority to the middle level of decisionmaking, i.e., the VHJ, will hardly justify the hoped-for improvement of the coordination mechanism.

The commercial contracts between supplying and purchasing enterprises are based on the balance-sheets and plan indices. The institution of commercial contracts is being revaluated in several regards (Sbornik, op. cit., p 38). Firstly, the parties to the contract are under much greater administrative and economic pressure to conclude the contract which formerly—as is being stressed now—frequently never materialized. Discharge of the contractual obligation is incumbent upon the Office of State Arbitration. Secondly, special emphasis is placed on concluding contracts covering several years whose life, as a rule, is to correspond to the 5-year plan period. Thirdly, there is to be reciprocal influence between plan drafting and contract negotiations, whereby the commercial contract is possibly to be signed before fixing the plan targets.

Increasing Importance of Monetary and Economic Incentives

The growing importance of monetary management forms and economic incentives can be clearly observed in the CSSR in the late 1970's. In the above-mentioned list of measures, this trait is usually euphemized with the well-known term "Chosrastschot." In detail, it is a matter of a) the financial scope of the enterprises, b) the problem of prices, and c) economic incentives.

Financial Scope of Enterprises: The principle of self-financing of investments is to be applied fully in the VHJ. (On this point, see: L. Ler, discussion paper, presented at a panel of functionaries on the occasion of the passing of the complex of measures, in: Ke zdokonaleni, op. cit., pp 114-122 [Ler is finance minister and chairman of the government committee for questions of planned management of the national economy] ; Sbornik, op. cit., pp 43-61). In the first place, self-financing is to be given greater importance, and there is to be more leeway than before for loans, while financing from the government budget is to be greatly reduced. Even if such a procedure could be implemented, it could only affect the VHJ—if the stipulations of that document are followed—but hardly the individual enterprises. As a rule, only the syndicates are authorized to redistribute the profits and losses achieved in the individual enterprises. The financial scope of the individual enterprises remains relatively narrow.

The funds of the enterprises are an important instrument of monetary management and stimulation. The document distinguishes between two types of the funds of VHJ and enterprises: financing fund and stimulation fund. (For more detail, see J. Kende: Czechoslovakia: Goals, Problems and Strategies of Economic Policy during the Early 1980's, Berlin 1982, pp 59-65). The individual funds are fed on the basis of the above-mentioned formatives. Basically it is a matter of putting a part of the profits achieved into the funds concerned, according to precisely fixed conditions and depending on the most important indicators of success (adjusted company performance, fund profitability, export targets, etc.), and according to certain percentage rates. In order to use the funds as levers, the levies of the enterprises, especially profit transfers, have been reduced. The financial leeway in the sector of formation and use of the funds is greater on the VHJ level than at the level of individual enterprises.

The Problem of Prices (M. Sabolcik, Discussion paper [see above,Ler] , pp 130-136; the same, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI v letech 1984-1985, D. 1-10; R. Gruenwald, in: POLITICKA EKONOMIE, 7/1984, pp 735-744; F. Vencovsky, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 8/1984, pp 22-27): It is still a much discussed, but open, question in how far prices are to be considered and established as "values," according to the criteria of cost and/or utility value, that is to say, according to their use and limited availability.

In the traditional system of the centrally planned economy, the domestic production enterprise was protected from external price influences, since the state foreign trade enterprises carried out their transaction at world market prices, and the differences were charged to the national budget. The change in the terms of trade made it obvious that, under these conditions, the already existing barriers against a structural adaptation were especially great. The necessity of letting changed international price relations influence the relative prices of the domestic economy, gradually gained acceptance.

Under the term "rationalization of the price system" (M. Sabolcik, op. cit., pp 4ff.; V. Janecek, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 8/1984, pp 46-57), during a first stage--from 1979 to 1982--the prices for fuels were raised annually. In 1981, a price increase for other imported raw materials was added, and in 1982, prices were also increased for additional basic and other materials being produced on the basis of the much more expensive raw materials. In a few exceptional cases, however, wholesale prices were lowered.

Through cost savings in the processing industry and in transportation, passing on the price increases to consumer goods prices was to be avoided as far as possible. That this intention could not be carried out is not only indicated by price increases, such as the price raises for meat, tobacco and alcohol, officially anounced at the beginning of 1982 (Kosta, Neuere Entwicklungen, op. cit., p 96). Probably much more serious were the hidden price increases: evidently, the enterprises made extensive use of the chance to mark higher prices for "new" products, as permitted by the regulations under the keyword "price stimulation." Efforts by the authorities to stop such practices came up against the limited information capacity which makes effective price control impossible.

It is not possible for the outsider to estimate the increase in the level of retail prices, and the extent of state support which is to keep the price index for consumer goods within limits. Developments from 1981 to 1985 resulting from these and other changes in wholesale prices, are listed by an employee of the Federal Price Office with the following figures (V. Janecek, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 8/1984, pp 46-57):

Price increases of fuels, in total	+ 72.3 %
Among them:	
Imported raw materials	+111.1 %
Domestic fuels and raw materials (including agriculture)	+ 54.4 %
Increase in wholesale prices of all products	+ 17.2 %
Among them:	
Finished products	+ 12.2 %

Not covered in the decisions on price policy is the question at what level of decision-making price formation should take place. Evidently, liberalization of price decisions is not being considered. The statements on uniform guidelines for cost accounting do give the impression that prices are fixed by the Federal Price Office for only a part of the diverse goods categories. Certainly, a certain amount of pricing authority is vested at the enterprise level, since only here is the necessary information about individual cost components available. But in this case, also, the VHJ probably has greater pricing authority--within the framework of central directives and controls--than individual enterprises.

Economic Incentives (Ke zdokonaleni, op. cit., pp 61-66; Sbornik, op. cit., pp 81-82; J. Kosta, Neuere Entwicklungen, op. cit., p 97):Among profit incentives in the widest meaning of the word must be counted all monetary instruments; therefore, not only payment for work, but also prices, credits, interest, exchange rates, etc. We want to limit ourselves here to only those which are directly effective in the form of wages and premiums.

Wages as a "fundamental component" (complex of measures) of compensation for work, which continue to be determined by national pay scales on the basis of job and qualification classifications, are set with the help of normatives dependent on the index "adjusted self-performance." This means a relinquishing of the priority position of "gross production," which up to now was the main measure of success, often expressed through the index of work productivity, and which brought about the known effects of waste (Kosta, Neuere Entwicklungen, op. cit.).

In addition to the amount of wages, the premium fund is also fixed on the basis of normatives. While wages are considered costs, the premium fund--and similarly, the stimulation fund--is formed by setting aside a part of the profits achieved. As a rule, its amount depends on fulfillment of the index "profitability of the fund of fixed assets" and other, company-specific efficiency indices. On the average, basic wages of all workers and employees are to be about 80 percent so that premiums make up the remaining 20 percent. It is up to the VHJ syndicates to decide the criteria which are of importance for the premiums of individual employees. None of it can be considered a new phenomenon.

Reform Measures in Agriculture

In September 1981, the government passed a bill called "principles of a perfected system of planned management of agriculture" (HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 45/1981, supplement). The direction of impact of the regulations in question correspond to the measures in effect for one year in the secondary and tertiary sectors, respectively. Therefore, the reform attempts in the agricultural sector can be interpreted only as a limited relaxing of the continuing centralistic-directive planning system. (On the following, see Kosta, Neuere Entwicklungen, op. cit., pp 97 ff., and ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, 5 Nov 1981).

In the government resolution, special attention is paid to planning within the framework of the so-called "economic agrarian-industrial complex;" one can interpret this somewhat nebulously defined structure as the coordination form of agricultural cooperatives and state farms as well as their supplier and buyer organizations, whose activity is coordinated by higher authorities. By involving all individual segments, production and purchase plans, appropriate input plans (work force, wages, investments, basic and auxiliary materials) and the major indices of financial planning are to be coordinated reciprocally. With the documents at hand, it is difficult to analyze how this interlocking of individual and overall plans is brought about and how it functions.

For agricultural enterprises, the rules are analogous to those for industry. The annual plans result from the targets of the 5-year plan, where the system of counterplanning is also to be applied. Among the binding indices in the resolution--their number was reduced--, purchase quotas for grain and animals for slaughter are listed, and "at the most, three" further items. Natural planning and balancing is to provide the requirement limits of fodder, fuels and energy, as well as the figures for other needed operating means (fertilizer, seed grain, machinery, etc.).

As for monetary management forms, in a balance-sheet table for 1982 the document compares the financial requirement and yield flows. On the requirement side of the balance-sheet, higher buying prices, "differential surcharges" and "growth premiums" are to effect a production increase; on the yield side, subsidies for fodder mixtures were cut, and prices for operating means were adjusted upward, which is to stimulate more economical use of resources. The resulting negative balance (a 2.9 billion korunas overage in requirements) was to be financed from the national budget.

1983-1985: Old Problems--Further Measures

The following data will show how difficult the situation looked at the beginning of 1984: according to official statistics, the level of private consumption rose by 0.8 percent compared to 1978, that of retail sales by 0.4 percent; average real wages dropped by 2.6 percent, per capita consumption of meat by 2.2 percent, and housing construction even fell 26 percent. With regard to the development of the national income, on the basis of CSSR price statistics one comes realistically to the same conclusion as F. Levcik: "A necessarily rough estimate indicates that the net material product at realistic constant prices during 1981 and 1982 dropped by more than 6 percent compared to 1980." (EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU, 2/1985).

It would certainly be too limited a perspective if one were to interpret the crisis development of the early 1980's as a consequence of the complex of measures introduced on 1 January 1981. First of all, factors not inherent to the system were involved, such as the terms of trade, and secondly, in any system reform one must expect a time lag, since the aimed-for effects of economic policy can never materialize immediately. Nevertheless, at least by 1982 a certain effect of the measures should have been noticeable, as the authors had expected. Continuation of the extensive growth trend, continued inefficiencies, the noticeable reserve of enterprises vis-a-vis innovations--all this is not only criticized time and again in the trade press, but also in statements by politicians and commentaries in the mass media. (Compare, among others, V. Janza, in: Planovane hospdarostvi, 5/1984, p 4; S. Sourek, ibid., 9/1984, p 1.)

The indicators characteristic for the functioning of the control system, and therefore especially for the reform measures introduced after 1980, should have shown a more favorable picture by 1982 or 1983, at the latest. This does not change because of the fact that there was a slight increase in the production growth rate in 1983 which continued in 1984 (compare Tables 1 and 3).

Even if the dates in Table 3, based on official statistics, are not considered inflated, the theory of an upswing is untenable (and this is even truer if one calculates the statistical errors, as shown in the table). As the table indicates, even work productivity before 1983 did not yet surpass the level of 1980 and grew by an annual average of only 1 percent during the last 4 years. During the same period, capital productivity dropped by about 15 percent.

Table 3: Efficiency Indicators of the CSSR national economy (1980 = 100 at 1977 prices)

	1981	1982	1983	1984
1. Work productivity	99.6	99.8	101.7	103.8*
2. Capital productivity	94.6	89.3	87.5	84.8*
3. Material intensity	100.7	101.8	102.6	102.9*
4. Energy intensity	99.2	98.0	97.0	95.0

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* Estimated

1. National product per employed person. 2. National product per unit of fixed assets; 3. Material input (previous work) per unit of national product; 4. Primary energy consumption in Terajoules per unit of national product.

Sources: Statisticka rocenka CSSR 1984, p 128; Plan fulfillment report of the Staistical Federal Office for 1984, in: RUDEPRAVO, 28/1/1985, quoted from: F. Levcik, Economic Development, op. cit., Table 4.

The only partial success was registered in the energy sector. Here, indeed, savings were achieved, although they are due to rigorous adminstrative measures (cutting-off of electricity at given times, darkness in the cities, etc.).

Proof of the in reality inadequate technological standards oF Czechoslovakian products can be seen in the unsatisfactory results in the export markets. This is no wonder when--as proven by one author--kilogram prices for exports from Western industrial countries came to $8.44 per kg at the beginning of the 1980's, while exports from the CSSR reached a price of $2.6 per kg. (E. Klvacova, in: HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 49/ 1984, pp 8-9. In the trade literature one assumes that, in a competitive market, a relatively higher price per kilogram of a metal product sold represents an indicator of a comparatively higher technological level.) The insufficient competitiveness of CSSR export goods in Western markets, a result of the low technological level, is also confirmed by an OECD study in 1984: between 1979 and 1981, export of technological equipment and other investment goods ("engineering products"), price-adjusted, dropped by 6.1 percent (Levcik/Skolka, op. cit., p 44).

In Table 3, one important efficiency indicator is not taken into account, i.e., stocks on hand. At present, the output in the CSSR is statistically recorded both on the microlevel and the macrolevel at completion of the production process, i.e., before the moment of sale. There are constant complaints about unsold stock. A member of the State Planning Commission criticized at the end of 1983 that "the amount (of stockkeeping) in industrial organizations with 90 percent of the annually produced national income (during the years 1966-1970) constitutes a great part of idle work (an average of 65 percent) (L. Smid, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 12/1983, p 3; M. Kerous, ibid., 6/1985, pp 54ff.).

If one interprets the data listed in Table 3 and the above-mentioned statements on uneconomical inventory holding, it becomes clear that at least up to 1984, system weaknesses such as inefficiencies, production not geared to needs, and sluggish reaction to innovations have not been overcome since the measures were introduced in 1981. In the weekly economic journal published by the Communist Party one could read that, in an editorial conversation of leading managers with the chairman of the State Planning Commission, it was pointed out time and again that the enterprises received too many plan requirements from above and could, therefore, only be concerned with fulfilling the plan indices, rather than the interests of the enterprise. While the plant managers pleaded for fewer plan directives, the government member advocated "perfectioning of planning." (HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 25/1983, pp 6-9; also compare, ibid., 20/ 1985, p 9).

As mentioned above, the authors of the reform packet intended to dissuade industrial management, with the aid of "counterplanning," from covering up their plan reserves. If, in the course of plan formulations, the enterprise assumes higher production quotas, lower input allocations, more favorable efficiency indicators, etc.;in short, if it assumes on its own "harder" plan indices than set down in the planning authority's original guideline plans, then the normative rates provide for an increase in the amount of wages and premiums. In case of falling below the guideline figures, the pay funds are cut.

An analysis of the use of the instrument of counterplans in the country's Czech Socialist Republic shows that the expectations of the authors of the complex of measures were not fulfilled during 1981 to 1984 (J. Macek, P. Smula, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 4/1984, pp 51-60). Experiences in Slovakia were similar. A local author lists a number of reasons which, in her opinion, explain the failure of counterplanning. According to the economist, "the major problem consists in the enterprises' fears that, if they toughen the plan requirements on their own, the ministries and VHJ will frequently correct the planned target according to the preceding plan fulfillment (i.e., increase it all around), without taking into account the goals of the 5-year plans, and also without taking into account the appropriate advantages, such as wages, increasing premium funds, etc." (V. Sysakova, in: EKONOMICKY CASOPSIS, 6/1984, p 558f.) The problems of counterplanning, extensively described in both articles, indicate that neither the problems of information or of interest, both Achilles heels of directive plan centralism, have been overcome.

1983-1985: Some New Reform Elements

Having recourse to the experiences made with the 1981 list of measures, the CSSR government decided at the beginning of 1983 to introduce further experiments, concerning three areas in particular: scientific-technical progress, investment financing, and organization of foreign trade. (L. Ler, in: HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 9/1983, pp 1, 5; SVET HOSPODARSTVI 29/9/83, pp 1-2; PRAVDA, Bratislava, 13/4/1984, pp 1, 4; S. Bukac, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 9/1984, pp 1-8).

The technological level is to be raised with the aid of improved plan indices, normatives related to them, price formation, and rules of financing, which are to be applied as a lever for promoting innovation. With regard to investment financing, under the experiment the separation of the two funds--the present development fund for decentralized investments and the reconstruction fund for centralized investments--is to be abolished. Now, a uniform fund is to be established, fed mostly by company funds and write-offs. Investment credits are to be granted under stricter conditions than up to now, and subsidies from the national budget will be granted in exceptional cases only.

In foreign trade, two new organizational forms are being introduced on an experimental basis, which above all are to promote exports to the West. In the first form, the state foreign trade enterprise acts as the agent of the production plant, that is, it acts in its own name, but on account of the producer. This regulation is to apply to vehicles, laboratory equipment, and other product types. The second form consists in the organizational and economic incorporation of the former foreign trade enterprise, or one of its departments, respectively, in the production unit (for example, in case of pumps, products of high-voltage technology, etc.). Furthermore, for those industrial enterprises manufacturing products for export, the binding index of "foreign currency for documents" is being introduced. With the help of these instruments, the shortcomings of insufficient market orientation are to be overcome, and the lacking incentives for enterprises producing for export are to be created.

The reports published so far on the effects of these new reform attempts are not exactly encouraging. As reported at the beginning of 1985, new technologies continue to be accepted only hesitantly. "Scientific-technical progress, and innovation activity by the enterprises, so far has not become the decisive method and determinant of intensification...., the economic efficiency of exports is not growing to the required degree; with a view to construction investment, excessive dispersion of construction capacities and overly long construction periods continue to be criticized" (V. Cap, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 2/1985, pp 10 and 15).

CSSR economists and politicians continue to criticize openly the operating method and the results achieved by the spring of 1985, after introduction of the measures. However, the conceptual conclusions from the failures reached by economic scientists are divergent. The more influential experts, whose opinion will probably be reflected in future decisions of the political bodies, are advocates of a "progressive structural change, better plan indices and normatives, more precise balance-sheets, more sophisticated calculation methods, better qualified management, etc.; but in their opinion, central-directive planning is to be maintained. (Compare also J. Hvorecky, in: PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 7/1984, pp 1-7; M. Fremer, ibid., 9/1985, p 3; J. Mervart, in: POLITICKA EKONOMIE, 1/1985, pp 61-72.) Only a minority of economists--at least as far as publications are concerned--advocates a market-oriented reform which is to change the old system. (In some articles, mostly based on theoretical arguments, the plea for a system-changing reform a la Hungary is made very indirectly; among others, compare J. Goldman, K. Kouba: Terms of Trade, Adjustment Processes, and Economic Mechanism--A quantitative approach, in: Acta Oeconomica, Vol 32, p 1f.; M. Kerous, op. cit., p 59).

Within the framework of the "strategy of perfecting," and on the basis of a resolution by the Central Committee presidium of the Communist Party of the CSSR and the Czechoslovakian government published in the fall of 1983, to become effective in 1986, work was begun to "further perfecting the system of planned management of the national economy, and with a view to preparing the eighth 5-year plan" (RUDE PRAVO, 7 Sep 1983, p 1). As a result of the corresponding program preparations, the government published a document on 13 September 1984 with the title, "major directions of the further development of the complex of measures to perfecting the system of planned management of the national economy."In addition to verbose and generalized statements on present and future reform steps, this document presents some more concrete measures, some of which were introduced in 1983 (see above) and 1984, others referring to future years (HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, Nos 42 and 43/1984, supplement). To list a few of these old-new elements:

--The success indicator, "adjusted company performance," is to be modified through deduction of loan interest and inclusion of profits or losses, respectively, from foreign trade operations;
--central and decentralized investments--in the latter case, now without the fixed maximum amount (until now, 2 million korunas)--are to be financed in all enterprises from a uniform investment fund (see above);
--economic results achieved in foreign markets are to be included in the profitability accounting of the production plants, and in selected cases, this also holds true for subcontractors of primary products;
--present criteria for price formation, in particular reference to world market prices, are to be better taken into account than up to now. For certain comsumer goods, not only the retail price but also the wholesale price based on the former is to balance supply and demand and to indicate shortages;
--wage differentiation is to be advanced more energetically; for managerial staff, a larger portion of their work income is to be tied to success;
--the position of the purchasing plants is to be strengthened vis-a-vis the supplier enterprises.

One must, however, see as relative the increasing utilization of monetary control forms and the tendency to decentralize decisions, which is occurring here and there. First of all, most of the statements in this resolution are general and vague indications of a tendency. Secondly, and more importantly, the decentralized elements are counteracted by numerous centralistic-directive control forms; among them are: preset or centrally fixed economic and sector target programs, central investment projects, import and export quotas, indices in the form of instructions, limits, priorities, etc.

The economic policy options in the CEMA countries cannot be selected autonomously by the CSSR leadership. For one, the structural framework of economic development is largely determined by being tied into the CEMA bloc. For another, the more difficult basic conditions for domestic and foreign trade during the last decade impose further limits on a small, industrially developed, but raw material dependent country like the CSSR, within which the political decision-makers have to act.

Final Remarks

If one notes the slight upswing during 1983 and 1984, one must ask if the decisive turnaround has not happened, after all. The cyclical movement of East European national economies, known from earlier periods and much studied (Kosta/Levcik, op. cit.), this time is moving on a much lower level of upswing than before. The growth rates of the last 2 years, rather low by East European standards (according to official statistics, the net material product rose by 2.4 percent in 1983 and 2.6 percent in 1984, the national income spent domestically rose by 0.7 and 1.7 percent respectively; see Levcik, Economic Development, op. cit., Table 3), indicate that the desired turnaround was not accomplished, after all.

The fact that the 1983 decline was halted, nevertheless, and that moderate growth rates were achieved, is probably due less to the success of the control instruments and planning forms used, and more to the somewhat improved basic conditions: the latest development of world market prices, more favorable sales opportunities in Western markets, and the backlog demand potential which accumulates during every downswing phase of a planned economy. Insofar as the small reform steps, carried out in 1981 and supplemented in 1983, had success, it must probably be attributed to administrative planning pressure--such as tougher consumption and performance norms--rather than to economic levers.

In summary, the economic order presently established in Czechoslovakia can be characterized by the following essential traits:

--Central fixing of target plans on the basis of a closed household economy for the enterprises for production of goods and services, as well as allocation of production factors.
--Use of monetary criteria and incentive forms, to influence favorably performance and efficiency.
--A tendency toward decentralization of the administration from the state and ministerial level to that of the sector institutions (VHJ in the CSSR, the combines in the GDR, Objedinenija in the USSR, associations of enterprises and large agro-industrial enterprises in Bulgaria, etc.). Individual enterprises, subject to the general management of sector associations, continue to have limited leeway in the available decision-making process.

If one attempts to compare and systematize the reform types of socialist economic systems which have developed in CEMA countries since the 1970's, then the present order of economic planning in the CSSR corresponds to the type of loosened plan centralism to be found in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Romania, and in somewhat divergent form, also in Poland and Bulgaria. Hungary is the only CEMA country which attempts to implement a larger reform concept oriented toward market economy.

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UNIVERSITY RESEARCH INTEGRATION INTO INDUSTRY VIEWED

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 33 No 10 Oct 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85) pp 277-288

[Article by Dr Michael Goerig, research group leader in the Central Institute for University Education in East Berlin: "Ensuring Quick and Effective Utilization of Economically Significant Research Results From University Level Institutions"]

[Text] The further development of our national economy puts the highest challenges to quick and efficient utilization of research results in national economic practice. Analyses of higher education research results point out, however, that it is exactly this transfer that is not sufficiently mastered in the system of managing and planning scientific-technical progress. From the point of view of higher education research it is especially necessary to intensify cooperation of higher education institutions and their practice partners--from the establishment of goals and tasks to the critical evaluation of research results and their transfer and application to practice. (Footnote 1) (cf "The Tasks of Scientific and Educational Policy at Our Institutes of Higher Education in the Academic Year 1983/84" (From an address by the minister for higher and specialized education at the conference of higher education directors on 4 and 5 July 1983 in Koethen) in: DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN Vol 9/1983 p 256. "Good Results at Higher Education Institutions at the 35th Anniversary of the GDR--Stable Basis for Further Achievement Increase" (From an address by the minister for higher and specialized education at the conference for directors and board members of higher education institutions on 2 and 3 July 1984 in Dresden) op cit Vol 9/1984 p 225) In general terms, transfer must be more intensively placed into the center of management activity--with practice partners, state authorities and also higher education institutions--i.e. management must participate effectively in the organization of successful practice, and must create the necessary conditions for a transfer process that is as uncomplicated as possible. It happens too often that it is left up to those responsible for subject matter development and their practice partners alone if and how they attack the problem of transferring research results.

As regards subject matter development important for a quick and effective utilization of higher education research results, a number of research projects were performed by the Central Institute for Higher Education in the context of ZP [central party] project. (Footnote 2) (cf Goerig M, et al, "Conditions and Challenges in Guaranteeing Quick and Effective Utilization of Higher Education Research Results Important for the National Economy" Central Institute for Higher Education, Berlin 1984, Scientific Work Reports, 1984) In agreement with the annual reports of higher education institutions, the projects point out that in general terms there is a successful transfer of higher education research results into social practice. At the same time, essential problems and reservations in the transfer process became evident. The research projects prove that the decisive capacities for increasing the effectiveness of the transfer process lie especially in subjective factors and in conditions of management and organization.

Cooperation With Practice Partners--A Key Condition for Successful and Quick Transfer of Higher Education Research Results

Transfer of higher education research results to industry works especially well when there are the conditions and the will to meet each other halfway on both sides, and when the transfer field is bridged through cooperation, and therefore does not become "no man's land." A complex method of cooperation with practice partners that is based on trust and mutuality and extends over as long a period as possible, the practice partners here being the true utilizers and producing agents of research results, is of special importance in this regard. In this way the necessary objective as well as subjective conditions for quick and successful transfer of higher education research results can be created. There is no way of giving administrative directions for the necessary attitudes, thought processes, and the sense of responsibility on both sides, as well as for understanding the partner's job, all of these things develop as a rule only through cooperation and active discussion.

An important experience teaches that the decisive basis for all forms of cooperation is the establishment of content and scope of responsibility. If the common problem area is exhausted or if the development of basic research requires a change of content orientation in basic or applied research, existing partnership combination or forms of cooperation must be changed in as much as they cannot deal with the new research content.

The following factors have proven to be conducive to effective cooperation:

--agreement and interrelation of higher education research strategies with development strategies of their practice partners.

By interrelation of strategies must not be understood, however, that basic research in higher education will subordinate itself unilaterally to the strategies of the practice partners. On the contrary, basic research must decisively influence the strategies of practice partners, must prepare important conditions for the development process of these strategies. Therefore, special importance is assumed by the strengthening of analytic, prognostic and strategic activities for the determination of most promising research directions and for avoiding erroneous developments. This requires, among other things, intensive concept work and mutual influence in higher education institutions and among practice partners.

--joint, simultaneous work on research problems by higher education institutions and practice partners.

Parallel work on different achievement levels by higher education institutions and practice partners as well as application-oriented research work done by companies in conjunction with basic research work performed by higher education institutions are measures that save time, assure transferable results and decrease costs of transfer preparations by higher education researchers.

--mutual personnel exchange, temporary employment of higher education researchers, and the purposeful use of graduates by practice partners.

On this point, research has come up with many examples (e.g. mutual personnel exchange is about 20 percent of research projects performed). There are no essential differences between higher education institutions in the utilization of this very effective possibility. In one of the cases researched by us no personnel was sent to higher education institutions by the practice partners, but "only" planning positions were prepared. As useful as planning positions may be for the expansion of the research capacity of higher education institutions, the important effects of personnel exchange are not fully utilized in this manner. Practice partner personnel, on the basis of their understanding for research gained in their work at higher education institutions and of their identification with research jobs, can, e.g., influence "from below," so to speak, (supplementing the activities of management) the readiness of practice partners to utilize research results and solve ongoing problems.

--organization of a joint scientific life with practice partners.

Only in a few of the test cases a joint scientific life between practice partners was found to exist. These few examples, however, demonstrated the high effectiveness of joint scientific life for research, transfer and utilization of research results. Such forms of scientific life as joint monthly research seminars (applied and basic research-oriented), annual meetings, courses of instruction, such as those that are used by the FSU [Friedrich Schiller University] mathematics department and the VEB Cooperative Carl Zeiss, Jena, on the MATMOS complex, have set important conditions for an effective cooperation, a change in attitude and thought process by company personnel, and have prepared the groundwork for effective work by graduates.

--close contacts between higher education institutions and practice partners on all levels (management as well as manufacturing).

A direct, close cooperation on the manufacturing level without fixed organizational form and by way of the "lower level chain of authority" has proven especially effective on several occasions.

The tests also prove that the technical practica established at several higher education institutions are effective links between higher education institutions and industry in order to prepare practice personnel to transfer research results, and to guarantee development of the research results that is appropriate to transfer conditions and compatible with technology. It is noteworthy that through the work in technical practice an immediate cooperation of higher education researchers in companies was not necessary during transfer of research results (e.g. in a joint transfer collective); sufficient was a consultative cooperation used only when problems arose. This practice saves time and also benefits the research capacity.

The conditions created by technical practica in higher education institutions and the total progress made through the cooperation of higher education institutions and practice partners are, however, not yet sufficient. On the part of industry, these conditions must be supplemented by creating conditions for flexible cooperation with higher education institutions and for quick transfer of higher education research results; because now as before, cooperatives are not accepting, or accept only reluctantly, a number of valuable research results of the higher education system. Often the amount of possible products and the effective production are too small for industry, or the introduction of new technologies appears too costly and risky. But frequently these research results of the kind that will lead to new products, to a discharge of NSW [non-socialist economy] import loans, to good export possibilities and to meeting urgent needs of the national economy. Thus, higher education institutes often undertake development work and try by various means to interest potential manufacturers. Often they are not successful because some of their work remains, in spite of its high level of useful maturation, below the "attractiveness threshold" of the cooperatives. Thus it seems urgently necessary to create in the cooperatives flexibly reacting, intelligence-oriented sectors, i.e., from small to medium-size firms that are especially in tune with particular departments at higher education institutions (and central institutes of the AdW [Academy of Sciences]), and that accept research results that are below the "attractiveness threshold" of the current R&D sections of the cooperatives. In an analogous manner to that of the technical practica of higher education institutions, higher education researchers and students should be employed in these production sectors. In many cases the transfer of products and technologies developed in firms/sectors of this kind through the R&D and production sectors of cooperatives will be possible and necessary. At other times however development and production will remain in these firms/sectors.

The broad and effective utilization of many-sidedly usable research results, i.e., the transfer, accomplished as quickly as possible, of research results to all potential users who can make socially effective use of them, results in special challenges to the cooperation of higher education research and social practice. The tests show that the processes of multi-stage transfer of research results are less well organized and materialized, and are not managed as consistently. In general, the many-sided utilization of research results cannot be considered satisfactory--in spite of many explanations and appeals on the part of management. Higher education institutions can, as a rule, count on only one or a few potential users when they produce application models. Where results are concerned that are important for the national economy and have a wide potential circle of users it seems important that strong conditions for wide ranges of transfer are created by industry as well as central and local authorities; especially for partners who do not have any, or only small, R&D capacity.

The following patterns, obtained from the tests, appear useful for this purpose:

--Engineering Firms and/or Offices

Temporary or permanent engineering offices--as individual units or attached to a company--offer good conditions for quick, consistent and appropriate development of research results that are of special importance for the national economy where they can be used in many sectors. For different kinds of application, different kinds of development and project work are as a rule required. It would be inconsistent if every potential user company performed development work on the basis of the results supplied by higher education research. Also, many potential users frequently do not have sufficient R&D capacities of their own. Higher education researchers should work side by side with engineering firms of this kind and give scientific instruction.

--Interest and Users' Associations

The merger of potential users--possibly with inclusion of economic authorities--to interest and users' associations offers favorable conditions for quick and broad transfer of research results. As an example can be cited the interest and users' association on research results "Lasergravur" of the FSU, Jena, that was established in 1982 with active support from the MWT [Ministry of Science and Technology] and the bezirk planning commission Gera. Twenty-five cooperatives and companies are members of this association which operates under the scientific leadership of FSU.

--Application Centers

The joint establishment of application centers by producers and higher education institutions is an effective method of quick and broad transfer of research results into practice. These application centers have the following purposes: training of users, information of potential users, adaptation to users' specific conditions, and others.

It also seems advantageous to us to create structured units in selected cooperatives and companies that function as coordinators between basic research--applied research--development and production, i.e., as coordinators between higher education institutions and AdW institutes on the one side and the R&D sectors and production sectors of cooperatives on the other side. In these units, too, higher education researchers should work along directly. An example of a department working in this way at the VEB WF [Television Electronics Firm] Berlin--with cooperation of the Humboldt University--demonstrates the positive result of this work method--the mutual influence, follow-up, and constant cooperation during ongoing research work as well as the testing of results that are appropriate for transfer into practice. This is effective for basic research as well as research result transfer and for the formation required on both sides, of attitudes, thought processes, knowledge and interrelation of strategies on basic research and development in the companies.

International development tendencies (member countries of the RGW) in regard to the improvement of WTF management structure also point increasingly toward the development of flexible forms of coordination and cooperation of scientific-technical work, and toward the creation of specialized transfer organizations which are expected to contribute especially to the proliferation of research results and to guarantee transfer help for companies. (Footnote 3) (cf "Opyt organizacija, planirovanija, finansirovanija i ekonomiceskogo stimulirovanija sozdanija i vnedrenija novoj techniki v stranach-clenach SEV/ Rukovoditeli raboty" Prokudin V; Starodubrovski V; Cucamacenko B, Moskva, Mesdurnarodnyi naucno-issledovatel'skij institut problem upravlenija, Sovet Ekonomiceskoj Vzaimopomosci, Sekretariat, 1984, p 202 Translation of title: "Experience at the Organization, Planning, Financing and Economic Stimulation in the Creation and Transfer of New Technology in RGW Membership Countries) (Footnote 4) (cf Struwing H G, Kaiser H, "Management Experiences in Scientific-Technical Progress in European RGW Countries" in: GESELLSCHAFTS-WISSENSCHAFTLICHE INFORMATIONEN [Sociological Informations], AdW of the GDR, WIZ, Berlin G/2/1984 6 (1984)2)

Beside the continued development of scientific production associations, problem-oriented structured units and engineering centers have been established, e.g., in the USSR. The President of the AdW of the Ukrainian SSR, B Paton, justifies the establishment of these centers by pointing out that under the present-day transfer system it is not always possible to guarantee large-scale materialization of scientific research results in the national economy. (Footnote 5) (cf Paton B, "Engineering Centers: From Concept to Production" in: PRAVDA 3 Jan 1985 p 2) The new engineering centers at individual AdW institutes are expected to offer, on the one hand, conditions for intensive completion of planned basic research and, on the other hand, complete carefully new technologies and products, and prepare their transfer on a broad scale.

Completion of Research Goal and Purposes--Starting Point for Transfer Preparation

Basic and decisive conditions for effective transfer are research results with high scientific-technical quality and strong innovation character. These results must meet the immediate needs of society, must correspond to the requirements and possibilities of the national economy and society.

Our tests show that the following conditions are especially important for the transfer possibility of research results:

--goals and purposes that are developed jointly with practice partners;

--completion of critical written records that contain clear explanations/ decisions/plans for use and transfer of research results;

--critical and effective completion of initial project defenses;

--development of application possibilities and economic effectiveness of planned research results, and their gradual elucidation during the research process.

Initial project defenses have special importance for the guarantee of usefulness, for the start of preparations and for transfer into practice. This assumes that the potential user of research results and in certain cases also representatives of local and central authorities are included in the initial project defense, that there is critical discussion about purpose and goal of the project, and that arrangements are made for the actions necessary for utilization of the planned results and for preparing their transfer into practice. Analyses of defense procedures at higher education institutions (Footnote 6) (cf Goerig M, Wenzlaff H, "Defenses--Effective Instruments of Successful Research Work" in: DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, Vol 6/1984 p 153) point to a number of problems that appear precisely during the phase of initial project defense.

Preparation and transfer must begin with the development of goals and purposes. Schedules and planning decisions for the preparation of transfer must therefore be part of the written accounts that are obligatory. In case of relatively high uncertainties in regard to the transfer of research results into practice, as it is often the case in basic research, statements should at least be made on possible fields of utilization, potential users and on the estimated importance of the results for these sectors/users. That does not mean that in basic research the definition of purpose is to be oriented exclusively on the immediate transfer of research results into practice, because this would considerably limit the effectiveness of basic research. Economically successful, useful research results can often not be recognized or evaluated as such during the basic research phase. It is only in the course of a gradually developing research and evaluation process that economically successful, useful results can be selected. If possible or available problem solutions are too strongly limited during the basic research phase, it can happen that projects are eliminated that are economically precisely the most effective. For this reason, basic research results that have not yet been utilized in social practice, constitute "an important scientific-technical solution potential that increases the reaction capacity and flexibility of the national economy in market and resource situations." (Footnote 7) (cf Maier H, "Problems of Strategy Development Under the Conditions of the Scientific-Technical Revolution" in: "Increasing the Contribution of Basic Research to the Innovation Strength of the GDR National Economy, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTEN-Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Berlin GW 28 - 5 May 53)

Our investigations showed clearly that interest of practice partners in research results can only be aroused only if the partners can recognize the quality and effectiveness of the results. For early and binding work on transfer it is important to establish, as concretely as possible, a definition of utility effectiveness and potential negative effects, and of the funds required for transfer and utilization. The logical evaluation of quality and effectiveness of research results is therefore of eminent importance. These evaluations are to be made as the research process progresses and are to be based on the particular state of progress that can be evaluated each time. This is important not only for obtaining high quality research results but also for the readiness of practice partners to accept the results as early as possible. Here, the assessment of scientific quality is in no way sufficient. And this includes the results of basic research. Even if, in the latter case, the possible degree of concreteness is essentially lower, at least the tendencies of influence on certain important factors of the national economy and the importance of research results for the development of definite areas of practice should be estimated.

Higher education institutions have only limited possibilities for determining economic quantities. Experience teaches the following: The more research projects are application-oriented, the closer they are conducted at the dividing line between higher education institutions and practice partners, the more strongly and responsibly practice partners are to be included in determining economic quantities. In several of the projects evaluated, determination of economic quantities was made with active participation of practice partners, and often in true cooperation. In some projects, employers working in conjunction with higher education institutions, played a special part in determining economic effects. But in defining the latter there are frequent arguments. The blame lies in part with the fact that definitions of this kind often result in "arguments" or that the partners (on both sides) are not in a position to analyze economic effects and applications. In some cases, practice partners even demanded that the higher education institution submit requirement investigations. In this context it became obvious that the market research work of some practice partners was deficient.

In agreement with the results of analyses of the obligatory research documentation the investigations found that not enough consideration is given to the fixation of make-believe goals and to explanations for the purpose of license granting at the development of goal and purpose determinations. Obvious in this connection is also the fact that comparisons with internationally leading products are often not made in consistent fashion.

Preparation Time, Deadlines for Research Results

Not enough attention is paid, in part, to these factors during the development of goals and purposes, at initial project defenses and also in the course of research processes. Important for good time progress during the preparation phase are, especially, a parallel preparation of research and development projects and, parallel to this, preparation and realization of transfer. Whereas parallel research and development is successfully practiced in a number of projects, parallel research and planning of transfer were noticed in only a few projects. Parallel conduct of research and transfer realization is the exception. Only one single example was found; in this case, realization of transfer took place parallel to research and development with active support by local authorities. Through extensive parallel preparation work, transfer times (starting with submission of research results) of below 1 year could be achieved in several of the investigated projects (analysis transfer). Of essential importance for achieving good development times in research are the sufficiently concentrated utilization of research potential and the guarantee of larger time contexts for higher education researchers in developing their research tasks. It is noteworthy, however, that in discussions the concentrated utilization of work groups and their potentials was pointed out only rarely; and then even with the limitation that concentration should not be overestimated, that the technological development of research and the specifics of the research process should be noted.

As obstacles to achieving better development times the discussion partners mentioned especially the lack of risk readiness on the part of practice partners, and also the fact that a number of regulations (among others ordering and shipping deadlines) work against short-term or parallel preparation or realization of transfer.

The deadline for submitting research results contributes to their effectiveness. For the projects investigated, the majority of those responsible for the projects thought overwhelmingly that the submission deadline for their research results corresponds with the needs of society. The following reasons for delayed submissions of results were discovered:

--decisions are delayed for too long,

--late reactions to situations developing in practice, research work was started too late, the first research phases could have been completed more quickly,

--wrong prognosis of development tendencies by scientists.

The investigations also show that no general directions or even "recipes" can be given for speeding up the work. For each project it is necessary to investigate, with consideration for its importance for the national economy, what work speed is necessary and what the chances of realization are.

Influence of Scientists and Higher Education Directors on Transfer and Utilization of Higher Education Research Results

Our investigations prove that often great efforts and prudent action by higher education scientists are indispensable for overcoming a great number of objective and subjective problems in regard to successful transfer and utilization of research results. In principle, the coresponsibility for transfer is accepted by the great majority of higher education scientists. Clear progress has been made in recent years in regard to the influence of the higher education administration on transfer. Critical comments by scientists that some higher education administrations limit their activities too much to appeals and explanations, however, point out the necessity of further activating the influence role of administrations and of supporting scientists effectively. Frequently those responsible for projects do not have specific knowledge of potential producers, of planning and financing conditions, they do not have connections to local and central authorities that must cooperate in the decision process on transfer preparations. These deficiencies can often be remedied only by efforts consuming much time. This is true especially for sectors that have a larger number of potential users and producers for their research results so that no long-range and close cooperation with practice partners can be organized. Positive experiences in solving these problems are found in, among other places, the Soviet Union. At the Moscow Textile Institute, e.g., a special sector "economic effectiveness and transfer" supports higher education scientists in organizing the activities necessary for transferring their research results to practice partners. (Footnote 8) (cf Martynov I A, Sazin B S, "Uskoraetsa Vnedrenie Resultatov NIR, in: VESTNIK VYSSEJ SKOLY Vol 2/1984 p 31; translation of title: "Transfer of Research Results Accelerated") FRG higher education institutions take a similar approach. There, transfer departments established at several higher education institutions are considered to be very helpful to scientists. (Footnote 9) (cf "Higher Education and Economy--Possibilities and Obstacles of Cooperation" in: INFORMATION: EDUCATION, SCIENCE, Bonn, Jul-Aug 1984, Ministry for Education and Science) In the GDR, too, there are some initial experiences in this field. The FSU, for example, has employed a special assistant in charge of supporting transfer processes. His assignment is to help in preparing the necessary decisions and in supporting the transfer organization. It has proven to be an advantage if a work group of this kind can establish relations of the most varied kind. This makes it possible for the work group to acquire specific knowledge and opportunities regarding transfer so that problems can be handled quickly.

Transfer of higher education research results to national economic practice as well as the cooperation of practice partners should not be organized according to one system, one general algorism. This also means that it is not possible to transfer positive examples schematically. On the other hand, there are generally valid rules, conditions and experiences, and their observation is important for quick and successful transfer. They are an important basis for mastering the transfer process. Some of these rules, conditions and experiences--of special importance according to our investigations--have been presented in this article. Beside perfecting managerial and organizational conditions for developing challenging goals and purposes and for their critical evaluation as well as for consistent appraisal of internationally leading products, our main task is especially to develop the readiness, the necessary thought processes as well as the abilities for cooperation and transfer of research results among higher education scientists and their practice partners.

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CSO: 2300/37

ECONOMIC STRATEGY, ACHIEVEMENTS SYNOPSIZED

East Berlin IPW-FORSCHUNGSHEFTE in German Vol 20 No 4/1985 pp 27-38

[Article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management: "The GDR's Economic Strategy and the Struggle Between Socialism and Imperialism"]

[Text] The economic policy of the SED in the 1980's, as decided by its 10th Party Congress and reaffirmed by the subsequent plenary sessions of its Central Committee, is characterized by the following cornerstones:

Firstly, we continue the political course of the major task--unity of economic and social policy--, we ensure the high material standard of living of the population and expand it step by step, despite the complicated reproduction conditions in view of the confrontational measures of imperialism in foreign policy and foreign trade, and taking into account the necessity of having to secure our defense due to the military threat by the most reactionary circles of imperialism.

This decision, corresponding in depth to the internal and external conditions of continued shaping of developed socialist society in our country, is linked to qualitatively and quantitatively incomparable demands on the performance and efficiency development of the national economy, in particular to the stable increase of the national income. The fact that a significant increase in growth rates was achieved (1982: 2.6, 1983: 4.5, 1984: 5.5 percent) despite limited accumulation funds, speaks for the efficiency potential of our national economy.

The good economic results, particularly those of the year 1984, caused the party leadership to state that the GDR possesses the intellectual and material resources to continue successfully the course of the major task also in coming years.

Secondly, the 10th Party Congress provided the answer to the question by which means the necessary growth rates can be achieved in the 1980's. At the center stands the close connection between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism. Preparing the ways and methods of transition to the type of expanded reproduction which saves resources all around, and the measures to imbue intensification of production with an extensive, stable and lasting character, is the creative application of Marx' theory of reproduction to today's conditions of economic development in our country.

Without a doubt, preparing economic strategy was our Party's greatest theoretical achievement in the economic area on the threshhold to the 1980's. Meanwhile, this theory has become the proven practice of our operations. In recent years, the economic growth of the GDR was increasingly based on the factors of intensification and increased efficiency in the economy.

Thirdly, the turbulent development of productive forces taking place internationally today is the greatest challenge of this decade in the economic field. How a country keeps up and gains ground is decisive for its ranking as an industrial nation. Thus we cannot choose the necessary degree of efficiency increase--it is unerringly decided by the international level and tempo.

Science has become a direct productive force. Connected with it, firstly, the cycle of basic research--scientific-technical production preparation--production--sales was shortened considerably, and secondly, the speed of spreading new technologies within all sectors of the national economy increased. The result is a growing dynamism of economic processes and rapid structural change, carried especially by a high innovation rate of products and technologies.

We do not overlook the arrears we still have in work productivity compared to some leading capitalist industrial countries. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that every sector, every combine and factory measure itself against international comparisons, and to deduce from them criteria for one's own desired performance and efficiency development. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, said that the GDR cannot live on a middle level. 1)

Fourthly, the development of the GDR takes place in close fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. The increasing interlocking of the GDR economy with that of the USSR and economic cooperation with the other CEMA countries form the stable basis of our own economic development.

For socialist and economic integration, joint efforts are gaining growing importance in the economic and scientific-technical field to ensure the energy and raw material base and rapid development of base technologies, such as micro-electronics, communications and automation technology, biological and genetic technologies, and higher processing of energy sources used; to introduce technologies overall to raise productivity and lower energy and material consumption; and to develop agriculture and production of high-quality industrial consumer goods.

Successful Implementation of SED Economic Strategy--Important GDR Contribution to Heighten the Influence of Socialism

It has already paid off that the Party with its economic strategy is pursuing the main directions of developing productive forces. It is the way to guarantee permanently the economic and political stability of the GDR, to strengthen its international position and reputation and, in the conflict of systems, to make a contribution to the welfare of the people through its policy so that the attraction of socialism will grow. It would go beyond the framework of this article to try to draw a complete picture of the economic processes connected with it. But a few selected questions shall be briefly outlined here.

Through rapid development of micro-electronics and their use, new means of increasing work productivity and lowering energy and material consumption were and are being achieved.

During the period between 1980 and 1983 alone, the production of electronic components and integrated switching circuits was almost doubled and the production of numerical controls was more than tripled. We are at the threshold of a complete and radical change of the technological level of many areas of the processing industry, characterized by flexible automation, integrated use of numerically controlled machines, robots and computers, as well as calculator-assisted production preparation and production control. Also to be seen are qualitatively new directions of communications and information technology, characterized by, among other things, a merging of data, text and picture processing and appropriate systems of information transmittal.

Micro-electronics have become a testing ground of the technical level of the national economy overall. While just a few years ago, the industrial level of a country was frequently gauged by steel consumption per capita, today the consumption of micro-electronic components has become an essential criterion of industrial development.

Important sources for economizing the entire reproduction cycle were opened up through purposeful substitution of energy sources. Reduction of heating oil consumption alone created important prerequisites for gaining a larger proportion of "light products" to cover fuel needs, considerably lower economic expenditures for production of heat energy (expenditures for heating oil use per caloric unit are many times higher compared to crude brown coal), and to gain more high-quality primary products for the chemical industry.

In conjunction with it, brown coal mining was further expanded from 258 million tons in 1980 to 295 million tons in 1985. Today, the GDR satisfies over 75 percent of primary energy needs from its own output of crude brown coal and natural gas production.

The processes of energy saving and energy source substitution require substantial changes in all sectors of the national economy. We succeeded in shifting a considerable share of the goods transport from the highway to railroad tracks and inland waterways. The railroad and inland waterways share of goods transport services increased from 73.5 percent in 1980 to 81 percent in 1984. This was also helped by electrification of railroad traffic, which was advanced with great speed: in 1984 alone, 253 km of the railroad network were electrified, whereby the share of transport performance carried out by electric locomotives increased from 28 to 32 percent.

Under the reproduction conditions of the 1980's, higher processing of the energy sources and raw materials used is the decisive concept for further development of the production and export structure of the GDR. Although the GDR is only at the beginning of this process--as pointed out by Erich Honecker in his speech to the kreis first secretaries of the SED--, significant results were achieved during the first half of this decade. 2) Among other things, this is reflected in the fact that the value of the final product of the economy per 1 Mark of primary energy and raw material use has risen considerably.

Today, processing is a decisive task of every sector and every combine. It is a matter of better satisfying the requirements of the population, the national economy and exports, quantitatively and qualitatively, to translate the use of qualified work into greater growth of value, by advancing production to the highest processing stages, through higher quality of products, and through products of greater utility and more favorable volume--performance ratio.

In this process, higher processing in the basic industries is frequently the prerequisite for high energy and materials economy in the subsequent sectors. To clarify this by an example: with the construction of the converter steel mill in the hoop mill combine, almost one-third of GDR steel production was put on a new technological base. The high-quality types of steel which can be produced with this technology lead to significant energy savings and increased work productivity in the steel manufacture proper, and gives consumers the chance to reduce specific use of rolled steel by 10 to 20 percent.

Not to be underestimated for material and raw material economy is the importance of using secondary raw materials and developing closed material cycles. In addition to a significant drop in energy use and total expenditure compared to production of primary raw materials, environmental stresses are reduced and raw materials difficult to procure are being substituted hereby. In 1984, the GDR covered 12 percent of its raw material needs with secondary raw materials. For materials essential to the economy, such as steel, copper, aluminum, lead and paper, this share came to between 50 and 90 percent. Still, the possibilities are not nearly exhausted yet, since with present processing, only about 40 percent of the accruing waste product volume are covered.

At no time has the party left any doubt that the rapid increase in the production of high-quality consumer goods is the foremost strategic task of all combines of industry. This is for two reasons: with a view to fulfilling the major task, and also because of the fact that they can be sold in many export markets for good foreign currency proceeds.

The urgency of this task becomes clear because, for years now, demand for high-quality technical consumer goods has risen along with higher incomes of the working population. In 1984, sales of industrial goods rose faster (by 5 percent) compared to a 3.2 percent increase in foodstuffs and luxury foods, and it is without doubt largely due to the fact that industry brought new products on the market in the value of 26 billion Marks and exceeded the sales target of finished product for the population by 2.7 billion Marks.

The aforementioned processes were linked to improved energy and materials economy, continued increase of work productivity, as well as efficiency of basic materials use and investments in all areas of the economy.

Increased efficiency of the overall economy achieved in 1983 and 1984 can be seen, among other things, in the fact that per unit of produced national income compared to 1980, energy use dropped to 87 percent (1983), production consumption to 89 percent (1984), freight transport performance to 82 percent (1984), and use of the labor force to 88 percent (1984). These indices show that the expenditure in material and labor was reduced considerably during these 3 and 4 years, respectively.

An exception in this balance-sheet is the use of basic materials--it rose to 104 percent (1983) per unit of national income. However, one must take into account that during this period, on the one hand, large investments had to be made available for energy source substitutions which did not effect a direct production increase and, on the other hand, the individual sectors of the basic industry had to develop their own energy and raw materials base. As is known, these sectors are characterized by a high basic material intensity. Thus the actually achieved, improved basic material efficiency is not shown in the balance-sheet.

Nonetheless, this fact underlines the necessity of making even greater efforts in order to fully satisfy this criterion of extensive intensification, also. For this reason, intensified reproduction of the funds of fixed assets is being carried out as a unit of the existing funds of fixed assets, as well as expansion of capacity, at the highest scientific-technical and economic level, and a growing share of inverstments must go toward rationalization. Present experience shows that the greatest effect is achieved through combining modernization of installations, use of additional new equipment, sector-specific efficiency measures, industrial robots, and process control of complex modernization solutions for entire, closed production phases.

Securing Economic Inviolability of the GDR

The economic strategy described is deeply rooted in the goals and driving forces of the internal development of socialism in our country. At the same time, in the economic area it is the response to the intensification of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The economic development of the first half of the 1980's can be appreciated correctly only if one sees it against the background of the sharp class struggle and the economic war initiated by the United States. At the beginning of this decade, reactionary circles believed they could force the GDR into international insolvency through credit boycotts and various measures restricting trade. There was only one answer to this: to secure the economic inviolability of the GDR. The latest development proves that "the economy has become the major field of the class struggle of our time." 3)

Naturally, the GDR starts from the basic premise that international division of labor and peaceful trade and goods exchange for mutual advantage represents an essential element of international relations between capitalist and socialist countries, promoting and stabilizing normal political relations. But if the most aggressive circles of imperialism want to employ these trade relations as a weapon against socialist states, we must adapt to it. The attempt to bring the socialist countries to their knees economically through an arms buildup policy, embargo, numerous measures of trade discrimination, credit boycott and high interest policy, is doomed to fail from the start, especially since such a policy has met with very different reactions within the imperialist camp itself. Farsighted big industrialists oppose it for various reasons, not least of all because it entails considerable material disadvantages for them.

The GDR is taking all necessary steps to further strengthen its economic inviolability and to expand its trade policy scope. Despite the confrontational measures, it has increased its foreign trade revenue from capitalist countries from 33 billion Marks in 1980 to 47 billion Marks in 1983 and, at comparable prices, has raised its goods sales to 128 percent, thus growing faster than industrial production. This demonstrates a growing performance and export force as an essential result of the Party's economic strategy.

This fact also gained recognition in Western industrial circles. The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) in West Berlin came to the following appraisal: "In 1982, the GDR achieved noteworthy performances under the pressure of foreign trade problems. It transformed its trade deficit with Western industrial countries into a surplus and...reduced ...its net indebtedness vis-a-vis all Western countries...After the development in 1982, the restrictive attitude of Western banks is economically no longer justifiable. If it is continued, it damages directly the balance of GDR trade relations with the West and impairs the chances of Western firms to export to the GDR." 4)

In 1985, the same Institute stated: "Meanwhile there has been a turnaround in the discussion of GDR indebtedness. After the amount of gross indebtedness had been a focus of interest for a long time, now it is the amount of credit balance..." 5)

The economic inviolability of the GDR is due to the fact that socialism possesses the power to ensure, out of its own strength, the highest scientific-technical level in all areas and to achieve its economic and social policy goals. Under the conditions of the struggle with the imperialist system, the demands on work productivity increase further and demand even stronger joint efforts by the socialist countries. It can be considered one of the fundamental characteristics of GDR economic development that the importance of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries grows all the more, the more economic power increases and develops.

This cooperation is vital for the GDR; it is a fundamental condition of effectiveness and intensification. After all, the GDR with an export intensity of over 40 percent (based on exports in units of account in proportion to the produced national income) effects 68 percent of its foreign trade sales with the CEMA countries; 38 percent with the USSR alone. This places on our economy the task of adapting our export potential even better to the requirements of the Soviet Union. If one considers that 70 percent of GDR exports to the USSR consist of products of the metal processing industry, it is especially the combines of mechanical and electrical engineering and electronics which will have to make even greater efforts to develop an export structure corresponding ever more to the requirements of the Soviet economy and which is effective for the GDR.

It is of great importance for the development of socialist economic integration that, like the GDR, the other major CEMA partners have also put on the agenda comprehensive intensification of production. This makes it possible to aim mutual cooperation toward this goal, also.

Such an example is the program of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, signed on 6 October 1984 by Erich Honecker and Andrey Gromyko, covering the areas of science, technology and production until the year 2000, which initiated a new phase of overall economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Its content is aimed at those very basic questions of continued economic performance development which, in both countries, stand in the foreground and within the framework of overall socialist economic integration--i.e., further strengthening of intensification on the basis of scientific-technical progress and its acceleration.

Further Development of Democratic Centralism--the Need for Comprehensive Socialist Intensification

The economic strategy of the SED is inseparably linked with the further development of socialist planned economy, use of its advantages and driving forces, and further development of socialist production conditions.

Formation and strengthening of the combines, in particular, was a decisive step to advance the development of productive forces--to closely tie together science and production, to create favorable conditions for a high renewal rate of products and technologies, to better control the entire cycle from basic research to scientific-technical production preparation , production and sales--and to keep up with, and gain ground in, international competition. The significant progress in effectiveness achieved in the first half of the 1980's is primarily due to the performance strength we gained through the combines. They are not only reliable partners in our own national economy, but also in international economic relations.

Since 1983, further measures have become effective in adapting the entire system of economic control and planning to the requirements of comprehensive intensification of production. The steps taken in this context are of extraordinary importance in the struggle between the systems since, in the last analysis, it is a matter of beating the imperialist opponent in economic competition through the advantages of the driving forces of socialist planned economy. It would go beyond the framework of this article to describe them individually. For this reason, I shall limit myself to one basic question.

As expressed in the resolution on further perfecting control, planning and economic accounting, all measures are based on strengthening democratic centralism. They aim at increasing the quality of central state management and planning, with a simultaneous increase in self-responsibility, democratic cooperation and creative initiative of the workers' collectives in the factories and combines, in order to fully concentrate all these forces on comprehensive intensification of production. This takes into account the fact that socialism can demonstrate its superiority only through further development of socialist production conditions and relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, and can achieve the processes based thereon, i.e., permanent establishment of agreement between societal, collective and personal interests.

Further development of democratic centralism necessarily includes the ever better qualified, deliberate and systematic use of economic laws on the scale of all of society. Only in this manner will it be possible to guarantee social stability and security of basic social rights. Any implantation of capitalist competitive conditions into socialism, as bourgeois theoreticians of all shadings are trying to talk us into, time and again, can only lead to a weakening of socialism and ultimately, to put its very being into question.

Here, the dispute is not over the existence of goods production and the relation between goods and money in socialism, and their ranking. Whoever underestimates goods production and its categories, misses from the start essential opportunities to bring into accord, and make effective, societal, collective and personal interests for the progress of society. It concerns how to make use of them, namely as an object of state economic management, embedded in political-educational, administrative and economic methods of planned economic control, and not as the "free play of market forces."

One of the most complicated tasks in the transition to the type of intensively expanded reproduction, saving resources overall, consists in directing the interest of collectives and individuals and self-responsible and creative action toward the highest economic effectiveness, and to increase the responsibility for quality and quantity of work and its results. This raises new questions of planning and balancing, economic accounting and use of goods-money relations, performance assessment and remuneration according to performance, and others, and far-reaching changes in the entire economic mechanism must be implemented. These newer, greater tasks demonstrate that a further development of democratic centralism is needed.

This is the very goal of the measures of the resolution on further perfecting control, planning and economic accounting, which Erich Honecker at the 7th session of the SED Central Committee characterized as follows: "We start from the premise that our national economy possesses a modern and precisely subdivided management system. Responsibility on all levels is clearly established, for the ministers, combines and their plants. Even in socialism, there can be no effective economic management without clearly established responsibility, since the creative work of human beings is the most important prerequisite for positive results. With the steps we are taking now we improve conditions for it, especially for flexible action in the interest of all of society. The plan sets the scales. On the basis of the plan, with the performance assessment according to the major indices of net production, profit, finished goods for the population and for export, initiative is directed morally and economically at the decisive tasks. In this way, many things influencing expenditure and results become even clearer. The economic value of good utilization of funds of fixed assets, or even an innovative idea, appears in a much clearer light. Cost accounting and analysis gain in importance. Industrial prices reflecting the true economic expenditure help precise calculation. In short, it is a matter of linking even more closely planning and economic accounting. In this way the economic interests of combines, enterprises and their collectives are directed even more effectively toward the requirements of the state and the national economy. This strengthens democratic centralism in our practical economic life." 6)

During the first half of the 1980's, high economic results were achieved through the unity of economic and social policy, purposeful implementation of economic strategy and perfecting control, planning and economic accounting directed at this goal. Guided by this economic strategy, the GDR proved its strength even in the struggle between the systems. Even the bourgeois media had to take this into account in their commentaries. While at the beginning of this decade it was still believed that one could simply dismiss our economic goals as unrealistic, during recent years the number of voices has grown affirming the high performance strength of the GDR.

WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE wrote in 1981: "There is agreement among Western experts that the growth rates set at the 10th SED Party Congress are unrealistic, even if the forces of the GDR economy were fully utilized. From its analysis, the prognosis can be deduced that an economic growth of about 3 to 3.5 percent of the GDR economy would be a realistic goal...The situation would be different only if, early on, the GDR had adopted fundamental reforms of its economic system, making more room for the part played by the market and economic and monetary instruments." 7)

By contrast, in 1983 one could read in the same journal: "It is highly uncertain whether the ambitious plans can really be carried out. Although, to the surprise of all the experts, last year's result showed that success cannot be written off automatically,... the problems to be solved are enormous, nevertheless." 8) If one removes the embellishments, it means: while in 1981 we were only given a chance with market-economy mechanisms, in 1983 all experts were astonished by the successes.

The same year, the German Institute for Economic Research expresses recognition for the economic power of the GDR even more clearly: "Meanwhile it has proven its economic efficiency--not least of all with the aid of improvements in the economic mechanism." 9)

The results of the Party's economic strategy during the first half of the 1980's set the starting points which will be subjects of consultation at the 11th SED Party Congress for future development during the period 1986 to 1990. The major task of unity of economic and social policy will determine the coming 5-year plan, also.

FOOTNOTES

1. Compare Consultation of the General Secretariat of the SED Central Committee with the First Secretaries of the Kreis Leadership. Paper by Secretary General E. Honecker, in: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin 2/3 Feb 1985, p 2.

2. See ibid.

3. G. Mittag, Theoretical Generalization of Experiences of Development by the Combines for Increased Performance in the National Economy, Particularly in Utilizing the Qualitative Growth Factors. Speech at the GDR Economic Science Conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt 1983 on 29 and 30 Sep 1983, Berlin 1983, p 28.

4. DIW WOCHENBERICHT, West Berlin, 5/1983, p 58.

5. DIW WOCHENBERICHT, 5/1985, p 59.

6. Seventh Session of the SED Central Committee on 24 and 25 Nov 1983. E. Honecker, In Battle-filled Times We Successfully Continue the Proven Course of the 10th Party Congress for Peace and Socialism. From the discussion speech. Berlin 1983, p 37f.

7. WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, Duesseldorf, 24/1981, p 55.

8. WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, 34/1983, p 46.

9. DIW WOCHENBERICHT, 32/1983, p 402.

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NUCLEAR POWER PLANT RESIDUAL HEAT CONVERTED FOR DOMESTIC USE

Thermal Energy for Greifswald

Leipzig ENERGIETECHNIK in German Vol 35 No 6 Jun 85 pp 201-204

[Article by Dr Reiner Lehmann and Dr Alexander Schoenherr, engineer, VEK [state owned combine] Bruno Leuschner Nuclear Power Plants Combine, Greifswald: "Greifswald City Heat Supply From the VEK Bruno Leuschner Nuclear Power Plants." Lecture V2 delivered in Dresden on 9/10 October 1984 to the 16th Colloquium on Power Plant Technology, Energy Conversion Section of Dresden Technical University. Manuscript received on 20 March 1985.]

[Text] 1. Basic Principles

The directive of the 10th SED Congress established for all GDR enterprises and combines the task of implementing substitution of solid and liquid fuels in the heat supply sector and creating all material prerequisites for solving this task.

Thus, the primary focus of the work is on efficient use of energy, substituting crude brown coal for solid and liquid fuels and increasing the efficiency of energy conversion processes by increased use of waste heat and expanding cogeneration.

On the basis of this, objective scientific-technical studies with the goal of finding solutions to use the facilities of the Greifswald nuclear power plant by means of cogeneration for the heat supply of Greifswald City were implemented in the VEK Bruno Leuschner nuclear power plants, Greifswald, and the VEB Energy Combine, Rostock, in cooperation with scientific-technical facilities of the coal and energy industries, the VEK Nuclear Power Plant Construction and universities and advanced schools.

In cooperation with the Soviet main designer of the nuclear power plant and the turbine designers of the Kharkov works the necessary designs were developed in an extremely short period of time in order to realize heat output from the nuclear power plant. Parallel with this, designs for the heat transport line over a distance of about 20 km were developed in particular by the VEB Energy Combine, Rostock, the Dresden Institute for Energy Supply and the VEB Heat Plant Construction, Berlin, and all related scientific-technical and design problems were solved.

The accomplishments of scientists, designers, workers and engineers in many sectors resulted in the fact that after a construction period of 1 year supplying a large part of the areas of new construction in Greifswald City with heat from the nuclear power plant could be initiated on 27 December 1983.

The technical solution which was created to do this deserves closer scrutiny especially since on an international scale increasing importance is also attached to the output of heat from existing nuclear power plants. This approach is based both on problems of fuel substitution and better utilization of nuclear fuel and on questions of reducing environmental pollution caused by conventional heat supply facilities.

2. Development of Greifswald City's Heat Requirements

Until the end of the 1970's the heat requirements of Greifswald City were met by heating, oil, hard coal, briquettes and crude brown coal. The climate-based heating requirements were characterized by 3,580 heating degree days and 241 heating days.

In this connection 20°C was used as the average room temperature and an average outside temperature of 12°C as the heating limit.

The value of consumer hookups in the future will reach 300 MW (thermal). The structure of the consumers is as follows:

--municipal sector	55 percent
--industrial sector	28 percent
--agricultural sector	17 percent

That is, when construction is finished about 9,000 dwelling units, the majority of industrial enterprises and a greenhouse facility which is yet to be built will be incorporated in the district heating supply from the nuclear power plant. From this it follows that the heat requirements are very heavily influenced by the municipal sector, and consequently also very extensively dependent on outside temperatures. Because of the influence of the Baltic Sea, in respect to the GDR average, there is a negligible increase in temperature in the period from October to December and a negligible lowering of the temperature from January to March. The diurnal variation line in the heat requirements shows only very slight fluctuations for the heating period. There is no evidence of a nighttime dip which is typical of GDR conditions.

3. Technical Solution for Heat Output

In choosing the technical solution for heat output from the existing facilities of the VEK Bruno Leuschner nuclear power plants (KKW) the basic points of departure were that

--an example must be created for an economic supply variant for congested areas from the nearby condensation nuclear power plants using a cogenerator,

--occurrence of reduced electrical output in the nuclear power plant during peak periods must be precluded,

--gearing into the K-220-44 saturated steam turbine is not possible, that is, for each turbine at the most 75 MW thermal output can be obtained via the bleeding point,

--a stable supply must be guaranteed under all conditions. Consequently all blocks must be included in drawing off heat.

As a result the variant with three-stage heating water preparation was selected which is admitted from bleeding points 3, 4 and 5 of the turbosets.

It should be mentioned at this point that limiting the amount of heat which is to be withdrawn to 75 MW per turbine is structurally determined by the steam velocities which are permissible in the bleeding points. The manufacturer permits velocities of 50 to 60 m/s, and up to 70 m/s for a brief period of time.

Since in any event a high degree of erosion wear and tear occurs in the bleed lines because of operation in the wet steam sector and since the erosion danger is proportional to the square of the droplet velocity in the wet steam flow, the bleeding points must not be loaded beyond this maximum permitted value.

The amounts bled which occur during heat output in addition to the projected preheating operation amount per bleeding point to a maximum of 5 to 6 percent of the volume of flow through the corresponding turbine stages so that at the turbine rated load the stage pressures change only slightly as a result of the decreased flow volume and thus do not result in any dangerous overloading of the flow section.

As Figure 1 shows, a maximum heating water temperature of 180°C is achieved with the fixed withdrawal of steam (heating water pressure 2.86 MPa) [megapascals]; this temperature guarantees a proper supply of hot water and also in the user sector makes possible the production of steam up to 0.3 MPa and thus permits connecting up the majority of the industrial users who are located in the supply region.

Moreover, in the event of no bleeding operation of the turbosets, there exists as an additional safety measure the possibility of reducing the live steam and in order to observe the quality parameters of the heating water the possibility of partial operation with reduced live steam even with partial load operation of the turbine.

A preheating system is made a part of one turbine per block so that when the first expansion stage of the four blocks which are in operation is completed 4 x 75 MW thermal capacity will be available.

Inclusion of blocks 5 to 8, which are under construction, is necessary in order to have available for the heat accumulators the load capacity which with full utilization of the systems with 300 MW thermal is necessary in order to avoid reduced output of electricity at peak periods, to achieve the highest possible degree of supply safety and, if necessary, to be able to develop reserves for expanding the present supply sector beyond the current capacity limit of 300

MW. Appropriate studies are currently underway in which thoroughly favorable prerequisites for a further substantial increase in the amount of heat available from the nuclear power plant exist in the presence of demand of appropriate magnitude. In this connection it should be mentioned that in blocks 7 and 8 turbines from the Skoda Co are being used whose structural design in the bleeding point sector makes possible the output of 120 MW (thermal).

Heat transport from the KKW to Greifswald City is accomplished by means of an NW 800 transit line covering a distance of more than 20 km. In a heat transfer station which was erected there the heat is fed into the existing city network. The return flow temperature of the transit line is 80°C and after the greenhouse facility which is planned for is put into operation and connected into the return flow it will reach 60°C. During winter operation speed-regulated pumps are available to circulate the heating water and throttle-governed pumps in the summertime when the load is less. The maximum quantity circulated is 2,600 tons/hour which, if the forward and return flow temperatures are taken into consideration, produce at present a maximum thermal capacity of 300 MW which must be carried.

The thermal capacity to be carried increases when the return flow temperature decreases; the heating line itself likewise contains significant feed reserves whose utilization, if necessary, is possible with comparatively small additional investments.

Initial filling of the system and refeeding are done by means of deinoate from the nuclear power plant; soda lye is added to the deaerated deionate to minimize corrosion resulting in a pH value between 8.5 and 9.5. The filling capacity is 28,500 m^3.

4. Guaranteeing Radiation Protection and Nuclear Safety

When operating the heat supply system nuclear safety and radiation protection must be guaranteed for every operation. In accordance with the applicable GDR laws special authorization documentation on heat output from the Greifswald nuclear power plant was submitted to the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection. The authorization documentation contains an analysis of incidents and the description of the special safety and monitoring systems. The most important technical measures to guarantee radiation protection are described below:

--Maximum pressure in the heating water system is 2.9 MPa, the minimum pressure on the intake side of the circulating pumps is 0.7 MPa. A special pressure regulating system in the heating water system guarantees that the average pressure is always at least 1.5 MPa. The average pressure in the heating water system is thus always higher than the highest pressure of the bleeding steam from stage 3 of the saturated steam turbine which is 1.1 MPa.

Since the heating water system always has a higher pressure than the heating steam which is taken from the turbine bleeding points there can be no transfer of bleeding point steam from the second circuit of the nuclear power plant into the heating water system. If the pressure of the heating water system approaches the pressure of the bleeding steam, the appropriate heat exchangers are automatically shut down.

--The activities of the bleeding steam and the inside water of the heating water system are continuously monitored. If the activity values reach the maximum permissible values, the appropriate heat exchangers are automatically shut down. The maximum permissible value for heating water was set at 25 Bq/liter.

By way of comparison mention can be made of the fact that the legally permissible concentration in drinking water under continuous use is 370 Bq/liter (the values mentioned refer to Co 60).

--The heat exchangers are constantly monitored for tightness by measuring the electrical conductivity of the condensate from the bleeding steam. Since the heating water system has a higher pressure than the bleeding steam, and the heating water system has a pH value between 8.5 and 9.5 because of the addition of soda lye, leaks can be detected in the heat exchangers.

--The steam which is necessary to deaerate the fill water and the water added is produced from the heating water in a special system which consists of a preheater and an expander (Figure 1) in order to preclude in this sector, too, the theoretically possible introduction of radioactivity from the second circuit of the nuclear power plant.

--The second reforming of the heat in the heating line in the Greifswald transfer station and the control of activity in the city network constitute an additional safety factor.

The analysis of incidents for the heat supply system, consisting of the heat exchanger facility in the nuclear power plant, the heating water pipes to Greifswald and the heat exchanger facility in Greifswald, showed that incidents which exceed the incidents previously established for the safe operation of the Greifswald nuclear power plant cannot be caused by this system.

5. Decreasing the Reduced Output of Electricity

Avoiding reduced output of electricity during peak times of demand for electric power is an additional essential premise for the design of the overall system, especially in the measurements and control technology sector.

It was previously stated that the return flow temperature of the heating water is a maximum of 80°C. Through the addition of hot forward flow water directly into the return flow line of the heating water the return flow can be used as a heat accumulator. The increase in the return flow temperature is limited by the maximum permissible temperature of the heating water on the intake side of the circulating pumps of the system which is 130°C. Technically the use of the return flow of the heating water line for the purpose of the heat accumulator is solved by having installed on the line between the nuclear power plant and Greifswald four mixing stations in the form of short circuits between forward and return line with flow-restricting equipment.

In line with the length of the peak period of demand for electric power, the necessary heat requirements and the flow time of the heating water from the mixing stations to the nuclear power plant the operation of the mixing stations between forward and return flow is optimized by an electronic computer system in such a way that in the nuclear power plant at the optimum there is no reduction in the output of electricity, or only the slightest reduction.

In the design solution for the heat supply a system of 6 x 500-m^3 tanks to store the heating water is provided to compensate for the change in volume of the heating water during starting and stopping operations and during temperature changes caused by output fluctuations. As needed, water is fed into the system from these tanks and water is taken from the system for storage. The 500-m^3 containers are designed for maximum temperatures of inside water of 130°C as low pressure reservoirs. By loading these low pressure reservoirs with a mixture of heating water from the forward flow and return flow of the system they are filled with 130°C water outside the peak demand period for electric power. In the peak demand period for electric power the low pressure reservoirs are emptied in order to minimize the reduced electric output of the nuclear power plant.

For the sake of completeness it should be noted that as a result of cogeneration there is an improvement in the specific heat consumption of about 200 kJ/kwh, to which an additional electric capacity of 3 MW corresponds. Of course, this thermodynamically conditioned increase in output meets only a fraction of the reduced output that actually occurs so that realization of the previously mentioned measures is a primary determining factor for reducing or avoiding reduced output.

6. Initial Operating Experiences

The heat supply for Greifswald City in the 1983-1984 heating period was accomplished with an output of 50 MW thermal.

Proof of the basic serviceability, especially of nuclear safety, was provided and basic findings and practical experiences were gained which will be used in the further expansion of the supply system.

These are, for example, detailed findings in respect to facilities behavior and effects which can be expected from the heat output. The instruments for the storage operation to compensate for the reduced electric output in rate period 1 were still not available. It was possible to specify that the reduced electric output without any storage operation is per MW thermal output 0.17 MW with bleeding operation and 0.32 MW when operating with live steam reduction.

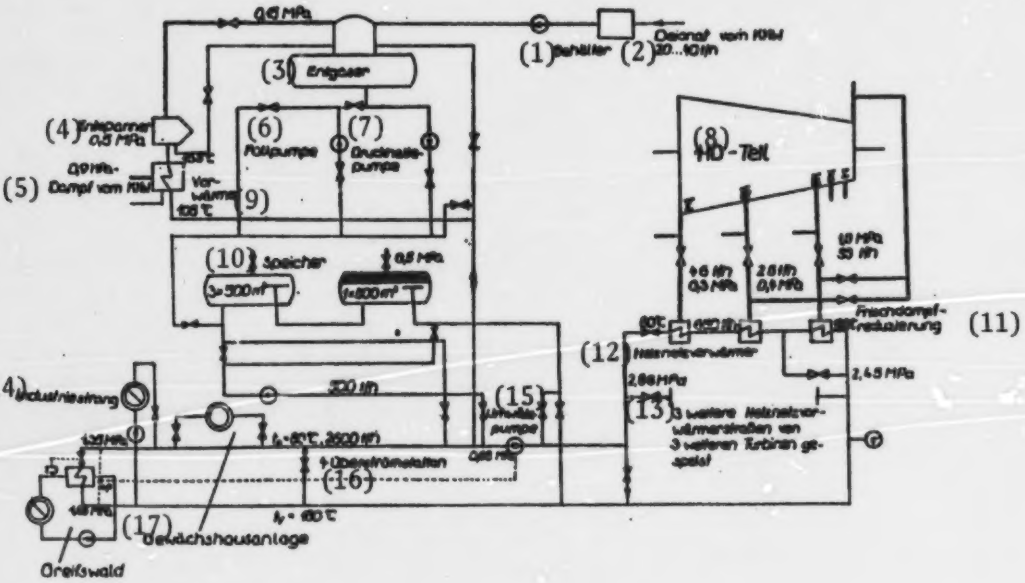
In this way essential primary data for subsequent optimization processes were obtained.

In the nuclear power plant and in the Greifswald territory the necessary measures are nearly complete in order to have 150 MW thermal capacity supply-ready in the 1984-1985 heating period.

7. Summary

Since 27 December 1983 for the first time heat from the bleeding points of the turbines of the KKW has been used for the public heat supply. The first operational experiences were collected, they are positive and confirm the correctness of the technical solution chosen. This also furnishes the proof that it will be possible to use cogeneration at all future GDR nuclear power plant sites.

Figure 1. Basic Schematic of the District Heating Supply


0,6 MPa
(1) Behälter
(2) Deionat vom KKW 20...40 t/h
(3) Entgaser
(4) Entspanner 0,5 MPa
(5) 0,9 MPa-Dampf vom KKW
(6) Füllpumpe
(7) Druckhaltepumpe
Vorwärmer (9)
105 °C
(8) HD-Teil
(10) Speicher
3×500 m³
1×800 m³
0,5 MPa
1,0 MPa
50 t/h
46 t/h
0,3 MPa
28 t/h
0,9 MPa
(11) Frischdampfreduzierung
(12) Heiznetzvorwärmer
2,45 MPa
2,86 MPa
(13) 3 weitere Heiznetzvorwärmerstraßen von 3 weiteren Turbinen gespeist
(14) Industriestrang
(15) Umwälzpumpe
320 t/h
0,6 MPa
(16) Überströmstation
(17) Gewächshausanlage
150 °C, 2600 t/h
1,0 MPa
100 °C
Greifswald

Key:

1. Tanks
2. Deionate from the KKW 20...40 tons/hr
3. Deaerator
4. Expander 0.5 MPa
5. Steam from the KKW
6. Filling pump
7. Pressure maintenance pump
8. HD section
9. Preheater
10. Reservoir
11. Live steam reduction
12. Heating network preheater
13. 3 additional heating network preheater systems fed by 3 additional turbines
14. Line to industries
15. Circulating pump
16. Overflow station
17. Greenhouse facility

Socio-Economic Aspects Viewed

Leipzig ENERGIETECHNIK in German Vol 35 No 6 Jun 85 pp 204-207

[Article by Dr Dieter Hermann, economist, Central Institute for Nuclear Research, Rossendorf, Energy Section: "Socio-Economic Aspects of Further Expansion of the District Heat Supply." Lecture V6 delivered in Dresden on 9/10 October 1984 to the 16th Colloquium on Power Plant Technology, Energy Conversion Section of Dresden Technical University. Manuscript received on 5 February 1985]

[Text] 1. Introduction

In the context of long-term strategic considerations the question arises whether in the heat-supply sector nuclear energy will be only a substitute for fossile fuels which are becoming scarce and expensive, or whether it can achieve significance which ranges far beyond that for the development of productive resources. A qualitative analysis of this problem reveals far-reaching comprehensive relationships under which social factors of further expansion of the municipal district heating supply play an important role.

2. Nuclear Energy as a Qualitatively New Primary Energy Source for the Heat Supply

Nuclear energy is an industrially usable primary energy source which in contrast to fossile primary energy sources makes possible and demands, respectively, energy production which in terms of substance is as isolated as possible from the biosphere, and which under future use of the breeding process can be placed on a practically inexhaustable fuel basis. Consequently, its fundamental strategic potential consists in not only simply replacing fossile primary energy sources, but making possible on a long-term basis a qualitatively new stage in the production of industrial energy for the reproduction process. The latter means that society's industrial energy needs will have to be realizable not only at roughly comparable, but significantly lower cost and on new larger scales than is basically possible on the basis of fossile primary energy sources.

In the use of nuclear energy for the heat supply, given such premises attention focuses especially on

--guaranteeing a high-level basic assets economy, that is, the smallest possible specific investment costs and a high degree of utilization of the facilities,

--favoring broad integration not only of today's, but also of future heat-intensive processes and

--creating good prerequisites for the necessary solution of the nuclear fuel problem in industrial nuclear energy.

The normally low degree of centralization and socialization of the heat supply, the strong seasonal dependence of heating requirements, the high safety demands on nuclear energy and the substantial specific cost of heat transport are some of the factors which today strongly limit the effective use of efficient nuclear heat sources and extensive use of them. On the basis of this situation various strategic lines are being developed for the use of nuclear energy in the heat supply which can be succinctly characterized roughly as follows:

a) For the most diverse reasons a further substantial increase in the degree of centralization and socialization of the heat supply is not considered possible or advisable. To the extent fossile primary energy sources increase in cost, the use of nuclear energy for increasingly more unfavorable conditions, that is, as a rule for sites with increasingly less centralization, is to become economically more competitive in respect to conventional variants.

In this the effort is made to counteract the growth in specific investment costs, which tend to be linked with decreased performance, because of increasing simplification of the plant and its greater nearness to the consumers. Both required a lowering of the energy source parameters, including aspects of safety, so that there is thus at the same time increasingly narrow specialization on straight space heating and the preparation of water for general use for the specific local conditions. Figure 2 shows the design values of the hot water forward flow temperature of various large nuclear heating projects as a function of their unit output.

b) In addition to realizing nuclear heat supply projects at the few sites which currently have favorable conditions, special priority attention must be directed at increasing the degree of centralization and socialization of the heat supply in connection with measures of efficient energy use, decreasing environmental pollution and improving people's working and living conditions. A key issue in this is the increasing integration of industrial and municipal heat consumers in the cities and the development of complex-territorial heat supply systems insofar as this is possible in the context of the social goals mentioned and the available financial sources. The use of nuclear energy will appear on the agenda to a greater degree only if powerful nuclear heat sources can be put into operation economically, that is, if further centralization and regional grouping of neighboring complex-territorial supply systems can be sustained by the resultant possible economizing of the nuclear energy plant itself.

To what extent the one or the other strategic line can be more firmly implemented depends on many factors, not least of which for example is the probably rate of the additional cost increase for fossile primary energy sources. Very strong cost increases could favor trends toward substituting for fossile fuels "at any price" and thus force the way to a). At the latter's theoretical end point there is a conglomerate of relatively small nuclear heat sources which are isolated from one another and are highly specialized. These will not be in a position to have a positive impact on the future establishment of new heat-intensive technologies, for example, in connection with the necessary closing of material circuits or the intensification of the production of mineral and agricultural raw materials, and furthermore they will severely limit the degrees of freedom for any future solution to the nuclear-fuel problem of industrial nuclear energy.

For route b) socialist society offers theoretically good conditions since the restrictions on ownership in the case of production means have been abolished. Nevertheless, it is still by no means a perfectly clear matter today to what extent the route of centralizing the heat supply can actually be traveled for the present. Its present theoretical end point would be the development of regional integrated heat systems which handle their basic load requirements from central, efficient general purpose nuclear heat sources, that is, plants with relatively high heat carrying parameters. The strong degree of centralization and the high parameters favor the integration of both new heat-intensive user processes and additional qualitatively new heat sources. The latter can prove to be very important for solving the nuclear-fuel problem.

3. Driving Forces for Developing Complex-Territorial Heat Supply Systems

The degree of socialization of the heat supply, which has in fact been achieved today, within the municipal region is not an expression of an optimal situation, which corresponds to current conditions, of centralization of heat production and extensiveness of heat distribution, but rather it is at best a reflection of the historical development of these conditions. In this not only technical-economic questions definitely played and continue to play an important role, but rather ownership and administrative limits, technical and social traditions and other factors are likewise reflected.

Historically, centralized heat supply systems first developed in the industrial sector.

The causes of this are clearly to be sought not only in the comparatively favorable economic conditions, characterized by high demand density and the frequently ideal production possibilities in conjunction with technological power and heat processes. The fact that the quality of heating has a direct influence on working conditions and productivity, on efficiency and quality of production, on questions of accident and fire prevention and in certain technological processes on their implementability in general can hardly be rated as lesser. Thus, with the centralized heat supply extraordinarily high qualitative requirements can be met.

In the municipal sector the conditions for realizing expansion of centralized heat supply systems are as a rule not as favorable as in industry, and even the relationship of utility value characteristics of the heating systems and the efficiency of the reproduction process is not as urgent and compelling as in the production sector. The greater heating comfort, which is linked with the district heat supply, in contrast to, for example, furnace heating with solid fuels must for the most part be acquired through higher social costs. Only in the case of comprehensive new housing construction at large sites does the district heat supply at present achieve comparable or better economy whereby, of course, the utility value differences of both systems remain largely unconsidered. The decision in favor of comprehensive housing construction and thus for the district heat supply is, however, no longer a matter of calculating the economy of individual enterprises, but rather an expression of the political assertion of overall social interests. Accordingly, the expansion of the municipal district heat supply in the GDR took place and continues to take place primarily in connection with the economic site distribution of productive resources and associated new establishments and essential expansions of individual cities, respectively, with the comprehensive reconstruction of metropolitan downtown areas which were destroyed in the war and to a very special degree with the SED's housing construction program, that is, with the solution of the housing question as a social problem. This produced the situation that at present approximately one-fifth of all dwellings in the GDR are equipped with the district heat supply. Figure 3 shows the development of the shares of dwellings with modern heating systems.

However, in respect to the future efficient use of nuclear heat sources it will not be enough to build new individual subsystems of centralized heat supply. Rather it is a matter of changing existing structures and subsystems and integrating them into comprehensive heat supply systems which by and large encompass the entire municipal territory in question. That is a much more complicated task which can only be realized under the effect of very strong economic and social driving forces in the advance area of broad use of nuclear heat sources. Measures for efficient energy use and environmental protection are basically considered as such driving forces to increase the degree of centralization and socialization of the heat supply.

Of course, their effectiveness in this connection depend very much on the essential scope of desired improvements and basic economic conditions. At present it can only be a matter of selectively making great progress by concentrating resources and means, that is, as it were, to develop the reserves of the first and second access. Current replacement of heating oil can be viewed as an example of this. Still no greater impulse in the direction of large scale comprehensive solutions of the heat supply can by necessity emerge from these selective measures. With increasingly greater exhausting of reserves in the future, however, such comprehensive solutions will become to a greater degree an unavoidable necessity. A driving force of another kind is the growing need of people for further enhancing living comfort, particularly the convenience of residential heating which today is manifested as increasing solvent demand for individual modernization solutions on the basis of solid fuels and for gas and electrical heating systems. If there is success in directing these important economic and social capacities at retrofitting old construction with overland heat or toward intermediate steps which anticipate that development, then strong driving forces for raising the degree of socialization of the heat supply in harmony with personal and social interests become effective. The gradual comprehensive conversion of old dwellings which overall are predominantly heated by furnaces to the district heat supply by means of appropriate technological solutions which will have to be especially developed, for that would at the same time be an effective contribution to decreasing environmental pollution and an important stimulus to accommodate the associated growth in heat capacity requirements by means of more efficient energy use, increased use of waste heat, deeper return flow cooling and other intensification measures largely from existing systems. Thus, retrofitting old construction with district heat played the role of a territorial and a functional connecting link for increasing the degree of socialization of the heat supply.

4. Questions About the Effect of Social Factors as a Driving Force for Expanding the District Heat Supply

The demand for good and maximum comfort in residential heating can play a role as a driving force for the further socialization of the heat supply if it is not a matter of a temporary fad, but rather if objective requirements for shaping living conditions of broad segments of the population are expressed in it. Qualitatively this question can be positively answered to the effect that people's living conditions must be in basic harmony with the level of development of the material productive resources. Increasing demands in level of education, creativity and availability of the workers under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution over the long term and in the final analysis require as a social norm the kind of residential heating which offers the optimal prerequisites, that is, which independently of the rhythm of living and work at any point in time guarantees the desirable comfortable room atmosphere, and which also is effectively maintenance free. The quantitative determination of these conditions, primarily the timely development of the requirements in interaction with the material possibilities and conditions of satisfying them, represents an important task which must be solved.

One other point of view concerns the relationship of dwelling and heating. As a rule the heating requirements are taken to be an imminent element of the housing requirements and thus are not considered separately. In the following it is not simply a matter of heating, but of heating on a different qualitative level. This requirement for greater heating comfort absolutely deserves to be considered explicitly without forgetting in the process its practical and logical subordination to the requirements for housing. This is important primarily in respect to the mutual relationship between the housing construction program and the development of heating comfort. That housing construction program is dedicated to the goal of solving by 1990 the housing question as a social problem, that is, to satisfying the justified basic requirements of all the people for housing at an appropriate standard. This objective expresses the best possible harmony of personal and social interests under present-day conditions. By 1990 or soon thereafter, however, this appropriate level will still not be able to include without exception high heating comfort even if the housing construction program has made the greatest progress yet in expanding the municipal district heat supply.

On the other hand a qualitatively different situation will result if the housing construction program will have been fulfilled and if the basic requirements for housing all across society can be satisfied. Only then will greater separation of the requirement for high heating comfort from the basic requirement for housing under socialist conditions be objectively possible and necessary if in large measure other conditions develop for the harmony of personal and social interests. This means that the further timely realization of the housing construction program and fulfilling its objective social targets are one of the most important essential prerequisites for the future continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, including satisfying housing requirements which continue to grow qualitatively and quantitatively. By utilizing the advantages of socialist production conditions there can be systematic orientation toward solutions which embody the harmony of personal and long-term total social interests; this is then ultimately a contribution to the fact that nuclear energy in the heat supply sector can on a long-term basis do more than substitute only for fossile fuels.

Figure 2. Forward flow temperature t_v at different large nuclear heating projects (KHW) as a function of unit capacity Q (according to IAEA [International Atomic Energy Committee]--TC [Technical Committee]--483).

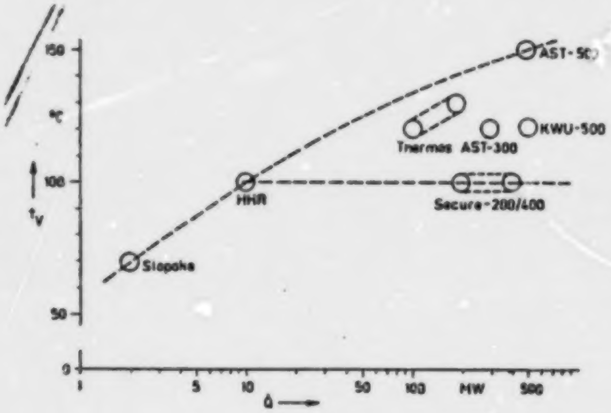
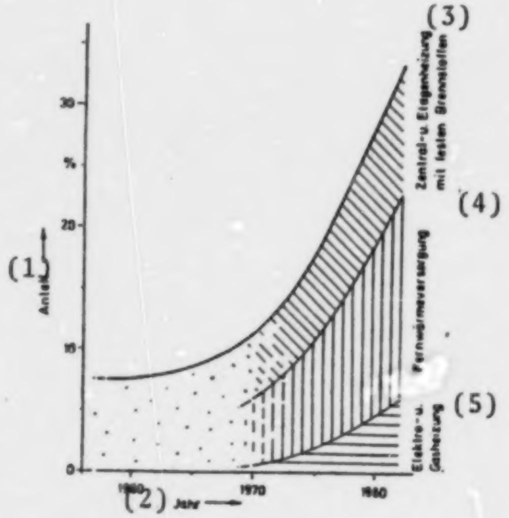


Figure 3. Development of the shares of dwellings with modern heat in the GDR housing inventory (according to the 1977 Statistical Yearbook, Energy Statistics for 1982)



Key:

1. Share
2. Year
3. Central and floor heating with solid fuels
4. District heating supply
5. Electrical and gas heating

12124/12766
CSO: 2300/3

BAKA ON ECONOMIC REFORM BIWEEKLY FAREWELL ISSUE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Dec 85 supplement REFORMA GOSPODARCZA No 63 p 1

[Statement by Wladyslaw Baka, former Commissioner for Economic Reform: "After Three Years"]

> [Text] Notice to our readers: Beginning with the next issue, the supplement REFORMA GOSPODARCZA will be published by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and by RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Three years ago, on 26 Oct 1982 to be exact, the first issue of REFORMA GOSPODARCZA appeared, co-edited by RZECZPOSPOLITA and the Office of the Commissioner for Economic Reform. We were concerned with two matters at that time: 1) that those involved in economic and social activity be ensured of systematic and full information concerning regulations and other legal documents as well as current government decisions regulating the performance of the economy, and 2) that enterprises be able to share their experience and to present the achievements of other socialist states in improving their economic performance.

Today, three years later, it is probably safe to say that the initiative to publish the Supplement was well-conceived. The Supplement has fulfilled its basic functions. It was helpful in a period characterized by a high level of legislative activity, the institution of new categories and concepts into economic life, the initiation of new practices in the relationship between enterprises and administrative organs in the government and also between the enterprises themselves. Such is the opinion of the editorial staff of the supplement. The evaluation, of course, lies in the hands of the enterprise directors, the people involved in social and economic activity, and our readers.

On 12 Nov the term of office of the Commissioner for Economic Reform expired. The activity of the Office of the Commissioner is also coming to an end. In the name of all the workers in that office, I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank our readers for their interest in our paper, and also the co-editors of RZECZPOSPOLITA for their heartfelt and constructive cooperation.

CSO: 2600/186

NEW SOLDIERS' DECORATIONS, MERIT BADGES DISPLAYED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 50 1985 [signed to press 9 Dec 85] p 5

[Unattributed article: Soldiers' Decorations"]

[Text] The socialist competition for members of the National People's Army and the GDR Border Troops designated as "11th Party Congress Soldiers' Achievement--Always Prepared for Combat for Peace and Socialism" is part of the mass initiative of the working population of the German Democratic Republic aimed at the overall strengthening of socialism. Its long and glorious tradition goes back to the first central competition conducted among the members of the ground forces of the National People's Army in the summer of 1956 for the title of "best platoon in combat training" and reaches all the way to the present innovators' movement. Its goal is to fulfill the class mission outlined at the 10th SED party congress. It is primarily designed to involve members of the armed forces, of the Border Troops and civilian employees in creative competition in their daily round of duties for the purpose of fulfilling their political, military, economic and scientific mission. This competition is being conducted in the various units and installations on a man-to-man and collective-to-collective basis under the appropriate conditions. Competition for soldiers' decorations plays an important part in the overall competitive setting.

Over the past several weeks and months, VOLKSARMEE has received a number of queries, primarily from enlisted men and non-commissioned officers in the various units, branches of service and installations, regarding the best-of-unit and merit badges as well as the marksmanship cords. The lively interest in their reviseddesign proves yet once again that the competition for these soldiers' decorations is something of a mass phenomenon. For this reason, VOLKSARMEE decided to publish not only the new designs but also the conditions under which they may be obtained. In doing so, VOLKSARMEE also responds to another frequently asked question: conditions for obtaining the soldiers' decorations remain unchanged in that they continue to be based on directives No. 02/82 and No. 03/82 of the minister for national defense on socialist competitions as laid down in the 17 September 1984 version and in the appropriate implementing instructions.

Best-of-Unit Badge

Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers without subordinates may be awarded the title of "best-of-unit," if they perform their duty according to regulations; if they attain high marks in the primary training disciplines and satisfactory marks in all others and if they maintain their combat equipment, their weapons and other equipment in very good condition.

They must also have received all other decorations appropriate to their rank; they must play an active role in the social life of their military collective; they must assist other members of the armed forces in their training and make their expertise available to them. There must be no disciplinary charges pending against them. Those competing for the "best-of-unit" badge must be models of military discipline and order. This includes their satisfying the demands of communist morality and their making economic use of the materials entrusted to them.The same general provisions apply to non-commissioned officer, warrant officer and officer trainees taking part in the best-of-unit competition.

Superiors up to the company command level, for example, will compete for the title of best squad leader, best first sergeant, best platoon leader or best company commander. To be sure, they can only be awarded that title, if the unit under their command wins the "best-of" title.

Reservists may receive such an award after at least 3 months of reserve duty as long as they meet the abovementioned conditions, with the exception of the attainment of soldiers' badges.

Those meeting these conditions during the course of the new training semester will be awarded the new badges introduced on 1 December 1985. If someone wins the badge for a second, third or fourth time, the figure at the bottom of the badge is altered. If the requirements are met five times, that individual is awarded the National People's Army achievement badge. A seven-time winner will receive the National People's Army bronze medal of merit; nine-time winners will be awarded the corresponding silver medal, and 12-time winners will receive the gold medal. Only "best" titles and repeated awards won after the 1982-

1983 training year will be considered for achievement awards and National People's Army medals of merit. Above and beyond that, all members of the armed forces who are awarded a "best-of" title will receive a cash bonus which in the case of enlisted men will amount to 100 marks.

Decorations awarded to enlisted men and non-commissioned officers later than 1 December 1982 will be exchanged pursuant to directive No. 05/85 of the minister for national defense--but with priority being given to the issuance of new awards. Warrant officers and commissioned officers who won the title after the abovementioned date will receive the badge with the appropriate number on it ; but this applies only to members of the armed forces who are still on active duty.

Qualification Badges

Badges for superior military service in categories III, II and I are awarded to:

- enlisted men, non-commissioned officers, warrant officers and commissioned officers assigned in accordance with their rank to duties such as the operation, maintenance or repair of combat, control or maintenance equipment;

- commissioned officers who are personally responsible for such equipment as part of their duties;

- enlisted personnel specialists as well as non-commissioned, warrant officer and commissioned officer trainees.

The regulations governing the award of such badges are the following:

- politically aware performance of duties and at least a satisfactory rating in fulfillment of the requirements for special technical and military schooling as outlined in the training program;

- superior performance in the operation, maintenance and repair of combat, control and maintenance equipment;

- conscientious fulfillment of military regulations regarding the avoidance of premature equipment breakdown and the economic use of materials.

This military decoration, too, calls for intensive study of army regulations, for systematic training and for participation in extra-curricular military activities. The badges are awarded on the basis of successful completion of qualifying examinations. They include one-time cash awards (also in case of successful completion of re-examinations) based on the particular achievement category. All those in category III must take new examinations every 2 years and those in categories II and I must take the examinations every 3 years.

The new badges introduced on 1 December 1985 take account of the great variety of specialized activities in the National People's Army and the Border Troops of the GDR. The design is the same but the symbols and colors are differ ent. There are in fact 13 specialized activities taken into account in addition to the standard badge issued to members of the National People's Army and the Border Troops of the GDR.

These badges are awarded whenever a new qualification has been met; whenever a new performance category has been attained or if the individual has successfully passed a reexamination.

Members of the armed forces who are assigned to positions which do not afford them an opportunity to qualify themselves may exchange their badge for one bearing a different symbol, if they qualified for it or passed their reexamination after 1 December 1982.

Marksmanship Cord

The marksmanship cord is awarded to:

- enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officers depending on branch of service for firing from tanks; for motorized infantry firing from APC's and combat vehicles and with infantry weapons; for direct shot regular caliber artillery firing and for launching antitank guided missiles.
- enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officers of all other branches of service, special units and services as well as to specialist enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officer, warrant officer and commissioned officer trainees for firing with their specific weaponry.

The new design of the marksmanship cord emblem takes account of the different types of weapons. In addition to the standard emblem, there also are emblems depicting the turret weaponry of tanks, APC's and combat vehicles and the field artillery. There also is a standard emblem for the Border Troops of the GDR.

The conditions for the award of the markmanship cord are the following:

- a rating of "very good" on the last shooting or firing exercise (last rated exercise) which is part of the annual or semi-annual training cycle and a rating of at least "good" on all other exercises;
- constant operational readiness and maintenance of weaponry in accordance with regulations;
- exemplary political and military conduct and leadership.

The competition guidelines stipulate that the marksmanship cord be awarded for the initial fulfillment of the requirements and that each three times the requirements are met again one acorn be added to the decoration. The cord and/or acorn may be awarded at the conclusion of the first half of the training year to enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officers; to non-commissioned officer trainees at the conclusion of their training cycle and to warrant officer and commissioned officer trainees at the end of the academic year.The requirement for being named for the award is participation in all rated firing exercises as well as verification of results in the company firing log and in the platoon combat training record.

Intellectual Achievement Award

The intellectual achievement badge is awarded to all those individuals who are able to show that they possess a good and practice-oriented command of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world view of the working class, and thorough familiarity with the documents of the SED and the FDJ. Regular, active participation in the activities of the circle of young socialists and utilization of the information acquired as part of political education provide the individual with a good foundation for obtaining the award.

In accordance with the conditions laid down by the secretariat of the central council of the FDJ a written paper on an assigned topic must be submitted to qualify for the bronze, silver or gold medal. A meeting with the applicant is then held on the basis of the paper he has submitted. As a rule, these discussions are held at the end of the first half year of training. Their purpose is a careful examination of the qualitatively different intellectual capabilities, of the individual's powers of persuasion and the soundness of his arguments to determine the type of badge to be awarded. One can only be proud of those achievements which were hard to come by.

To concern oneself in some detail with Marxism-Leninism during the course of the training semester; to acquire a thorough knowledge of the literature of the party of the working class and of the socialist youth organization is to make one's own, small and intensely personal contribution to the mass initiative in preparation for the 11th SED party congress.

Military Sports Medal

The conditions for obtaining the military sports medal also are very demanding. After all, its owner may be looked upon as a soldier capable of the highest physical performance on the battlefield. This is why anyone aiming for this medal must first have won the gold medal of the GDR in sports and the level II medal in swimming. Depending on age, four or three obligatory exercises (i.e. obstacle course, 3,000-meter run, hand grenade target and/or long-range target throw and pull-ups) and one optional exercise are required. The conditions are based on the specifications contained in the military physical education guidelines.

Everyday practice teaches us time and again that regular physical exercise during leisure hours in groups or small teams has enabled a good many of us who never thought it possible to meet the requirements necessary for obtaining the military sports medal. The FDJ basic organizations should therefore join the Army Sports Association in developing a broad-based physical training movement.

GDR Sports Medal

The GDR sports medal ("Prepared for Work and the Defense of the Homeland") is awarded in bronze, silver and gold. The requirements are not quite as high as those for the military sports medal. The bronze medal in particular thus is an award which may be conferred on wide segments of the population. The bronze medal, reflecting its mass character, may be won by meeting the following requirements: obstacle run, pushups, hop-skip-and-jump and broad jump, air rifle firing and endurance run. Those desiring to win the silver or gold sports medal must meet the following additional requirements: swimming, short-distance run, broad or high jump, shotput or throw and one optional discipline.

The GDR sports medal ought to be a desirable goal for each and every member of the armed forces and of the Border Troops.

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CSO: 2300/120

FRG WEEKLY ASSESSES POLITBURO CHANGES

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 6 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki, head of the Berlin editorial staff: "Honecker at the Zenith of Power"]

[Text] "A real trapper dies in the saddle," says a GDR artist living in the West, who is knowledgeable about the hierarchy of GDR functionaries. That is his answer to the question of whether Erich Honecker, SED general secretary, chairman of the GDR State Council, chairman of the National Defense Council and meanwhile 73 years old, could some day retire voluntarily, though step by step, from his offices. He gave this answer only a few hours before the time when the 75-year-old Army General Heinz Hoffmann, the GDR defense minister, died of acute heart failure in East Berlin.

On Hoffmann's birthday three days earlier there had been no indication of any illness of the red general. The SED Central Committee did wish him in writing "good health with all our hearts." But the Karl Marx Order which Erich Honecker bestowed on him--for the second time--was received by him standing up in a small ceremony. The 65-year-old NVA political chief, Heinz Kessler, who deserted to the Red Army at the Eastern front in 1941, was made the new defense minister.

Heinz Hoffmann's death in the saddle shows that changes in the top leadership of the SED, the Politburo, as a general rule can be compelled by the physical death of a man--or by a political accident. Age or illness are hardly a decisive factor for someone remaining in the Politburo or not.

Honecker's leadership team is not the youngest. State Security Minister Mielke will be 78 years old this month, Erich Mueckenberger and Alfred Neumann, both 75 years old, continue to hold office, one of them as chairman of the Party Control Commission, the other as deputy chairman of the council of ministers. Willi Stoph, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, is 71; Horst Sindermann, the president of the People's Chamber, is 70; both have been regarded as in questionable health for years. Kurt Hager, 73, and Hermann Axen, 69, the secretaries for culture and science and for international liaison also are no longer among the youngest.

Risky Predictions

Of the 21 members of the Politburo, almost half are of retirement age. Nevertheless quick and drastic changes are hardly to be expected. There is no way to predict them. Speculations on changes in the GDR leadership are always a matter of luck.

For example, DIE WELT as early as January 1976 had definitely predicted the end of Erich Mielke on account of his poor health ("East Berlin relieves its powerful espionage chief"), but he still continues in office. DER SPIEGEL two weeks before the latest Central Committee plenum on 22 November was certain that Mielke would be relieved at long last and that fate would also now overtake Joachim Herrmann, 53, who is responsible in the party for agitation and propaganda. Moreover, Wolfgang Biermann, 57, general director of Zeiss, could move up into the Politburo as a candidate.

Nothing of that turned out to be true. Instead Herbert Haeber, 55, responsible for West work, and SED East Berlin Bezirk chief Konrad Naumann, 57, left the Politburo allegedly on account of illness. The first secretaries of the industrial bezirks of Magdeburg, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Erfurt, namely Werner Eberlein, 66, Siegfried Lorenz, 55, and Gerhard Mueller, 57, were co-opted into the Politburo.

Only Herbert Haeber, who maintained intensive contacts for many years with West German politicians of all parties, is really ill. He is said to have not only cancer but recently is said to be no longer mentally fully competent. Those in the know refer to it as "nervous disorder." Konrad Naumann also did temporarily step aside but this involved primarily his predilection for alcohol.

Under the influence of alcohol Alois Braeutigam, Bezirk first secretary in Erfurt from 1958 to 1980, had finally caused such desolate conditions in his sphere of responsibility that he was replaced by Gerhard Mueller. He put the house in order again and thus established his suitability for the Politburo. Since then Braeutigam has been chairman of the People's Solidarity, a comparatively unimportant institution.

Egon Krenz, only 48 years old, who more than ever is regarded as Erich Honecker's potential successor, allegedly also is fond of alcohol, the same applies to Harry Tisch, 58, the chief of the FDGB, the unified labor union federation. But for both of them this is apparently no grounds for dismissal and also for the firing of Konrad Naumann from the Politburo other reasons were more important than his penchant for the bottle or other private escapades. The Berlin party chief stole the wife of the writer Hermann Kant while the latter was in the hospital following a car accident and gave her, the actress Vera Oelschlegel, the Theater in the Palace of the Republic as a reward. Cultural ensembles no longer provided any pretty young arists for Naumann's small festivities to protect them from improper advances. All that did not fit in with the ideas of correct socialist conduct but was overlooked for Naumann. What finally finished him off were his criticism of Honecker's policies and the more or less subtle attempts to gain more and more power and influence.

Thus Naumann tried to introduce new, harder standards in culture and science. As early as 1982--Egon Krenz was still FDJ chief--Naumann was behind an FDJ cultural conference in which a young agitator who will be heard of in the future, namely Hartmut Koenig, accused GDR writers they had for themselves gone far beyond "the border between capitalism and socialism over which they travel to the West with our passport"; he spoke of lack of principles and "betrayal of our homeland and our ideals." Cultural Secretary Kurt Hager, who had not given his blessings to the speech ahead of time, only with difficulty was able to calm things down and later on had to soothe feelings in the name of the Politburo after Naumann had again scolded artists and scientists in harsh abusive language.

It remained Naumann's favorite idea to become, if not Honecker's successor, then at least Hager's. Since their joint work in the FDJ Central Council, he regarded the Honecker protege Krenz anyhow on his side and under his influence. For a long time it appeared as if Naumann enjoyed support in Moscow--when he, e.g., dismissed the Strauss billion for the GDR as a "Marshall Plan," criticized Honecker's church policy and sensed domestic policy dangers in the GDR exit practice, which, in his opinion, was too generous. In the meantime, the new party chief in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev, has shifted the personnel switches in Moscow; this may also have weakened Naumann's position in the GDR.

Cautious Staging

At any rate it remains peculiar how cautiously Naumann's downfall was initially staged. In the decisive Central Committee plenum in which Naumann lost his seat in the Politburo, there was still talk of health reasons and of recognition of work performed. Two days later when Naumann also lost his position as Berlin Bezirk secretary he was unceremoniously "released" from his function without justification and without thanks. Is it possible to explain the initial caution by the wish to first wait and see how the Berlin comrades reacted? At any rate, Naumann was a well known and influential figure, more colorful than most of his colleagues.

With Naumann Erich Honecker got rid of his most potent opponent. Egon Krenz now can only bet on Honecker. The latter's position is stronger than ever. And that is also very useful to him, for the government in Moscow functions again and the Soviet demands on the GDR economic strength will increase.

Honecker's closest confidants now include Willi Stoph, who has considerable backing in Moscow; Hermann Axen and the economic expert Guenter Mittag; then the former FDJ functionary Joachim Herrmann and Siegfried Lorenz; furthermore the former editor in chief of the party newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Guenter Schabowski, who has now taken over the East Berlin party organization, replacing Naumann; and finally Werner Jerowinsky, 58, and Guenther Kleiber, 54, whom Honecker brought into the Politburo in the spring of 1984.

Of course, the common past with the FDJ, which Honecker also headed from 1946 to 1955, must not be overestimated. The FDJ, like the party organization, is the cadre crucible of the SED. The organization regenerates itself from within. Lateral entrants from science, industry and administration who achieve highest party positions are rather rare. The up and coming generation of course also appears quite meager, a close study of the SED personnel reveals. People with character and intellect can hardly be found, which, of course, is also a consequence of the selection criteria. Not the individualistic thinkers, the imaginative doers are in demand, but the unconditional parrots, the adaptable careerists.

Even now the top party leadership is regarded as a "weak brigade." Walter Ulbricht and the angular-faced comrades of his team were much more dilligent and also more honestly convinced of their cause. Today the only concern is the safeguarding of the power, protection of the organization and the solution of the most urgent daily problems.

Some have their doubts even as regards Egon Krenz. According to position and career he is the potential Honecker successor. As was Honecker, he was FDJ chief, is secretary for security questions and was educated in the Soviet Union for higher duties. But does his manner and his intellect really mark him as the suitable successor? It is conceivable that Honecker will make him chairman of the State Council of which he has been a member since 1981 after the 11th SED Congress this coming April, but that he, Honecker himself, will retain the reins as SED general secretary as long as possible. He, too, probably wants to die in the saddle.

Of course there had also been doubts as to the suitability of the successor when Erich Honecker succeeded Ulbricht in May 1971. Then he rather quickly gained self-assurance and image, always seeking what was feasible without jeopardizing the power monopoly of the party.

In cultural policy the reins were loosened a bit, but tightened again after the Biermann furore although not quite as much as Naumann and others would have wanted to. Contrary to all expectations, the 9th Party Congress in May 1976 did not adopt any social improvements; on account of the general disappointment they were announced nonetheless a few days later by party, labor union and council of ministers. Agricultural policy bet on increasingly bigger production units and the separation of animal and crop production; the fiasco resulting therefrom required a revision of the agricultural policy.

The attempt to control purchases in the Intershop and the West mark credit balances of GDR citizens by introduction of "Forum" coupons was soon tacitly dropped. The church received promises concerning nondiscrimination of practicing Christians which thus far have not been kept.

Contrary to all propaganda, many prices for consumer goods were raised; but too drastic increases were then claimed to be errors of subordinate offices. The more generous approval of exit applications was stopped as quickly as it had been introduced. Many GDR citizens who do not want to leave their state are deported--such as the songwriter Wolf Biermann and the peace fighter Roland Jahn.... Others who make dozens of exit applications must struggle along for years in the GDR without income.

Thus Honecker's policy is by no means consistent, straight, conceptionally logical. Ulbricht was different here, too. Not even Honecker's socialization policy is without breaks. The nationalization of the semistate enterprises and of the producing crafts and the pressure on the private service enterprises to join cooperatives after 1976 was again followed by promoting private retail stores, restaurants and craft enterprises: "Baker closed--baker open." That was a policy of trial and error, expensive but not without success. The GDR now represents the economically most potent, domestic policywise most stable and foreign policywise most influential alliance partner of the Soviet Union in the socialist camp.

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the state, this 7 October, Erich Honecker wrote in Moscow's PRAVDA that the GDR for a decade and a half has been consistently adhering to raising step by step the material and cultural standard of living of the people based on a high rate of development of production and its efficiency, of scientific-technical progress and the growth of labor productivity.

Between the lines, that signified two things: What the Soviet Union under party chief Gorbachev apparently is dealing with somewhat more seriously because the accelerated economic and social development is now regarded as an objective necessity, that has been happening in the GDR for a long time. Namely, and that is the second point, for a decade and a half--that is to say: since Walter Ulbricht's replacement by Erich Honecker. Ulbricht's slogan "Learning from the Soviet Union means learning how to win" is now only a bad memory in the GDR. The GDR and its representatives have become more self-assured.

The GDR citizens do see the improved standard of living but they continue to complain about the restricted opportunities for travel. They can travel to the West only as pensioners or for urgent family matters. Travel to the East Bloc countries is limited by strict foreign exchange regulations. Improvements occur only very gradually. Lately anniversaries of religious orders are treated like urgent family matters for monks and nuns; this is a "decisive breakthrough," a Bonn politician jokes. Herein can be seen the limits of what is possible in the GDR.

Undoubtedly Honecker has tried with his policy to win over the people. If a person has to retire, who would want to be forgotten as quickly as were Ulbricht, Brezhnev, Gomulka and all the others? But in that respect he has had little success. On the contrary, there is a widespread mood which is articulated in the sentence: "We haven't noticed that we were taken in by Honecker."

When he promised realistic plans, when he announced that no one can consume more than he produces, when a cultural easing seemed to be in the offing at the Eighth Party Congress in 1971, that is where Honecker was given an advance of confidence which he has lost in the meantime. The plans have remained as unrealistic as ever, the GDR indebtedness has continued to grow, the cultural policy has been at least inconsistent and, in place of farsighted planning, funds were wasted for all possible anniversaries and socialist competitions, which could have been applied more effectively in other places.

Narrow Limits

Whoever has insight, whoever has to straighten out the many small and big troubles also finds out every day about the discrepancy between the stories in the newspaper and what actually happens. True, in other Bloc states, not least in the big fraternal country, many more hair-raising things happen but that is only small consolation.

Erich Honecker is at the peak of his power. But he has found his limits--and they are perhaps narrower than he likes. They are drawn by the primacy of maintaining power, by the ideology, by the political and economic system, by the Moscow center of power and not least also by human nature--socialist man for the time being remains a dream. Changes in the top leadership will not have too much effect here, not in terms of domestic policy, not in terms of foreign policy and not in terms of Germany policy. They are power plays of the innermost circle, hardly anything else. Constellations at best can change over the long term, over the very long term. And even then good intentions are not at the same time the good deed.

There has been speculation that the departure of the West expert Herbert Haeber from the Politburo could have an adverse effect on the SED Germany policy because it now lacks its most important expert. However, there is no danger of that. There are enough people in the organization who possess sufficient knowledge and contacts. They include Politburo members Guenter Mittag and Hermann Axen, the financial expert Schalck-Golodkowski, the departmental director in the foreign ministry, Karl Seidel, attorney Wolfgang Vogel, but also Ambassador Hans Voss, the presumed successor of the GDR representative in Bonn, Ewald Moldt. The scientists Max Schmidt and Herbert Bartsch should also be mentioned in this connection--and not least also Honecker himself who is visited by a constant stream of West German politicians. And if there are gaps in the SED's knowledge, then these gaps are undoubtedly closed by traveling politicians and businessmen, be their names Strauss, Brandt, Lafontaine, Beitz or whatever else.

Thus the latest shuffling of chairs in the GDR top leadership will remain without great effect. However, in terms of cultural policy, Konrad Naumann's downfall, according to GDR talk, could have at least one significant consequence: Herbert Kant is now working on a novel entitled "Der arme Konrad" (Poor Konrad).

12356
CSO: 2300/102

CULTURAL FORUM: UNOFFICIAL MEETINGS, FINAL EVALUATION

Official Stand on Unofficial Cultural Events

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by P.V.: "Dialogue Outside the Walls"]

[Text] Now in its second week, the forum on European culture is supplemented by quite a few official--and unofficial--programs. The daily press has reported regularly on preparations for the international art show, philatelic exhibit, series of movie premieres, and assortment of television programs, as well as on the events of the forum's first workweek in the form of a public plenary session.

In the days following the opening of the forum on European culture, there were also unofficial "supplementary programs" in Budapest. At an international press conference held on the evening the forum opened, a spokesman for the Hungarian delegation discussed the Hungarian attitude toward those programs. Certain news agencies and the correspondents--those granted credentials at the Budapest forum--for quite a few large newspapers devoted a lot of space to the Hungarian standpoint expounded there. One or another of the delegation heads who took the floor last week referred to the Hungarian press spokesman's statement and diplomatically expressed the view that the success of the forum could be guaranteed only if "what happens at the forum can be debated by others outside the conference center."

Obviously, the individual delegations have radically different ideas about the form and content of these debates outside the conference hall. Such meetings and exchanges of ideas got under way, namely, on Tuesday afternoon, as the Hungarian daily papers reported. At the invitation of the Hungarian Association for Visual and Industrial Arts as well as the forum's Hungarian national committee, the artist members of the delegations which came to Budapest took part in a friendly and informal get-together at the Kossuth Club of the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge, and during the 6 weeks of work in Budapest other artistic associations will also arrange similar exchanges of ideas. On these occasions, the foreign visitors to our capital can meet with members of Hungarian cultural life who are not delegates to the forum, talk with them, and swap views on creativity, the unity and variety of European culture, and the exchange of cultural goods, in short, on all those topics which occupy the forum's center stage.

These encounters serve to make us better acquainted with each other's artistic workers and to discover points of contact. It is to be hoped that the standpoints heard during the debates arranged by the artistic associations--in short, by these social organizations--will be just as interesting to the reporters from the world press here in Budapest as the handful of likewise unofficial programs held last week outside the walls of the conference center.

Final Evaluation of Forum Impact

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 85 p 7

[Article by Ervin Gyertyan: "Culture, Europeanness"]

[Text] The forum on European culture is coming to an end. And although we can still say nothing certain about the shape of the end product, it can be asserted that the cautious hopefulness with which we regarded the conference beforehand was justified. Regardless of the genesis, content, and character of the closing statement (which, of course, is not at all a matter of indifference) and regardless of the list of joint proposals (which, at the present moment, cannot be implemented for this or that reason, mostly financial reasons) for cultural rapprochement, we can give a positive evaluation to this exchange of ideas.

This was the first attempt to have such a broad spectrum of diplomats, creative artists, scientists, representatives of government and culture (between whom a potential--but not inevitable--dividing wall stands) sit down at a table. And even now it can be said that a viable and exemplary format was created for a series of discussions which may benefit both diplomacy (but we could also call it international political detente) and culture (creation, dissemination, cooperation). It made clear at the same time that there is a need for dialogue between the citizens of dissimilar social systems not only in politics, not only in technology, not only in specialized branches of science, but also in culture. One of the conditions for the advancement of all mankind in our time (alongside preservation of each person's principles, convictions, ideas) is our ability to learn from one another. The reconciliation and "exchange" of ideas is not simply a "task" to be checked off or some kind of scheme but a mutually enriching flow of truly humane and humanistic thoughts and values, a standing opportunity--open to everyone--for peoples and societies to become genuinely acquainted with one another.

It was finally confirmed how much inspiration and guidance for that work is given by this old continent--which, perhaps not entirely without foundation, regards itself as the cradle of modern culture--to those who self-assertively profess to be the sons of peoples and fatherlands but Europeans (or heirs of Europe) as well. After 6 weeks of persistent and painstaking work, this recognition was earned by the diplomats committed to European culture and by the writers, artists, and scientists who assumed the role--unusual for them--of cultural diplomats. In accordance with their beliefs and convictions and in various ways, they made every effort to restore to Europe the concept of Europe--as a token of tolerance, respect for values, and development of a critical mentality.

We talk about optimism and cautious hopefulness: I do not believe we have grounds for more than this. The success of this conference lies much more in the mapping of problems and in becoming more familiar with the other side's arguments than in ironing out differences of opinion and in resolving conflicts. But this is no small thing in itself. There were debates, hard-hitting debates, caustic confrontations, too. Some questions remained open, and the forum had moments which we could have gladly done without. Yet it would have been naive, self-deceptive, and utopistic to expect more from this trailblazing conference, the first of its kind. We must rejoice in the debates--as long as they do not degenerate into mudslinging and baseless personal remarks--because there is no other way to honest and spirited rapprochement (or to appraisal of the limits of rapprochement). Reflected in the overwhelming majority of speeches given here was the concern and sense of responsibility for the interests and the mission of a culture which is the most effective tool and medium of mutual understanding and confraternity of peoples.

One of the conference's memorable moments came when--in connection with the situation of national cultures which is, unfortunately, very troublesome even today--it suddenly emerged what sort of conduct is required in relationships between nations. Ivan Boldizsar cited a warning--valid to this very day--by Gyula Illyes. "It is my opinion and my experience," wrote Illyes, "that tact is more important than anything else in the nationality question. It is necessary because it is the only sensible way in which inescapable national haughtiness and ruinous national intolerance (to be shunned at any cost) can be overcome." This perception, which stems from the depth of historical experiences of the Hungarians and the peoples living next to them, tallied with the forum's highly responsible declaration.

This harmony is satisfaction and joy for us and one of the manifestations of the cultural forum's Europeanness as well.

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CSO: 2500/115

SOCIALIST EDUCATION MINISTERS MEET IN KRAKOW

AU221612 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] How should young people be educated and brought up in order to be protected from the consequences of ideas hostile to socialism--this question was the theme of all the speeches made by participants in the conference for education ministers from socialist countries and representatives of education authorities in countries which have embarked upon the path of socialist development.

The conference is being held in Krakow from 18 to 22 November. The main subject of the conference is the role of schools in the contemporary ideological struggle. This is already the sixth international conference which has brought together representatives of states from whom the education and upbringing of young people is closely connected with the instilling and consolidation of socialist ideas, and with the struggle for social progress and peace throughout the world. Previous conferences--beginning in 1975--have taken place in Moscow, Sofia, Budapest, Berlin, and Havana.

The Krakow conference is being attended by delegations from Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, the GDR, Kampuchea, South Yemen, Korea, Cuba, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Ethiopia.

On the first day of the conference, which was [word indistinct] by Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska, minister of education and upbringing, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Gertych greeted delegates on behalf of the PZPR Government. He stressed, inter alia, that the upbringing of young people, and the preparation of youth for employment and the fulfillment of civic duties is a matter of great concern for the parties and governments of the socialist community.

In all the speeches that were made, it was pointed out that a characteristic feature of the contemporary world is the intensification of the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism. And this struggle extends to the education system. Schools, in fact, have a particular role to play in the struggle. Schools furnish younger generations in the countries of the socialist community with socialist social and moral values, with a scientific world view, and prepare young people for adult life. A young person's consciousness, it was stressed, is very malleable and easily influenced in both positive and negative ways. The ideological values instilled in children and young people during the period of their physical and psychological development constitute the most enduring elements of the world view held in later, adult life. That is why socialist schools must also take into account the course of the ideological struggle when executing the tasks as signed them. Young people must be taught to distinguish the methods and directions of activity used by forces hostile to our system, and to oppose views hostile to socialism.

A Bulgarian representative spoke about the need to establish a dialogue of an informal kind with the younger generation, one which takes into the account the realities of life in the younger generation's native country. Speaking in a similar vein, a Hungarian delegate stressed that schools cannot work in isolation, that their work should not be divorced from life, and that they should not present young people with an idealized view of the world, for such things led to passivity and frustration among the younger generation. The generation which is at present being taught in schools must be ready to discharged its civic duties at a turn of the century: this generation must be convinced that the stronger socialism is, the more certain its future becomes--this was the main point put forward in the speech made by the head of the GDR delegation Margot Honecker, GDR minister of education.

Representatives of countries embarking upon the path of socialist development, among them Afghanistan and Angola, told of the difficulties which attend the creation of a socialist democratic education system and the elimination of illiteracy.

Later conference sessions will be devoted to discussing the changes introduced into the education systems of countries attending the conference during the period 1983-85. It is expected that reports will be presented on the implementation of the plan for comprehensive cooperation in education and the pedagogical sciences during the period 1983-85. Reports on the main lines of cooperation to be adopted for the years 1986-1990 are also expected.

Representatives of Krakow's political and administrative authorities, among them Jozef Gajewicz, PZPR Voivodship Central Committee first secretary, and Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow, also attended the first day of the conference.

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CSO: 2600/180

SOCIALIST EDUCATION MINISTERS END MEETING

AU261406 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 85 p 2

[Bohdana Gajdeczkowa report: "The Conference of Education Ministers From Socialist Countries Ends"]

[Text] The 18-21 November Krakow conference of education ministers from socialist countries has ended. The conference, which was attended by 19 countries, was devoted chiefly to the role of the school in the present ideological struggle.

Representatives of our community and of countries embarking upon the road to socialist development stressed that the opponents of the socialist system seek through ideological struggle to influence the development of attitudes and awareness of children and youngsters. In the struggle for the hearts and minds of young people it is the school that plays a leading role, Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska, minister of instruction and upbringing, said and added that this struggle has been imposed on the socialist countries.

The conference also discussed the changes in the educational systems in the past 2 years. In the socialist countries these changes have sought to promote the development of general secondary education and in the countries embarking upon the road to socialist construction--Nicaragua and Kampuchea, for example--they have sought to liquidate illiteracy and to build a democratic system of instruction.

The documents of the conference discuss the position of the participants on all relevant issues and define the basic lines of comprehensive cooperation on education and instruction in 1986-90. The documents provide for setting up the council of experts to promote research into selected issues of education in individual countries. Joint research projects and exchanges of teachers and scientific workers will continue.

The conference addressed an appeal to world nations to halt the arms race and to defend peace. The eights conference of the education ministers will be held in Mongolia in 1987.

The conference participants toured the complex of schools of electricity in Krakow and studied the monuments of our national culture. Ion Sucha Beskidzka they watched a mountaineering dance performance by the children of the Male Padhale ensemble. [as received]
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CSO: 2600/180

POLITYKA EDITOR VIEWS PARTY PROGRAM

AU121301 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by Jan Bijak, chief editor of POLITYKA: "The Leaven of Collective Expertise"]

[Text] I am afraid that so-called extensive sections of the public have only a partial knowledge of the party program. Readers or television views who follow the course of political affairs have quickly realized that the second ideological conference was an important event for the party because it related to the party program, which is the fundamental document for the party. The initial speech by the PZPR first secretary was an essential ideological statement and not a formal invitation to discuss the program. Some 500 people of importance--not only in the Central Committee headquarters building--were invited to attend the ideological conference, and it is obvious that the PZPR used it as a launching pad for the largest political campaign of the next 6 months--the preparations for the PZPR Congress.

The "partial knowledge" that I mentioned at the beginning of this article is a result of the fact that not much is known about the conference discussion. This was inevitable, which is a bad thing, because the liveliest exchanges of views took place in problem groups and covered a multitude of issues, which were at times very detailed, and because the party program that was discussed is far from completed, despite the fact that much work has been devoted to it. Let us be more accurate: After the party program has been publicly discussed next year the party congress will give the program its ultimate form. The program materials distributed among the conference participants were still not ripe for such public discussion, and precisely the ideological conference was expected to help draw up a program version ripe for public evaluation. As Wojciech Jaruzelski said, the conference was expected to become the leaven of collective expertise. I think that this expectation was fulfilled.

I listened to speeches at the plenary sessions and participated in the session of Team Five that dealt with the development of people's socialist rule. The team discussed formal issues such as the construction of the program, its extensive volume, and its language, which is incomprehensible in places. It also discussed less formal issues such as whether it is necessary for a party program to describe prospects for breeding fresh-water fish. Team members argued about various formulations and their contents. They argued whether the formulation "the coalition system of government" is better than the formulation "the allied system of government." I decidedly prefer the former formulation because nothing can be said against it and because it is more extensive and makes possible the participation in government of groups that want to cooperate because of the community of interests (coalition), without having to be benevolently disposed as suggested by the term "alliance." Team members also discussed whether the program should stress the separation of the Catholic Church from the state or whether the lay nature of the state should be emphasized. They discussed whether tolerance should apply to differing ideologies or to the people who profess them, and whether our attitude toward believers is more important than our attitude toward the institutions that are guardians of faith. The party program states that the Patriotic Movement for National Agreement represents the most extensive formula of agreement, but does not this better apply to the idea of self-government within which most varied interests are reconciled and within which citizens' participation can be realized on the most massive scale?

I have cited just a few examples but, on my own behalf, I would like to impress two issues on the authors of the draft program.

The first is the language of the draft. Unlike the poet, I do not demand perfect language, but the party program should use precise terms that clearly set out various ideas--terms that are taken from another dictionary than that which authors of propaganda brochures and mile-long reports have used for years and year. Today nothing is more in demand than clarity. Obscurity is always a sign of muddled thinking, and jargon is a product of laziness and inertia.

The second issue is that we have all been excessively spellbound by the specters of our crisis. I do not want to induce anyone to forget all about these specters, because we should face reality as it is, but we must use our heads. We say "socialism without distortions," but our people, especially the young, would like to know what is really to become of socialism, which they now evaluate on the strength of what they see and not of what they read. We say "renewal" and "reform," but the people who will want to read the party program will want to find out about the nature of the criteria of justice, the mechanisms of government and of people-to-people relations, the rules of the game in enterprises, the powers of work forces, the powers of self-management bodies, the powers of party committees, the party's safeguards for the rule of law, the party's plans for safeguarding human rights, and the place of individuals vis-a-vis the community and the state. We always continue to renew, rectify, reform, and purge errors and distortions. We have good reasons for that, but it is not enough. New questions and new problems arise, the earth continues to turn, and the 21st century is around the corner, but we keep on drifting toward the past and getting hooked in the treadmill of current domestic affairs. And as for reforms, they should be viewed in the manner in which W. Jaruzelski views them: "Renewal is not only a response to past experiences. It is not activities that are forced on us and that are dictated by seasonal considerations. It is primarily a bridge to the future, to higher levels of socialist transformations. This means decent material conditions, the comprehensive development of man's personality, the humanism, culture, fullness, and variety of life, dignified people-to-people relations, and conditions under which one can realize one's natural desire to participate in developing social life. Let us cite Marx and Engels: 'If circumstances shape man, then circumstances have to be shaped in a humane way.'"

In 1980 and after, the party went through a great shock. This was because, one, it ignored so drastically the moods and aspirations of people and, two, it proved to be too weak to rectify the situation through political strength. In addition, it disillusioned [rozczarowala] the leaders who continued to lead the country toward disaster and later on failed [zawiedli] in the hour of trial. In the past few years the placement of the party on the ladder of importance has not been typical. Sociological research has placed the armed forces, the government, and the Sejm at the top, but the party has continued to lag and has been hard put to make good the distance. The most recent polls have been better. The recent elections and the subsequent changes at the summit of the state hierarchy have created opportunities for the party. The hoped-for public, candid discussion on the draft party program can create additional opportunities for the party's efforts to win social support and the trust of the workers class, which is the sponsor of the PZPR, and of young people, who will evaluate this program some day in the future as mature men and women.

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CSO: 2600/180

POLITYKA VIEWS JARUZELSKI, MESSNER GOVERNMENTS

AU161131 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Dec 85 p 4

[Marek Henzler article: "Changes in Bodies of Power--Up, Down, and Sideways"]

[Excerpts] Immediately before the dismissal of W. Jaruzelski's government [in November 85] the Council of Ministers numbered 39 members--the premier, eight deputy premiers and heads of ministries and offices, and three members in the rank of ministers. Three vice premiers, six ministers--of communications, culture, the natural environment, prices, forestry, and health--did not belong to the PZPR. There were 10 professors in the government (W. Baka, B. Faron, E. Grzywa, S. Jarzebski, E. Kowalczyk, Z. Krasinski, A. Lopatka, W. Majewski, Z. Messner, B. Miskiewicz, and K. Tygulski) and five generals (W. Jaruzelski, C. Kiszczak, W. Oliwa, C. Piotrowski, and F. Siwicki). Leaders of the PZPR, the ZSL, the PAX, and of the SD (till last April) were members of the government and five of them were Politburo members or candidate members at the same time. The average age of the previous Council of Ministers was 51.7 years at its dismissal and 52.6 years at its inception.

There were five ministers of domestic trade and services, four heads of the Planning Commission, four ministers of labor and wages, and three ministers each of justice, administration, construction, metallurgy and machine industry, science and higher education, and materials management in General Jaruzelski's government. Apart from W. Jaruzelski, Z. Szalajda, and S. Ciosek, no other minister from previous governments has survived. The following have remained at the same posts from the beginning to the end of General Jaruzelski's term of government: M. Rakowski, R. Malinowski, S. Ciosek (not including his post of minister of labor and wages), W. Kozlowski, T. Szelachowski, and B. Faron. None of these persons has been included in Premier Z. Messner's government.

Of the 69 ministers who were in W. Jaruzelski's government for 4 years and 9 months only 30 stayed to the end. Of the remaining, J. Obodowski, Z. Komender, and Z. Szalajda were promoted to vice premiers; J. Czyrek, M. Milewski, and S. Bejger were appointed to higher posts in the PZPR leadership; General T. Hupalowski was appointed chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control; J. Antosik was appointed deputy chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control;

R. Karski was appointed chairman of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade; M. Krzak was appointed ambassador in Austria; J. Zaleski ambassador in Finland; V.J. Tejchma ambassador in Greece; J. Wojtecki ambassador in the Netherlands; J. Kuberski councillor and minister plenipotentiary in the Vatican; H. Gawronski was appointed trade councillor in Hungary; and K. Kleka trade councillor in Italy. Minister Z. Lakomiec died in a car accident. The average period of time during which a minister stayed at his post in General Jaruzelski's government was 1 year and 10 months.

Zbigniew Messner is the eighth premier in postwar Poland and the first with the title of professor. The new premier, who is 56, has appointed 32 members of the Council of Ministers, which is seven fewer than in the previous government. The Sejm has appointed five vice premiers, (including three new ones) in place of the previous eight. As a result of central reorganization, the powers of the ministries of administration and forestry and of the price office were taken over by other departments. Two ministers, members of the government, had to go and the new post of minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers was created. Following changes at the head of eight ministries, 12 new persons--37.5 percent of the total--have joined the Council of Ministers. Almost the entire economic section of the government has remained as it was, but almost all heads of the departments regarded as the so-called superstructure departments and the heads of the departments of domestic and foreign trade have been changed.

Vice Premier Z. Szalajda, who is the senior member of the Council of Ministers, is the only minister with continuous government experience of over 5 years. He was minister of metallurgy in Premier J. Pinkowski's government. W. Majewski, minister of communications, has the longest continuous ministerial experience of 4.5 years. C. Kiszczak, C. Piotrowski, and J. Kaminski, who were all appointed in 1981, are just a few weeks behind him.

What about the origins of the present ministers? Fourteen of them hail from the intelligentsia, 10 from workers, even from peasant, and two from other families. Eight of them were born outside of Poland's present borders, four in or near Poznan, and only one in Warsaw. Although one minister is only 31, the average ministerial age amounts to 52.8 years, which is just 1 year more than was the case with the previous government.

In the present government nine ministers have economic education, eight technical, four military, four, legal, two agricultural, and two historical education. One minister is a graduate in the Polish literary studies, one is a sociologist, and one a physican. Most of them studied outside of Warsaw. Five of them graduated from the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, four from the General Staff Academy, and three from Poznan University.

Only 13 members of Z. Messner's government worked previously in central administration. Six of them--C. Kiszczak, F. Siwicki, W. Gwiazda, J. Koziol, E. Grzywa, and J. Kaminski--had already been vice ministers.

Ten persons, including first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Catowice; voivodship committee secretary in Gdansk; managers of Katowice Foundry, the Lubin copper combine, the viovodship hospital in Bialystok, the Polish Academy of Science Institute in Zabrze, and the Gdynia harbor; the rector of Poznan University; and the mayor of Lodz, were appointed ministers without having made previous administrative careers in Warsaw. Nine persons of Z. Messner's government had previously worked in the PZPR apparatus. Three of them worked as heads of Central Committee departments and one each as head of ZSL and SD departments. Nine members of Z. Messner's government are professors. Professors W. Baka, E. Kowalczyk, and Z. Krasinski have departed. Z. Gertych and M. Orzechowski are the new professors in the present government. Two members of it have higher doctor's degrees, six ordinary doctor's degrees, and four are generals. Generals W. Jaruzelski and W. Oliwa have departed, but General M. Janiszewski has been appointed to the government, which is now without leaders of the Catholic parties and associations. PZPR members hold 25 ministerial posts, ZSL members hold the post of vice premier and minister of health (the ZSL has lost the post of minister of forestry), SD members hold the old post of minister of communications and the new post of minister of domestic trade, and nonparty people hold the posts of culture and the protection of the natural environment.

All this means that Z. Messner's government is yet another "professional" government, in which economists and graduates in humanities are in preponderance over technologists. In this government there are no people whose only practical experience is previous work in the youth apparatus, followed by work in the PZPR, ZSL, or SD apparatus. Even those government members who are functionaries of these three parties previously worked in bodies other than youth bodies. They were rectors, deputy viovodas, and managers of large plants and institutions.

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POLITICS POLAND

URBAN ON PRIEST SENTENCING, DEBT REPAYMENTS

AU121111 Warsaw RZECPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Dec 85 pp 4, 5

["Transcript" of press conference for foreign journalists given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 December]

[Excerpts] Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO: Still on the subject of the foundation, in fact, two questions on the subject of church-state relations: In his most recent speech on ideology General Jaruzelski condemned these loudly publicized foundations which are supported by the internal enemy, as he put it. Does the minister think that in talking about foundations in the plural, the general had in mind the agricultural foundation, for example? I presume he was thinking of the "Solidarity" foundation, but there must also have been some other foundation because he did refer to foundations. That is my first question. My second question: An appeals court has upheld the sentence imposed on the priest from Srokow, and part of the sentence states that the priest will not be able to teach the cathecism for 4 years. After this verdict and the subsequent appeals court decision, does the government not feat that the episcopate will try to prevent certain party school professors from teaching Marxism-Leninism? It seems to me that the situation would be an analagous one.

Urban: It is clear from the context that General Jaruzelski had in mind those foundations which are used to channel state money from certain Western countries to those engaged in the illegal fight against the constitutional authorities of the People's Republic of Poland. Thus, this has nothing to do with foundations which operate or would operate in Poland on the basis of the statute on foundations passed by the Sejm.

The priest in question displayed flagrant intolerance combined with conduct which was akin to sadism. That part of the sentence which forbids the priest from participating in religious education is based on Polish laws. Without in any way infringing on the autonomy of the church in determining the content of religious education, the state does, of course, exercise a supervisory role with regard to teaching conditions. This encompasses the condition of premises, sanitary conditions, and many others. Put simply, religious instruction, which is paid for by the state, takes place under the auspices of the state, although the education authorities do not prepare the religious instruction curriculum. The analogy you draw, that the church might suspend the right of party school professors to teach, is a false one because the church does not perform the role of the state authorities and does not oversee teaching in party schools. Church and state are different functions of the two institutions, as France is the fatherland of the separation of church and state. It seems as if you are drawing an analogy between the vocation of the church authorities and the role of the state authorities here. It puzzles me that a Frenchman should reason in this manner because as far as I know, the church in France also has functions and powers which differ from those of the state authorities.

Donald Forbes, REUTER: As the minister obviously did not want to answer my question concerning debt repayments, perhaps I can rephrase it somewhat. Will Poland be in a position to meet this month's repayments to commercial banks?

Urban: First, I spoke on the subject of debt repayment last week. Second, in its debt repayment policy Poland observes the principle that those banks whose credits are not backed by government guarantee and are, therefore, not entangled in the whole political problems surrounding Poland's debts, have priority. I cannot, however, provide an answer to a question as detailed as the one you have put to me. A certain amount of discretion attends operations between banks everywhere in the world. I am not saying this so that you will conclude that something is up; I just do not want to talk about it. Quite simply, as government spokesman I do not have that kind of detailed knowledge.

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POLITICS POLAND

16TH PARTY PLENUM RESOLUTION RECALLED

LD102229 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 85

[Interview by Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, with unidentified reporter--date and place not specified; recorded--no video available]

[Text] [Question] The 16th party plenum, which was held in Lodz, was called a workers' plenum. As we remember, it was attended not only by Central Committee members but also by invited workers and representatives of large work enterprises, and not exclusively by party members.

[Answer] And we also remember the course of the plenum, where the discussion was on how to utilize all the possibilities and the economic and human potential which we had then, and of course also for the near future. There were big words on good work, on management, on saving, and in general terms on everything which enriched all of society.

[Question] The 16th plenum ended with the adoption of a resolution which included all proposals, which was then submitted to particular Central Committee departments, to particular ministries, and to the government. What is the assessment of the implementation of the resolution.

[Answer] Not every possibility was used. The degree of implementation of the resolution of the 16th plenum did not satisfy the next Central Committee session, which will make a concrete and competent appraisal of the matter.

We expect--and here I speak also as a representative of the working class--that the working class itself will begin to demand and begin to demonstrate what is a good work and good management, and how a worker should feel as a joint manager in a work enterprise, and in his environment, everywhere he lives and works.

I consider that to be a matter of the utmost importance, because in comparison with other countries as regards productivity and use of raw and other materials, we are well behind and one can say that these are our reserves. This is my reflection on the subject of how every worker in Poland sees his role in this sphere: Good work, use of working time, organization of working time, use of raw materials, everything which brings prosperity to every nation. We need it as well, not only in this difficult situation but also in the future.
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JARUZELSKI TO MEET JEWISH LEADER

Leader's Talks With Jaruzelski

AJ111505 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT 11 Dec 85

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11 (AFP)--Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, arrived today for two days of talks with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski on the situation facing his country's dwindling Jewish community.

Mr. Bronfman, who is heading an eight-member delegation representing various Jewish groups in the West, was met on arrival at Warsaw airport by Religious Affairs Minister Adam Lopatki.

The Canadian Jewish leader said he would meet tomorrow with Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland's president and Communist Party chief. Mr. Bronfman was invited to Poland in September after meeting with General Jaruzelski in New York during the U.N. General Assembly session.

Wieslaw Gornicki, a senior adviser to the Polish leader, said Mr. Bronfman's discussions with officials would focus on protecting the cultural heritage of Polish Jews, including their cemeteries and monuments.

Most of Poland's Jewish community, nearly 3.5-million strong before World War II, died in Nazi extermination camps. Many of the tens of thousands of survivors were either forced to leave or chose to emigrate after 1945, leaving only several thousand Jews in the country.

The delegation, which includes members of the World Federation of Polish Jews and the Jewish Federation of Former Concentration Camp Inmates and World War II veterans is also to meet Polish Jewish organizations and attend a performance marking the 35th anniversary of Warsaw's Jewish Theatre.

Mr. Bronfman dismissed suggestions his meeting was aimed at negotiating a deal with General Jaruzelski to enable thousands of Jews to leave the Soviet Union for Israel.

"I have come to Warsaw solely to settle problems concerning Jews in Poland," he said.

Reports in Western capitals suggested that the United States, France, Israel and the Soviet Union were engaged in secret negotiations aimed at securing permission for 15,000 Soviet Jews to leave for Israel.

The reports said a deal, discussed last week in Paris by General Jaruzelski and French President Francois Mitterrand, would provide for Jewish emigres to fly first to Warsaw. They would then fly directly to Israel, satisfying Soviet demands that Jews not opt for emigration to the United States.

World Jewish Congress Delegation

LD121832 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 85

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, received Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress, and members of the delegation who are staying in Poland at the invitation of the Social and Cultural Association of Polish Jews to mark the 35th anniversary of the State Jewish Theater in Warsaw.

The delegation expressed appreciation for the care given by the Polish authorities and social institutions for Jewish cultural relics in Poland, the sites of the joint struggle of Poles and Jews against Hitlerite genocide, and the many places of martyrdom of the World War II period. During the meeting, the two sides discussed the plans of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland in this respect.

Delegation at Warsaw Ghetto Monument

LD111612 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Dec 85

[Text] A delegation representing the World Jewish Congress, the World Federation of Jews from Poland, and the Federation of Jewish Concentration Camp Prisoners and Ex-Servicemen of WWII, arrived in Poland today, with the chairman of the World Jewish Congress, Edgar Bronfman. The guests laid wreaths at the monument to the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto in the capital and met representatives of Jewish organizations active in Poland: The Jewish Sociocultural Scoiety (TSKZ) and the Religious Association of the Mosaic Sect.

Rumor Denied on Soviet Jews Exit

LD111528 Hamburg DPA in German 1502 GMT 11 Dec 85

["Warsaw Denies Rumors Concerning Exit of Soviet Jews"--DPA headline]

[Text] Warsaw 11 Dec (DPA)--Polish Government circles in Warsaw have today "resolutely" denied rumors about secret talks concerning the exit of 15,000 Jews via Poland to Israel. The adviser to Wojciech Jaruzelski, head of state and party general, Major Wieslaw Gornicki, who accompanied the general to Paris, said in an interview with DPA that there was "not a shadow of truth" in the rumors. Such a matter had not been spoken about during Jaruzelski's meeting with State President Francois Mitterrand.

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POLITICS POLAND

OFFICIAL VIEWS ROLE OF PUBLIC POLLS

AU171125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 85 p 2

[Interview given by Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, head of the Central Public Opinion Poll Center, to PAP Correspondent Tomasz Arleth: "Listening to What People Have To Say"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Arleth] What is the use of public opinion polls?

[Kwiatkowski] Public opinion polls or listening to what people have to say can be used to meet various needs and to benefit holders of important state posts and all the people on the condition that these polls are honest and their results are taken into consideration. The government has many sources of information about our society. Our citizens' demands and views continue to reach the government via many democratic representative bodies. Various councils and commissions set up by the authorities at all levels act as advisers.

The public polls carried out by specialized bodies such as our center are another form of democratized government.

The results of these polls are often identified with the practice of collective decision-making that is proper to direct democracy by referendum. People ask whether the government takes public polls into consideration and whether concrete decisions are made on the strength of polls. Well, government decisions do not take into consideration every element of social moods and evaluations. The government has to know these elements, but it is unable to satisfy everyone with its decisions.

People participating in public polls are cross-section representatives of individual communities of our society or of all mathematical methods. They volunteer answers to questions put to them by pollsters. The results of such polls are representative for individual communities or for all people and make it possible to control the effects of political and economic measures. It is in this way that decisions can be adjusted. Our center is able to provide important hints about change in public opinion.

[Arleth] That you provide services for politicians poses the question whether you are a scientific center or a state office.

[Kwiatkowski] Formally, our center is a unit of the Office of the Council of Ministers, but we do scientific work. Without scientific honesty our unit would be of no use for the government and people. We are a service institution vis-a-vis the government and the political leadership. Our service is not easy.

[Arleth] What happens to the materials you produce?

[Kwiatkowski] Our materials are read and used by the bodies concerned. This is proved by the fact that on many occasions politicians refer to our reports and communiques. Scientists utilize our materials and journalists propagate them among people.

Our center's duty is to provide the maximum of information about people's moods and views. Our methods to gather information vary. Distilling public opinion is a painstaking job. You have to put various elements together to create a clear picture. It is a jigsaw puzzle, the elements of which we collect in most varied ways.

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KISZCZAK ON ANTI-CRIME MEASURES

AU171122 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Dec 85 pp 3, 4

[Interview given by General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, to Jerzy A. Salecki: "We Hope That People Will Continue To Support Our Measures"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Salecki] On 2 December 1983 the Council of Ministers Set up the Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline. It is worth recalling why this committee was set up.

[Kiszczak] Yes, it is. State leaders were concerned at that time about the scale of crimes and about the poor effectiveness of countermeasures. On Comrade Jaruzelski's initiative several steps were taken to change that situation, and the committee was charged with coordinating these steps.

[Salecki] The committee's activities are comprehensive. How would you describe them briefly. What is the share in them of representatives of state and social bodies?

[Kiszczak] Controlling and disciplining operations initiated immediately after the committee was set up are an important factor in eliminating violations of law.

So far 662,758 militiamen, soldiers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Armed Forces, and functionaries from the Railroad Guard have participated in these operations, which started on the Polish railroads in December 1983. Control checks were carried out on 379,050 trains and revealed 557,682 violations of the law. Thousands of hooligans were removed from depots and trains and 2,004 railroad employees were found drunk on duty. The necessary legal steps were taken against the culprits.

Several disciplinary operations such as "Aglomeracja" and "Posesja-85" have been carried out to increase public order and safety in public places and housing settlements. These two operations were carried out on several occasions by 537,000 militiamen and representatives of administration and social aktivs and uncovered 41,416 crimes and 279,083 misdemeanors.

[Salecki] The committee also deals with violations of law in the national economy....

[Kiszczak] We have devoted much attention to irregularities in this important sector and have analyzed the reasons for such harmful features such as wastefulness and bad quality production. Speaking of irregularities in the national economy, we must not see only production enterprises as culprits. Scientific research units and various institutions are just as instrumental in determining the state of our economy and its modernity and effectiveness and in reducing the import of certain raw materials. Many developed countries of the world would not be ashamed of the potential of these units and institutions, but we all know the poor results of the performance of some of them.

Control activities vis-a-vis the private economy require a separate treatment. There are some prerequisites that justify the continuation of these activities. You see, some people in this sector want to get rich quick and to make big fortunes by dishonest means. As a rule, they do this by breaking the law and the principles of social justice. It is regrettable that the work of the relevant self-management bodies in this sector is not effective enough to eliminate the individuals in question from economic activities. This harms the good name of Polish handicrafts and other sectors of the private economy, which, if it is healthy, the state and the people need. We are not interested in "strangling" this economy, but we have to call to order the people who want to get rich through swindles and not through honest work.

The operations in the private economy began in April 1984 and 247,470 control checks were carried out up to November 1985. Some 52,800 cases of law violations were ascertained and 54,900 people were charged. Property valued at about Z3.95 billion was attached to meet the eventual claims of the state and court verdicts. Revenue bodies meted out fines totaling Z2.1 billion for taxation swindles and proposed that 2,608 percsons should not be allowed to continue their business.

Because law violations still continue in this sector on a rather major scale, our operations will continue, but we expect that the self-management bodies in the private economy will be more militant in eliminating from this economy the people who harm the national economy and the good name of Polish artisans.

[Salecki] The activities you have discussed have helped to improve the state of public security and order....

[Kiszczak] I am pleased to state that, beginning with the second half of this year, the overall scale of crmes has continued to be reduced slowly, but consistently. As for common crimes, they continue to go down with increasing frequency in the basic groups and kinds of crimes to which the provisions of the law passed on 10 May 1985 apply. The incidence of uncovering the economic crimes that are most dangerous to society is high. The butt of our activities is primarily directed against major economic crimes, appropriations of large public assets, and criminal economic management.

[Salecki] You committee deals with social delinquency and analyzes its causes and effects. How far does your committee cooperate with other official bodies interested in combating alcoholism, drug addiction, and demoralization of young people?

[Kiszczak] Our committee has separate problem teams to counter social delinquency and to foster citizens' legal awareness. These teams are staffed by prominent specialists and people who are professionally and socially active in this sector. This makes it possible to obtain information about the danger of social delinquency and to coordinate major countermeasures.

The draft government program for the struggle against and prevention of social delinquency and other law violations assumes that we must do more than just issue regulations and instructions and order state bodies to take the necessary action. The determining factors of the development of delinquency are rooted in society and social education, which means that we must set up an extensive system of measures to counter delinquency. This system must include law enforcement bodies, educational and cultural bodies, and, above all, organized social forces. It is necessary to assign the proper roles to each participant in this system and to ensure that planned measures are coordinated.

Today many social and youth organizations continue to wage the struggle against delinquency and to score some successes, but this is not enough. We have to incorporate these activities within a single program, especially in view of the fact that the social determining factors of many kinds of delinquency, including demoralization, alcoholism, and drug addition, are almost identical.

[Salecki] The work of your committee is of great interest to the party and state leaderships and to the public. No doubt your committee, which has begun the third year of its existence, has plans for activities in 1986 and other years.

[Kiszczak] Yes, it has. The committee and its presidium and teams work in line with definite semi-annual and quarterly plans, the commitments of which are results of the appraisals and analyses made by the competent bodies of the committee and, primarily, of the resolutions and decisions made by the proper political and state agencies. The resolutions of the 16th Central Committee plenum have made a crucial impact on the lines of our committee's work.

We hope that our activities will continue to be approved and supported by our society. The many proofs of its approval and support make us increasingly more convinced that the work plans of our committee are correct.
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COUNCIL OF STATE MEETING

AU170909 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The State Council met in the Belvedere Palace on 12 December.

It head a report on the official visits by State Council chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and Republic of Tunisia.

The visits expressed the friendly relations joining Poland and these Arab countries, and confirmed the importance of our country attaches to the developing and nonaligned countries.

During the talks held by the State Council chairman with the leaders of these countries, interest was shown in expanding comprehensive relations and raising mutually advantageous cooperation to an increasingly higher level.

The State Council underlined the political and economic significance of the decisions made during the visits to Libya, Algeria, and Tunisia, as well as the need to make efforts to further animate Poland's relations with these countries.

The State Council also heard a report about Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris. This visit was recognized as an important step along the road to strengthening Poland's position in the international arena.

Next on the agenda was a report on complaints submitted to the Supreme Court, Supreme Administrative Court, Prosecutor's Office, Ministry of Justice, and general courts in the first half of 1985.

In order to gain the fullest possible picture of society's opinions on the judicature and law enforcement, the State Council also acquainted itself with reports on complaints that had reached the Sejm, PZPR Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and PRON National Council.

A thorough analysis of the reasons behind the repeated accusations involved in the complaints, as well as the number of the complaints themselves, made it possible to reveal the chief defects in the work of the judicature and law enforcement bodies.

These defects include recurring cases of protracted court proceedings, mainly in civil cases and in the enforcement of sentences, as well as a hasty settling of affairs in attorneys' offices.

On the recommendation of the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, the State Council recalled Aleksander Schmidt from the post of deputy chairman of the Chamber in connection with his retirement and appointed in his place Tadeusz Materka.

Under the terms of the law governing the State Labor Inspectorate, the State Council appointed a board for the Labor Protection Council, this being a body designed to plan and control the work of the State Labor Inspectorate. Leszek Brojanowski, deputy chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, was appointed chairman of the Council.

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TRYBUNA LUDU ON MARTIAL LAW ANNIVERSARY

AU170910 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 85 p 1

[Piotr Rzadca article: "An Opening to the Future"]

[Text] Time flies so fast that it erases quite recent memories. How far away from us December 1981 already is! A dramatic decision preceded by equally dramatic events. Anarchy and growing danger, later surprise and shock. And finally, a political declaration about the necessity for extraordinary measures in order to restore normality to life.

The intentions of politicians and the truth of their declarations are tested by real facts. From the distance of 4 years one can check their correctness properly and without any omissions. It has been a time of normalization. It was opened by martial law and closed by the Sejm elections. It was a period in which normality was restored to life, but at the same time life was made subject to new principles. It was a time of socialist renewal started by the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

The past 4 years have been packed with events of unusual social importance, for instance the economic reform, initiated despite the difficult situation and perhaps because of this situation in order to heal our economy more quickly; dozens of new Sejm decisions; new and greater powers for the people's councils; the development of broadly-conceived local, workers, and cooperative self-government; the rebirth of class trade unions; an openness of public life; the widescale practice of social consultations and advice-giving to bodies of authority; the creation of the worker-peasant inspectorate and an intensification of the struggle against social pathology; the emergence of PRON as a forum of dialogue and accord; and the energy of citizens during the people's council elections and their support for the policy of changes during the Sejm election.

It does not sound paradoxical to say so today, but it is martial law which permitted all these positive processes. It was not a return to the discredited practices of ruling the state. It was the beginning of normalization and the beginning of renewal. How do we comprehend these concepts today? Wojciech Jaruselski spoke about this during the Second Party Ideological and Theoretical Conference: "There is still no shortage of hesitation and lack of fiath in the future. It is all the more important, therefore, to have an answer to the following question: How should we construe socialist renewal? It possesses two basic meaings. First, it comprises conlcusions from painful experience, everything that we have been changing putting in order, and purifying for several years in order to root out the distortions and weaknesses and conquer their effects.

But in the second, long-term meaning, renewal is not only a reaction aimed at the future and not any enforced or conjunctual activity, but a bridgehead to the future and to higher stages of socialist changes.

After all, one cannot live with a "crisis conscienceness" all the time, not wait until the complicated times are past. Neither can one take life as it comes, without any clear view of tomorrow. The period of restoring normality was an essential starting point, but today a period of development is also essential and expected. Yesterday the most important social value for us was social calm, whereas today we want this to be accompanied by social progress, a progress mapped out for the future and based on an awareness of the permanence of the new policy of the party and state authorities and on the correct development principles of socialist construction.

That is why we are thinking and talking about the future and concentrating on it more and more frequently. This we are doing with the conviction, already present in many social circles, that we can extricate ourselves from our present difficulties and that we can work out the most effective ways of developing the country comprehensively, harmoniously, and safely, in such a way that thanks to increased energy by the working people and by using the scientific-technical revolution, we may boost the production of commodities and manage the country more effectively, which will permit us to satisfy our needs and the nation's aspirations to a higher degree than at present.

We are encountering fear and doubts whether we can perform all this. However, fear solves nothing and in no way makes us move forward. What we do need is a realism of expectation and a boldness in improving our lives. We need to rally around those people who display this realism and boldness and use at the same time all the new democratic mechanisms necessary to bring about these changes.

We are also encountering examples of passiveness and the seeking of alibis in order to avoid increased effort and personal responsibility for what belongs to all of us. This of course means that some people are burdened with work beyond their share and others take illegal advantage of their work. One cannot come to terms with this.

Finally, we are encountering various obstacles to progress which always accompany periods of change and which we must remove after discovering in which social groups or inside which mechanisms they occur. But we also have an increasingly better knowledge of what people and what groups are and can be factors in the acceleration of change of general prosperity. Every work place and social circle knows.

A concentrated collective will is necessary in order to achieve tangible and real progress. As a party, we started this progress with our daily political work and daily activity by all components of state and social life.

One may express the profound conviction that the discussion on the draft party program will permit this will and these social aspirations to be included among the tasks for the nearest future and incorporated in the future of individuals and our entire nation.

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URBAN, GORNICKI AT 10 DEC 85 PRESS CONFERENCE

AU181454 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Dec 85 pp 4, 5

["Transcript" of press conference given to foreign and Polish journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Major Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to the State Council chairman, in Warsaw on 10 December]

[Excerpts] Surender Kumar Bhutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: During his visit to Kibya, General Jaruzelski met with Syrian Deputy Premier Khaddam. Any details about this meeting?

Gornicki: The meeting took place at the request of the Syrian vice president because on the very day on which General Jaruzelski was leaving Tripoli, Vice President Khaddam arrived in Libya. The meeting lasted 25 minutes and, if I may say so, concerned the current international situation and the problems of the Arab world. I do not think I have anything more to say on this subject.

Michael Kaufman, THE NEW YORK TIMES: Major, General Jaruzelski's lightning visit to Paris took place a few weeks after M. Gorbachev's visit. Could it be that precisely the Gorbachev visit set in motion the process that culminated with the Polish leader's visit?

Gornick: Poland is a sovereign country and follows its own foreign policy in keeping with its own interests. Certainly, there is an indirect connection between M. Gorbachev's Paris visit and W. Jaruzelski's visit, at least insofar as we see French policy. It seems that the so-called new cold war is coming to an end in various areas, though not in all areas, and that is why it is natural that the more far-sighted politicians are concerned rather with the future than with the past. There was no direct connection between the two visits.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: How did North Africa receive the announcement that visa relations had been established between Israel and Poland?

Gornicki: It is good that you use the term "visa relations," because various press media, including those in the Middle East, have erroneously assumed that Poland intends to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. I declare that such an intention does not exist. The issue of visa relations you have brought up is of a purely humanitarian and nonpolitical nature. It was explained succinctly and clearly to all our Arab interlocutors.

Bobinski: Thank you. But how did they receive it?

Gornicki: With understanding. After all, humanitarian considerations do exist aside from politics. All the countries we visited shared these considerations with us.

Guenter Schubert, ZDF, West Germany: What significance does the Polish Government attach to Erich Honecker's coming visit to Warsaw? What is the Polish Government's position in connection with a possible visit by Erich Honecker to the FRG?

Urban: Mutual visits by socialist leaders are a form of normal cooperation among the socialist countries. We have very close relations with the GDR, and Erich Honecker's visit is one of the ways in which we cultivate these relations at all levels, including the summit level. As for E. Honecker's possible FRG visit, about which the Western press continues to speculate, it is a matter for the GDR and the FRG. We have always been in favor of the East-West contacts that promote international detente, peace, and other good aims, which are also the aims of Polish foreign policy. However, what we wish for is that the West German intentions vis-a-vis such contacts are as good and noble as those of our friends in the GDR. Naturally, this remark concerns some West German commentaries on relations with the GDR, commentaries that cause us anxiety at times.

M. Kaufman: Minister, could you tell us what the Polish Government expects in connection with the Polish visit by Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress? E. Bronfman is supposed to begin his visit today and to see General Jaruzelski.

Urban: It is true that Mr Bronfman will visit Poland and will be received by General Jaruzelski. Mr Bronfman is at the head of a delegation that includes representatives of the World Jewish congress, the Federation of Jews from Poland, and the Federation of Jewish Fighters in the Resistance Movement. The delegation was invited by General Jaruzelski last September when he had a talk with Mr Bronfman in New York. The purpose of the visit and planned talks are issues connected with the past and present life of the Jewish minority in Poland. Talsk will be held about the maintenance of various objects of the Judaic faith, sacred objects, cemeteries, and monuments as well as about cooperation on access to archivest, about displays of mementoes, and about similar issues connected with the fact that for many centuries Poland was home to some 3.5 million Jews.

Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO: We know that the Polish side has been against the meetings between the visiting Western statesmen and leaders and advisers of former Solidarity. Willy Brandt found an original way out and met with a delegation of the legally operating Club of Catholic Intellectuals. As it turned out, this delegation included former advisers of Solidarity. Could this be taken as a precedent? Will this formula be accepted during the future visits by Western statesmen?

Urban: I have no comments to make on the private aspects of Mr Brandt's visit. This is one part of my answer. The second part is that our position on the so-called scenario of Polish visits arranged by the NATO countries has not changed in any way. The third part of my answer is to recall General Jaruzelski's words that what is important to us is the present attitude of our visitors and not which country they come from. I do not wish to apply these remarks personally to any one. All I want to say is that our stand on programs of Polish visits applies to contacts with the persons who are at present interested in the struggle against the political and constitutional system now existing in Poland. This stand does not apply to old attitudes if they have now lost their validity. I repeat that what I am saying is not a comment on any person at all. It is a comment on your general statement about Solidarity advisers.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Minister, you promised us long ago that you would supply us with prompt information and a statement about the investigations into Marcin Antonowicz's death. Why is it that this statement has still not been published?

Urban: This is because investigations are still in progress, but they will soon be completed. The present situation is that Gdansk and Lublin physicians have pledged to submit by 11 December their final opinion about Antonowicz's death. An experiment carried out by the Forensic Institute has confirmed what investigations have established, namely, that Marcin Antonowicz jumped from a moving automobile. On 5 December the prosecutor in charge interviewed Professor Karol Taylor, former rector of Gdansk University, who in his speech at Antonowicz's funeral suggested that there was an analogy between his death and that of Father Popieluszko and that militiamen could be responsible for the fomrer's death. Professor Taylor, who was interviewed as a witness, was unable to identify the facts that could warrant his suggestions and said that he did not know of any facts that might indicate that militiamen had caused Antonowicz's death.

Posadzki, Gdansk University student, did not appear for an interview with the prosecutors and did not supply any excuses for his nonappearance. He was fined for this and asked to report for an interview on 12 December. At Antonowicz's funeral Posadzki read a letter from Lech Walesa suggesting that Antonowicz's death had been caused by militiamen. Posadzki and Walesa will be interviewed to find out what they know about Antonowicz's death and why they publicly spread such suggestions.

Renata Marsch, DPA: Do you know anything about the beating up of Father Zalewski in Krakow?

Urban: Investigations into this case are continuing with great effort and Lawyer Rozmarynowicz, who represents Father Zalewski, is participating.

However, since this battery occurred on 4 December, the investigations have not fully developed. This battery is a strange and puzzling case. I have nothing to tell you about the results of investigations at this point.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: Minister, do you know whether the prosecutor's office intends to take any legal proceedings against Professor Taylor, following his depositions?

Urban: I have no information to this effect. During the investigations into M. Antonowicz's death everyone is invited to an interview who has asserted publicly or otherwise that he knows something about this death, and the militia knows that such assertions have been made.

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CSO: 2600/180

POLITICS POLAND

GOVERMMENT COMMITTEE DISCUSSES CRIMINALITY

LD232142 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Dec 85

[Text] The Presidium of the Council of Minister's Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline has met. A report on the state of criminality in Poland and crime-inducing social phenomena was discussed, as also a plan of government actions to limit criminality. It was stated that justified social opinions and demands should be treated with greater attention. Life at the cost of society and contrary to its interests must no longer be tolerated. The elimination of these phenomena, it was stressed, is, however, a task not only for the state authorities, but for the whole of society.

Attention is drawn within the program to the need to enforce observance of the law in the national economy. The state and all citizens pay a bit too much for bad work discipline, for the poor quality of production, for the waste of food and energy. The pretence of work in some institutes and study and development centers, whose work too often does not correspond to the needs of the state economy, cannot be tolerated. These problems were included in the program of the committee's activity.

An important role in the national economy and in meeting society's needs falls to the private sector. Too often, however, cases of criminality and violation of the principles of social justice by some representatives of this sector justify the continuation of the controls up to now.

The meeting was chaired by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the commission.

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CSO: 2600/180

URBAN ON WALESA, UNIVERSITY 'PURGES,' LABOR ISSUES

AU271819 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Dec 85 pp 7, 8

[Transcript" of press conference given to foreign and Polish journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban in Warsaw on 17 December]

[Excerpts] Ian Glover-James, ITN: Could you comment on the reports in LE MONDE and other papers that during his talks with President Mitterrand, General Jaruzelski discussed the possibility of the emigration of Soviet Jews from the USSR to Israel via Poland or with Poland's help? Could you say that Edgar Bronfman's recent visit to Poland was in any way connected with that emigration?

Urban: I can clearly state that all such reports are untrue. General Jaruzelski did not discuss the issue in question with President Mitterrand. Nor did anyone discuss it with Mr Bronfman in Warsaw. This was confirmed by the French spokesman and by Mr Bronfman. I cannot see why you have asked this question.

Matthew Vita, AP: In the past few weeks and months the name of Mr Walesa has been appearing with increasing frequency in the press and the media, especially in the context of articles and critical reports on his statements and speeches. Could this denote the government's new strategy aimed at tiring him or at enmeshing him in various specific activities? Could this be connected with the fact that investigations against him are in progress in Gdansk and Olsztyn? Could this mean involving him in such things so that he would have less time for public relations?

Urban: The Polish Government is able to afford only a rather simpleminded spokesman, and so I would like to receive simple questions. Your question is terribly complicated, but I will try to divide it into some component parts and answer it.

I understand that you have noticed that the Polish press has recently given increased critical attention to Walesa and that you want to know whether this is meant to tire him. I have not noticed that the name of Walesa has been recently appearing in the media with increasing frequency. Its appearance in the press is very rare and when it does, then it is in the context of history, to which it belongs. I do not think that the appearance of his name in the press tires Mr Walesa. On the contrary, it is his dear wish to see his name in the press as often as possible.

You have suggested that investigations against Walesa continue to prevent his contacts with the public. This is a strange view. Mr Walesa cultivates his public relations in that he receives Western journalists. I do not think that investigations in question make this difficult nor him. At the moment investigations are in progress into the defamation committed by Mr Walesa. If one says something, one must have time and patience to take responsibility for his words.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Could you confirm that a Polish parliamentary delegation has been invited to visit Great Britain? Could you comment on Polish-British relations in this connection?

Urban: I have no information on this subject, but I will make inquiries. I am not a Sejm spokesman and know nothing about the Sejm's present plans in this regard. As for Polish-British relations, there have been no recent events to merit my comment, except that the BBC screened a film about Poland which we evaluated as exceptionally one-sided and untrue. But everyone knows that the British Government does not claim any influence over the BBC, although the facts tell a different story.

However, if we ignore that undoubtedly jarring incident in our relations, then we can say that, following visits to Warsaw, especially the visit by the foreign secretary of Great Britain, these relations develop very slowly but in the right direction. We wish they could develop faster.

Robert Strhbel, the POLONIAN PRESS: Invoking the constitutional provision about the party's leading role, last week you said that certain people were removed from Wroclaw University because party recommendations were withdrawn from them. What university posts require such recommendations? How do you evaluate the general climate at universities, following the recent "purge" of personnel?

Urban: Party recommendation is required in the case of leading posts. A different opinion is needed for promotion in the hierarchy of the posts of independent scientific workers. Such an opinion can be given by the party or by some other organization such as, for example, the Polish Teachers' Union or some other organization to which the candidate for a higher post belongs and which knows him best. As for leading posts, the recommendation in question should state whether the candidate enjoys trust and is fit for the post. This recommendation refers mainly to one's social militancy, which is one of the elements taken into consideration when one's promotion is debated.

As for the climate in our universities, the people in them continue to fulfill their tasks. The climate of work is the prevailing climate. Certainly, personnel decisions are the subject of great interest and continue to be commended on, especially in the universities to which they apply. People differ as to the recent personnel decisions and as to such decisions in general. Some consider them correct, some incorrect for various reasons.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Could you tell us about consultations with the new trade unions about working time next year? I would like to know about workfree Sundays next year.

Urban: The consultations you mention are about the rider to the law of 31 July 1985 on modifying some legal regulations that govern the functioning of the economy to meet the needs of the country's socioeconomic development. Article 4 of this law states that in order to fulfill the most important tasks relating to living standards, defense and economic development, in the period 1986-90 the government is entitled--after consultations with the National Trade Union Council--to list the [word indistinct] of fundamental importance for the economy in which working time amounts up to 8 hours a day and 46 hours a week.

The issue at the moment is to draw up a list of the plants in which working times can be raised to 46 hours a week.

Trade unions active in the given sectors of industry and in given enterprises have studied the proposal as to which enterprises should be so listed and have generally refused to have working time raised in the enterprises in which they are active.

That is why it is still impossible to settle the list of enterprises in question, and negotiations with trade unions are necessary. The government Presidium will soon deal with this problem. For the time being, the minister of labor is busy talking with the trade unions in order to reach some accord with them. Let me explain that the enterprises under consideration are those that are economically fit to work longer hours and which have the necessary supplies of raw materials. The principle of a 42-hour week is still in force, and any work in excess of this limit is paid for as overtime.

Bobinski: Will the Saturday work in the enterprises placed on the list be paid at a double rate or is this merely a prolongation of working time?

Urban: My statement "as overtime" also applies to work on Saturdays. There are various rules governing this issue.

Let me also explain that as a result of temporary legal regulations the institution of prolonged working time still exists and that abandoning it would mean another reduction in real working time in our country and another reduction in production.

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CSO: 2600/180

POLITICS POLAND

GRZYB ADDRESSES CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LD210554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1310 GMT 20 Dec 85

[Speech by Zofia Grzyb, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, at 20 December session of the 23d plenum of the PZPR Central Committee--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, the basic principle of our activity is the consistent and systematic accounting of accepted resolutions. In this year, the Central Committee has already, for the second time, been informed of the progress of the realization of the 16th Central Committee Plenum's resolution; in the same period, the Central Committee Politburo examined this subject four times. As the comrades remember, directly after the 16th Central Committee Plenum, we conducted consultations on programs and matters which were taken up at this meeting of the Central Committee, at nearly 6,000 open party meetings. The accepted resolution, and the resolutions of participants concerning the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in building socialism in Poland, and the results of consultations, constituted the basis for the promulgation of timetables in which the tasks for departments of the Central Committee, voivodship committees and ministries were defined. Making recommendations for a wide-ranging study, it stopped short of certain problems, which we acknowledge as demanding clear-sighted consideration and particular emphasis.

An so, in the chapter devoted to discussing the tasks concering the strengthening of the worker character of the PZPR, it is stated that we achieved progress in shaping the numerical state and the class composition of our party. It must, however, be clearly stated that no everyone worked to an equal degree for this effect. We pose ourselves the question--Why do 31 voivodships have visible results in this sphere, yet 18 do not? No analysis of the so-called specifics of the voivodships gives us anything. This is because the cause does not lie in this. Comrades from Szczecin, finding themselves in this group of 31 voivodships, clearly state that only 50 percent of the basic party organizations worked for these positive effects. I stress only 50 percent of basic organizations. The reasons for the party's relatively slow rebuilding of itself among the working class include, among other things: the not always visible role and authority of the party organizations in work places; in the milieu; not coming out aggressively enough with the program beyond one's own structures; not treating the development of party ranks as one of the fundamental directions of our activity. One of the tasks approved at the 16th Central Committee Plenum was the continuation of the enrichment of contacts between party and state authorities with the workforces of work enterprises. We are implementing this task. Thanks to these direct contacts, we are enriching our knowledge of human problems, about complaints, attitudes, about the reality which is often (?pitiless), often harsh, and, as it sometimes happens, also sad.

From these meetings, we also come away with the knowledge of what deters, what is disturbing, about incompetent, indifferent, and sometimes, unfortunately, also dishonest people. We use this knowledge in our party activity. But despite the fact that undoubtedly, the number of contacts, and of meetings between the party and state echelons and authorities with workforces from places of work has increased, the statement of the Central Auditing Commission, which studied the realization of the decisions of the 16th Central Committee Plenum in large enterprises, that the workers are not always satisfied with such meetings, is not devoid of validity. For example, it transpires from the opinions of the workers of the Rudna mining establishment, that they are awaiting more direct contacts at their workbenches. This should be an obligatory warning signal to us all.

We write in the material presented about the increase in the political activity of workers, and we have many examples of this. They are active in the People's Councils, in trade unions, in worker's self-management; they are speaking out more often, and are critical. But now, the next question must be posed in this way. How can their effectiveness, their political activity, in the functioning of committees of party organization, in the exploitation of their assessments and conclusions in sociopolitical life be increased? How to direct this worker criticism at the elimination of negative phenomena; in this also, and maybe above all, in their own environment? One of the undoubted, one could say, systemic achievements of the 16th Plenum is the creation and activity of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorates. In the space of 10 months of this year, an army of over 20,000 social inspectors has been raised. The class significance of the inspectorate is testified by the fact that we have 75 percent of workers and peasants in its composition. In October of the current year, we in the Politburo of the Central Committee evaluated the state of organization and the results of checks on the justification of the allocation of apartments, conducted by the Worker-Peasant Inspectorates. It transpires from this evaluation that in this brief period of activity, the social inspectors of the inspectorate did a lot. We are counting on their doing even more. However, with this sort of irregularity, in the battle with the pathologies of theft, abuse of authority, elitism, we must all take part.

Unfortunately, it is not yet so, despite the fact that we have such a party and civic responsibility. It is easier for us to point out what is bad, to demand, to have expectations; it is more difficult for us actively to involve ourselves in its elimination. Here, the inspectorate on its own will not do much, and this is a task for all honest people. The things I said are connected to the problem of shaping the class consciousness of the workers. We accepted such a task at the 16th Central Committee Plenum. As a result of their realization, programs of economic, historic and legal and state education are being introduced. From the material presented, the comrades will see how much we have done, and how much there is still to be done.

In creating a series of new forms of political education, we have the right to expect a gradual improvement and the better preparation of the aktiv and members of the party, and the fuller knowledge of the socioeconomic, historical, legal and state professes. A great deal of this sphere depends upon us, upon the committees, upon party organizations, which should make all possible efforts to ensure that the approved programs were realized to their fullest extent. Workplace centers for education and information have particular responsibilities in this sphere.

In this same superstructure are activities concerned with the strengthening of the class character of the state's political culture. Much is being done in this sphere. One can mention here the dynamic development of workplace circles of the Worker's Association of the Creators of Culture, the socially significant functions of the weekly TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW, the report on the state of worker's culture prepared by the Council of Culture and Art of the National Trade Union Accord, the cultural activity in workplaces, housing developments and cities.

Nevertheless, in parallel with the undisputed achievements, problems are also evident, which must be disturbing. Not everywhere is this sphere of activity fully appreciated. Party, trade union and youth organizations must exact from the heads of work places the fulfillment of responsibilities that are placed on them by the law on the popularization of culture. They should also, at the same time, take up inspirational activities and should actively involve themsleves in the realization of the program of cultural activity.

Here are more problems in this sphere. In accordance with the decisions of the 16th Central Committee Plenum, a program for the raising of the level of training in education and vocational training was worked out. At present, materials have been prepared for the 24th Central Committee Plenum, which will take up comprehensively the problems of the improvement and development of education. We know that a series of initiatives is being developed; the national action to aid schools; the sponsorship of workplaces; the transfer of finacial resources and teaching assistance in some schools. There is visible progress here.

The level of teaching and educational work in vocational schools in improving. The network of the structure of education and the teaching content is being modernized. The base is being developed, and especially, the modernization of school workshops. Within this continuation of activities there are, however, problems which we cannot be allowed to forget.

I shall mention here the monotonous difficulties in providng students with textbooks within a fixed time limit. We are counting on the fact that, within the shortest time possible, this problem too will be solved.

The participants of the 16th plenum also considered the matters--so important from the social point of view--such as the functioning of higher educational establishments and the access to higher schools for peasant and working class youth. In accordance with the results of consultations--departing from the system of preference points--the range of help given to youth approaching entrance examinations from the working class and peasantry has been significantly broadened. Actions have also been undertaken with a view to raising the teaching level in the countryside and in small localities.

On the other hand, in accordance with postulates moved by working class milieux, work has been undertaken with a view to ensuring a socialist character to higher education. An expression of this is the amendment of the law on higher education, to the grades of academic titles, and the laws on the office of the minister of science and higher education. A consequence of the amendment is the reactivization of the social councils of higher schools appointed by the voivodship national councils; councils set up on the strength of the decision of the Council of State will be a means of control over the effectiveness of the higher schools' work. Within the scope of their activity there will be, first and foremost, the undertaking of actions aimed at organizing help for higher education schools in the socialist upbrining of youth, and discharging social control over the expending of means at their disposal.

Esteemed Comrades. Let us now move to successive socioeconomic problems, which we took up at the 16th Central Committee Plenum in the resolution of participants of this plenum. The voivodship committees report a significant improvement in the situation in the sphere of rationalization and inventiveness. The number of proposals is growing; there are fewer complaints about legal regulatization; an increasingly better climate for the rationalists and inventors in work places is being created. I will present an example: in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship there are over 500 rationalists, each of whom has brought about savings over and above Zl million for the national economy. Among them is Comrade Stanislaw Moskal, foreman from the Stalowa Wola steelworks; Comrade Franciszek Regisz a metalworker from the Dezamet metalworks in Nowa Debia; among the Krakow rationalists a worthy example is Comrade Kazimierz Tysz, a metalworker from the Lenin Steelworks, who in the course of his professional work presented 278 invention and rationalization probjects. One can find considerably more examples like this, and one would want there to be as many of them as possible, especially as the approaching 5 years will be a very demanding test in the sphere of the widely conceived management of resources and inventiveness.

At the 16th Central Committee Plenum, problems concerning work ethics were also widely examined. The discipline and organization of work; the economizing and quality of production; rationalization and inventiveness; incentive wage schemes and work competition are matters whose need to be introduced was accepted by members of the Central Committee and invited workers during the debates of the 16th Central Committee Plenum.

Two-thirds of the material presented, in fact, concerns these matters. It is very clearly visible how different are the assessments, and how much there is still to be done in this regard. In some workplaces, incentive schemes have influenced the actual application of the principle, such as the work is, so then is the pay. This is not so in other workplaces.

For example, in the evaluation of the executive of the Wroclaw Voivodship Committee it is stated that, despite specific guidelines concerning the introduction of a new wage system, they do not mirror the principle of better renumberation for more productive work. On the whole the principle of a rise in wages in varying degrees for particular working groups is being applied. The principle of work assessment is not being implemented; therefore, if that is how things stand, then these are not motivating systems--this means that in these enterprises reform has been halted; it functions in the realm of assumptions and not in the real state of affairs.

Some of the committees report on the improvement in the quality of production; others cannot do so. In some enterprises the employment structure has been improved; in others it hasn't. In this way we see that which we have discussed so often: the true reserves of our socioeconomic activity. Something is being done all the time--and all the time some things are left behind, can't keep up and, therefore, put a break on progress.

Let us also add: The government will not come to these enterprises in order to govern them. That is not why we brought about the reform, that is not why enterprises were given independence.

From an analysis of the information collected, it appears that the difficulties with which we struggle often have very little to do with system solutions. Next to (?good) examples of legal regulations, a far more important role is played by man, his attitude to work, his authentic involvement, his desire to overcome stereotypes, bad habits and customs linked to the way work is being done. This is an important task for trade unions and workers' self-managements.

Trade unions active in enterprises comprise a fundamental platform for the socio-professional integration of workers' groups. Today, the majority of working people belong to trade unions. It is, however, an important matter that we should not fall into a state of self-satisfaction. We must recognize the need for broadening the programmatic activity of trade unions organizations. We are counting on the fact that next to the defense of interests and the implementation of the justified expectations of the working people, the trade unions will more efficiently influence the production processes. In order to be able to share out more, as has been mentioned in Comrade Wozniak's speech, one must produce more. That is how each manager must think and that is how each manager must act.

Workers' self-management are active in almost 90 workplaces. They constitute one of the basic forms of socialist democracy, an important link in the management system.

This self-management is an inseparable link of our economic reform, and the result of decentralization. We stress this one more time: such should be the road, both to the greater socialization of production processes, management of resources and direction, as also to the improvement of all indicators of the activity of enterprises. We know, however, that it is so in most work places, but it should be so in all of them. The working class as the manager of resources must be the sentry of intelligent and economic management of resources; rational employment and remuneration; the productivity and quality of production. The proverbial trash is not worthy of the traditions of the working class; it is a growth which must, which ought to be cut out as quickly as possible. I would like to end this thought with a statement: functioning within the structures of the socialist democracy, the working class has guaranteed rights and class duties--to be a manager and to decide.

Apart from the fundamental, productive function, work places also have a series of important, social tasks to implement, tasks which were discussed at the 16th Central Committee Plenum. We defined them at the time under the joint title of the necessity of developing and strengthening the small communities at workplaces. Today, we can say that the interest of party, trade union, worker's self-management organizations; the improvement of social welfare and cultural activity, have increased. Here the draft law about social and housing funds, which we discussed last month at one of the Politburo meeting, will be of significance. However, the fact that this type of activity is actually realized above all by large workplaces, should or ought to worry us. Such an assessment is confirmed by the controls of the Central Auditing Commission. We are not, however, a country exclusively of large workplaces, and everything should be done so that there would be less such information as that sent in by comrades from Pila--that outside of the group of larger workplaces, very little has been done thus far, that parcels for children on Saturday and Sunday excursions are the extent of the contacts of workers and their families with the workplace.

During the Central Committee's 16th Plenum and during the consultations, much space was devoted to the problems of the social policy of the state. This concerned, among other things, upbringing [word indistinct], the criteria for awarding pensions to the Class III disabled, taking advantage of medical certificates. Polemicizing about the theories of the excess of social benefits, the workers pointed out the all too frequent distortions, dishonesty and craftiness. We must admit to ourselves quite openly: We shall not automatically change the situation through legal regulations. In order for this to take place we must all stand guard over social justice. All of us, especially the workers. For after all, among us there are healthy Class III invalids. We live among healthy people who are on sick leave. We are working for their benefit and on their behalf. And this does not happen somewhere away from us. These unnatural practices, unworthy of a worker's sence of justice, should be consistently eliminated. We must also fight signs of indifference toward manifestations of social pathology.

To end this, of necessity, very shortened examination of the material made available, comrades, we must say that there are no tasks set by the

Central Committee's 16 Plenum which we have not undertaken. However, the level of their implementation is quite varied. But there are no such areas of action which have escaped our notice. What have we done as a result of the resolutions of the Central Committee's 16th Plenum? Without a doubt we have made another step in the strengthening and consolidating of the class and workers' course of our party. We have very many more workers in the Sejm. Workers are actively participating in people's councils, trade unions, in workers' self-managements. The workers are active in party echelons and the problem solving teams in committees. The workers also fully participate in decision-making processes.

There are still many matters which we have been unable to implement fully and everywhere. Far too often still, the worker in his own capacity, is a petitioner--running from one official to another. Far too often this 20, 30 percent of time mentioned by the ministry is being wasted through a bad organization of labor. One could also add to this, breaks for a cigarette, machines which are idling, finishing shifts half an hour too soon, and starting shifts half an hour late.

There are many such matters at work enterprises, offices and institutions which we know from our own experience at our work. Comrades, the 16th plenum is described as unprecedented in our history. I think that, therefore, the consistency and honesty in implementation of its decisions should also be of exceptional caliber. The achievements of this plenum are used in the prepared draft of the PZPR Program, which we shall approve at the 10th Party Congress. The Politburo therefore proposes to note the presented set of reports of the Central Committee and voivodship committees on the state of implementation of the tasks of the 16th Central Committee Plenum, and makes it incumbent on the party echelons and organizations--as well as the central and regional organs of the state administration and the managements of work enterprises--to carry out a detailed examination of the state of implementation of the tasks which they are responsible for, and to undertake consistent action so that they can be implemented in full. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

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CSO: 2600/180

MIODOWICZ ADDRESSES 23D CC PLENUM

AU301201 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Dec 85 p 6

[Report on speech by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Council, at the 20 December session of the 23d PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] I thank you for letting me speak in the party debate about our economy, because trade unions are especially interested in this issue. At the Poznan party economic meeting we said that the draft 1986-90 economic plan is colorless and that the people would find it difficult to accept it. We have to repeat this here. A plan can be implemented only if the work forces identify themselves with it. However, the 1986-90 plan is not socially attractive, and the Polish workers have no idea what improvements this plan will effect for them, why they have to tighten their belts to overcome the crisis, and, what is most important, what they have to do to earn more and to help the country to develop more rapidly.

Poor average wages produce poor average results. Such an approach will not trigger social militancy and the militancy of the best workers. But there can be no question of any considerable progress without such militancy. It is our view that, unfortunately, the plan is an expression of the philosophy of frustration. We will get used to the crisis and will learn to live with it. It is still time for the party to make a vigorous leap forward and to abandon passivity before the 10th Congress. It is still time to present a better vision of our fatherland in the congress program. There are many difficulties, but the party is able to propose how to overcome them.

We should encourage our countrymen to be militant and to tell all those who work honestly that they may hope to achieve good order, prosperity, and good prospects through their own work. What is the meaning of the fact that the national plan envisages that the housing problem will be solved in 20 or perhaps 26 [figures as published] years? This means a young man with military service who wants to set up a family will have to wait for an apartment until he is almost 50. Can we expect such a fellow to work his hands off? Can we expect him to be socially active and to support our policy? The fact is that we could solve the housing problem relatively quickly. Our industry is able to produce that which construction trade needs and our builders have a good reputation in the world. But we also have inefficient structures, various legal barriers, and bad management, all of which are a brake on construction. We must abandon these barriers, because Poland simply cannot afford the waste reigning in the housing economy.

Price and incomes policy is another urgent issue, which is full of paradoxes. We are stingy toward pensioners and allow private shopkeepers to get rich. Polish trade unions are not for making wages equal for everyone. They support the government schemes to actively encourage work through wages, but what actually takes place has nothing to do with such schemes. Increases in food prices go hand in hand with wages increases.

Workers are primarily concerned for price increases and for ways to offset them by wage increases. This is their main concern, although price increases are not as numerous as to warrant this unceasing concern. Today the question of wages is still a questionof the relationship between prices and wages and very seldom between procutivity and wages.

I do not wish to allege that this is so everywhere, but it happens very often and produces nervousness and tension. I think we should stop those constant consultations about the prices of butter, sugar, and meat, because this does not encourage work, has a very bad impact on production quality, and triggers a wage race between branches of industry and enterprises. I think this is the source of the wage muddle and, consequently, a very bad employment situation. I propose that the party should allow the people to catch their breath and should let the planners and fiscal experts have time for intensive thinking. Let us freeze prices and wages until the 10th Congress and let us sort out this area in the meantime.

This will give us time to abandon what is harassing us. The government continues to demonstrate militancy in restoring order in the economy. For example, the work on the law on collective work contracts is an important activity, which is a reason for optimism. The point of this law is not to provide additional privileges for trade unions or to give something for nothing. The government regards the collective work contracts as important elements of employment and wage policy and of improvement in this policy. This is how trade unions view these contracts.

At the Poznan party economic meeting the trade unionists expressed their unequivocal support for the economic reform. The work forces attach considerable hopes to this reform. However, the economic instruments created by the reform are very much inadequate and not infrequently strike a false note. Mining companies have been set up and foundry companies are being planned. This is how enterprises protect themselves against the destructive system of taxation and other liabilities, a system that takes money away from the efficient plants to give it to poor plants. The fiscal system works in line with the principle that money should be found where it is easiest to find. Everything is being done to "grab" whatever can be grabbed from socialized enterprises and then from honest tradesmen.

The National Trade Union Council supports the proposal to draw up a thrift program, and as trade unions we want to contribute toward its implementation, because waste is the greatest curse of our people. Thrift, technological progress, structural changes, and organizational progress are the areas that the national economic plan should define.

/6662
CSO: 2600/180

MOKRZYSZCZAK SPEECH AT 23D PZPR CC PLENUM

LD221454 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1125 GMT 21 Dec 85

[Speech by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo at the 23d PZPR Central Committee Plenum in the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] The PZPR is preparing for its 10th congress. The statutory period of this term of office of the central authorities and control bodies of our party expires in the middle of next year. The Central Committee at its 20th plenum considered it advisable to convene the 10th congress in the second quarter of 1986. The Politburo suggests that at today's plenary meeting the Central Committee adopts a resolution on the convening of the 10th congress, specifies main topics for its deliberations, appoints a Congress Commission, and approves the principles and course of its work. We should also define an organizational framework and goals and contents of the congress campaign. The party statute requires the adoption of a resolution on these matters at least 6 months before a congress.

Realizing the obligations of the 20th plenum of the Central Committee, the Politburo has undertaken work aimed at preparing programmatic and organizational assumptions for the 10th congress. We asked all executives of the voivodship committees for an opinion on this matter. Opinions put forward by comrades during recent information and consultative meetings were very useful for working out proposals concerning the organization of the congress campaign and the course of the 10th congress.

Comrades, the 10th congress of the PZPR will be an important event in life of the party, the nation and the socialist state. The whole of society rests its expectations on it. The 10th congress has to resolve a number of economic, social and political issues of the utmost importance of our country's future. The Politburo is of the opinion that the deliberations of the 10th congress should focus in particular on measuring the advance of the process of socialist construction in Poland, and on outlining its long-term goals. Their contents will be included in a long-term party program which has been prepared on the recommendation of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

The congress should appraise our achievements so far, and specify directions and methods to continue developing the strategy of socialist renewal, national accord and struggle as adopted by the ninth congress.

While making an appraisal of the sociopolitical and economic situation the congress should lay out tasks for improving economic reform, raising the quality of work and the living standard of society, for the development of the country in the next 5-year period, and also it should define the economic perspective until 1995.

The congress should also work out efficient methods for consolidating the party's leading role in the state and society, and for consolidating its workers' character and the Marxist-Leninist bases of its activity. It should specify conditions and methods for consolidation of the socialsit Polish state, its ability to ensure a secure national existence, public order and the development of socialist democracy. An important task for the 10th congress will be the designation of foreign policy goals aimed at consolidating peace in the world and strengthening Poland's position in the international arena.

The Politburo suggests the convening of the 10th congress in the last 10 days of June 1986 in Warsaw. This date is in accordance with a statutory requirement for holding party congresses in every 5-year period. It also takes into account the political and social conditions in which the congress campaign and preparations for the congress will take place. The scope and character of tasks which faced by the 10th congress require suitable preparations and the conducting of the congress campaign.

The Politburo suggests that pre-congress meetings and conferences be held in the period between February and May of 1986. The subject of a pre-congress discussion will be the contents of a draft PZPR program and congress theses. Discussion of the draft PZPR program should enrich their knowledge of tasks and principles of building socialism in Poland, and on the party performing the leading role in the state and society. The congress theses which will concretize tasks included in the PZPR program for the next 5-year period should prompt the search for efficient and effective methods to achieve planned tasks for socioeconomic development.

We suggest that the pre-congress meetings of party organizations should be of an open nature. We count, in the pre-congress discussion, on the active participation of not just party members, but also of those who do not belong to any party. We appeal to all communities, to members of the allied parties, the ZSL and SD, to mass sociopolitical and vocational organizations, to workers, peasants, scientists and artists, to all working people for wide participation in the discussion on the future of our country.

Comrades, the pre-congress meetings and conference will also elect delegates to the conferences of party organizations on a high level and delegates to the 10th congress. The statute right of electing delegates to the congress is the right of pre-congress party conferences on the voivodship, works, higher educational establishment and armed forces level. In accordance with the statute, the Central Committee should define the norms of representation as far as the election of congress delegates is concerned. The

Politburo suggests that one congress delegate should represent 1,300 members and candidate members of the party. It also proposes that a right of direct election of the delegates to the 10th congress should be granted to works and higher educational establishment party organizations with a membership of more than 650 members and candidate members of the party. The elections of delegates ought to conform strictly with the principles defined in the rules governing the election of delegates, authorities and control organs of the PZPR, adopted by the National Conference of Delegates in March 1984.

The nature of tasks the 10th congress faces and the concern for an appropriate class composition of the future authorities and control organs of the party makes it incumbent on the whole of the party to ensure that frontranking workers and peasants, as well as representatives of intelligentsia communities, outstanding party, state and social activists are among the delegates that have been elected. We should also remember that represented among the delegates should also be young party members who stand out because of their political activeness, their achievements at work and because of their involved and interested participation in public life. Works organizations which will elect delegates to the 10th congress should make sure that it is, above all, workers who hail directly from production [as heard] who should represent them at this most important party forum.

Esteemed comrades, programmatic and organizational preparation for the 10th congress demands the active and creative participation of all party members and candidates. In order to ensure this the Central Committee Politburo have come to the conclusion that there is a need to have general individual talks in the entire party. The talks will contribute towards better recognition of views and opinions held by party members and candidates, as regards political, social, and economic programs which should be solved in the documents of the 10th congress of the party.

During the talks we should seek a response to the questions by what methods and means we should stimulate initiatives and remove the brakes on the effective and efficient operation of work enterprises; how can party organizations more effectively fulfill the leading role in circles in which they operate where there are possibilities for developing the party ranks and how to raise the activity, fighting spirit, and ideological stance of every party member?

The subject of the talks should be the assessment of party members and candidates in performing statutory duties, and fulfillment of party tasks. We expect that the results of the talks will be [words indistinct] involvement, and sence of responsibility, and discipline of party members and candidates, an increase of political influence of party organizations in work enterprises and offices.

Esteemed comrades, the complexity, and importance for the state and people of problems which the 10th congress of our party has to resolve compels the Politburo to propose that the Central Committee make a decision that in pre-congress meetings and conferences we should concentrate on discussing and preparing a stance concerning congress documents, and the election of candidates for the conference and the 10th congress [as heard].

For the post-congress period it is proposed that meetings, report-back and election conferences should be held to acquaint the entire party with the decisions of the 10th congress, and to prepare successful methods for the implementation of the congress resolutions in voivodships, towns, parish, or work enterprises.

Moreover, the post-congress meetings and the report-back and election conferences would assess the results of the activity of the party committees and organizations for the period spanning the last term of office, and would also elect the authorities and the monitoring bodies in party organizations.

The report-back and election conferences would debate within a team of delegates elected during pre-congress meetings and conferences. We propose that post-congress meetings and conferences take place from the voivodship level of primary and branch party organization level inclusive, in the period from October to December 1986. Such a procedure for conducting the pre-congress and the post-congress campaign will allow us to fulfill the ideological and political objectives put forward before the 10th congress, and will contribute to the achievement of full program and task uniformity for all the party links.

The whole of the preparatory work for the congress, in accordance with the statute, is being directed by the Central Committee and its Politburo. For the preparation of the draft documents to be sent for pre-congress discussions and to the congress (itself) the Central Committee is obliged to set up a Congress Commission. The Central Committee Politburo proposes that its composition should be made up of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, presidium members of the Central Review Commission and Central Party Control Commission, the first secretaries of voivodship committees who are not members of the central party authorities, a group of workers from the largest work enterprises, farmers and worthy party activists and experts. The Politburo also proposes that the Congress Commission should be chaired by the first secretary of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The Congress Commission would work within subject teams preparing drafts of reports and documents.

A report on the activity of the Central Audit Commission and the Central Party Congrol Commission (DTTK) for the duration of the term of office will be prepared by those commissions in their own capacity. All congress material and documents will be sent to party echelons and organizations and to the delegates to the 10th congress by the party's central committee.

Esteemed comrades! The congress campaign should bring a perceptible improvement in party work; increase the consistency of our activity; considerably mobilize all party cells, particularly Basic Party Organizations (POP);

and contribute to increasing the cohesion of party ranks, their ideological and political unity. It should strengthen the party and prepare it for a uniform execution of the 10th congress resolutions, for the broad inclusion of the whole of society in their implementation.

/6662
CSO: 2600/180

BRIEFS

OPZZ OPPOSED TO WORKING-TIME DECREE--The OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] Executive Committee has submitted reservations to a draft Council of Ministers decree on working time at socialized enterprises and changes in some regulations on working time. In an adopted resolution, the OPZZ Executive Committee has emphasized that the decree should be in accord with the Labor Code, should guarantee employees' gains so far and not restrict rights which already exist. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 20 Dec 85 LD] /6662

'SOCIAL JUSTICE' COMPLAINTS INVESTIGATED--The presidium of the Central Party Control Commission has met to discuss the results of inspections carried out in 10 voivodships on the correctness of the examination of ecomplaints and letters. The most numerous complaints concerned wide-ranging violations of social justice. The presidium obliged commissions at all levels to react in an even more efficient way to the irregularities revealed in the complants and letters of working people, and in critical publications in the press and on radio and television. The debates were chaired by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 85 LD] /6662

CSO: 2600/180

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DIGITAL PROCESSING OF RADAR SIGNALS DETAILED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4 1985 (signed to press 9 May 85) pp 190-193

[Article by Lt Col J. Schuster, Lt Col R. Roemer]

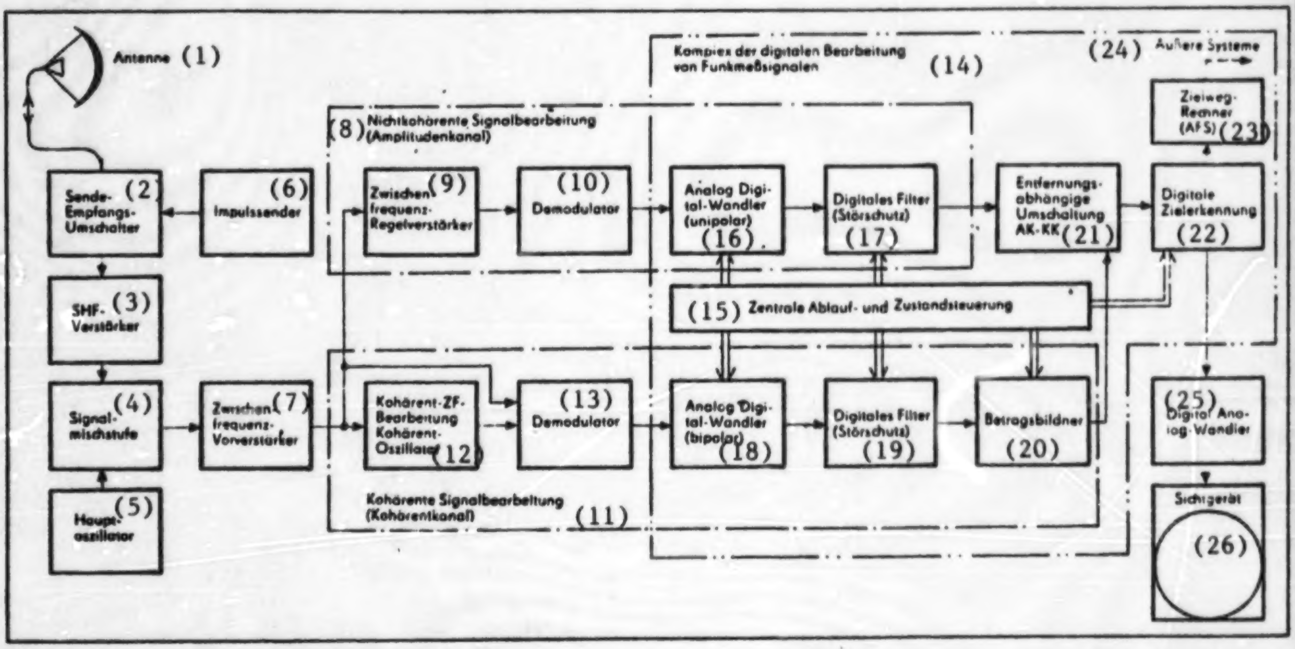
[Text] With the development of microelectronics, the use of digital signal processing has expanded to areas of application which were still reserved for analog technology only a few years ago. This includes the processing of radar signals. In this area, basic advantages are achieved through the use of such processes, such as a greater dynamic range, possibilities of more accurate adjustment of processing parameters to the transmission characteristics of the radar instrument and a high degree of stability in the parameters obtained.

As a matter of fact, many processes can now be performed for the first time since they would require too great an effort for syntonizing and tuning using analog technology. Some examples are digital recirculators, machine signal recognition and determination of coordinates or digital filter circuit processing to guard against radar interference.

Real advantages are the great accuracy and reproducibility of operations, the high reliability, the small size and weight as well as the decreased energy requirement. Furthermore, syntonizing and tuning work decreases with its use. When modern microprocessors are used, new modes of operation result. Equipment expenditure decreases even more.

1. Interaction of Analog and Digital Components in a Radar System

The arrangement of elements of digital processing of signals in the signal path is shown using a pulse radar system as an example. Within it, the signals are processed non-coherently (amplitude channel) as well as coherently (coherent channel). In each channel, the respective demodulator translates the intermediate frequency [IF] signals into the video range. The analog video pulses thus available enter the digital processing complex.


Antenne (1)
Sende-Empfangs-Umschalter (2)
SHF-Verstärker (3)
Signalmischstufe (4)
Hauptoszillator (5)
Impulssender (6)
Zwischenfrequenz-Vorverstärker (7)
(8) Nichtkohärente Signalbearbeitung (Amplitudenkanal)
Zwischenfrequenz-Regelverstärker (9)
(10) Demodulator
Kohärente Signalbearbeitung (Kohärentkanal) (11)
Kohärent-ZF-Bearbeitung Kohärent-Oszillator (12)
(13) Demodulator
Komplex der digitalen Bearbeitung von Funkmeßsignalen (14)
(15) Zentrale Ablauf- und Zustandsteuerung
Analog Digital-Wandler (unipolar) (16)
Digitales Filter (Störschutz) (17)
Analog Digital-Wandler (bipolar) (18)
Digitales Filter (Störschutz) (19)
Betragsbildner (20)
Entfernungsabhängige Umschaltung AK-KK (21)
Digitale Zielerkennung (22)
Zielweg-Rechner (AFS) (23)
(24) Äußere Systeme
(25) Digital Analog-Wandler
Sichtgerät (26)

Illus. 1. Block Diagram of a Radar System With Digital Signal Processing Components

Key:

1. Antenna
2. Transmitter-receiver duplexer
3. SHF amplifier
4. Signal mixer
5. Master oscillator
6. Pulse transmitter
7. Intermediate frequency [IF] preamplifier
8. Noncoherent signal processing (amplitude channel)
9. IF variable gain amplifier
10. Demodulator
11. Coherent signal processing (coherent channel)
12. Coherent IF processing Coherent oscillator
13. Demodulator
14. Complex for digital processing of radar signals
15. Central process control and status control
16. Analog/digital converter (unipolar)
17. Digital filter (clutter suppression)
18. Analog/digital converter (bipolar)
19. Digital filter (clutter suppression)
20. (Betragsbildner)
21. Range dependent circuitry AK-KK [expansion unknown]
22. Digital target detection
23. Target trajectory computer (AFS) [expansion unknown]
24. External systems
25. Digital/analog converter
26. Visual display

Following passage through the digital processing complex, they are either reconverted into quasianalog signals in a digital to analog converter [DAC] and reproduced on a conventional visual display--with panoramic display for example--or relayed in digital form to evaluation and control computers of an automated guidance system.

Digital processing in the amplitude channel begins with conversion of the unipolar video signal in an analog to digital converter [ADC]. The analog signal is first made temporally discrete, with the duration of the starting pulse (T_1) being divided into n basic intervals. For each basic interval $T_{discr.}$, the amplitude value of the analog signal is checked and translated into a digital data record equivalent (approximated) to the momementary value of the power. The number of digits in the data record is determined by the specific amplitude resolution.

Within the coherent channel however, a bipolar analog signal must be converted in the ADC using the same discrete time standard. The polarity data (sign digit) must not be lost in this process. The ADC therefore indicates the sign digit as a special digit in the data record. This converter must be capable of significant amplitude resolution in order to keep the processing loss low and to assure the effectiveness of the subsequent filter circuitry.

In both channels, a circuit generally referred to as a digital filter is included to produce necessary transmission characteristics for wanted signals and suppression characteristics for clutter. The so-called weighting coefficients needed in the processing are chosen so that, as much as possible, an optimal or almost optimal filtering of the signal of interest out of the mixture of wanted signal and interference is accomplished.

The basic configuration of a digital filter includes several memories and the arithmetic processor. Input signals, weighting coefficients and output signals are relayed to the memories. In the arithmetic processor, the signal pulse sequence is processed through multiplication, addition or subtraction with the weighting coefficient. Furthermore, working memories are available for storage of intermediate results and commands as well as central process control and status control.

After passing through the digital filter in the coherent channel, the signals have lost their dependency on the sign digit and may be relayed to the signal detection circuit via an electronic connection (which defines the processing range of the amplitude/coherent channel based on distance). This particular digital circuit detects the emergence of a wanted signal according to predetermined criteria. One such selection criterion is: The wanted signal appears for the process time (8 to 10 T_1) in the same (the k) basic interval.

It appears as a bundle of pulses the parameters of which are dependent on reflection and scanning values but which are precisely defined.

As a prerequisite for a high likelihood of target detection, a specific required number M of received target echoes out of the total Q of possible echoes (M out of Q) is postulated for the "target detected" statement.

The output signals can now be further processed as described above. However, the possibility also exists of ascertaining the azimuth of a detected target automatically on a digital basis. Such a circuit is drawn in in Illus. 1 with a broken line.

2. Components for Digital Processing

2.1. Analog to Digital Converter

The ADC must meet high standards in the processing of radar signals so that it does not diminish the efficiency of subsequent circuits. Its basic functions are dividing time into discrete units and subsequent quantization accompanied by encoding.

Dividing the analog signal u into time units (t) consists of checking momentary values at discrete points in time. The discrete intervals $T_{discr.}$ are used simultaneously as timing intervals in the real-time processing. After division into discrete units, the radar signal emerges as a pulse sequence (Illus. 3).

The quantization presents the conversion of the buffered discrete momentary values in a digital form. This is followed by encoding corresponding to stored binary codes resulting in a data record of m digits. The number of digits in the data record determines the accuracy attainable through the conversion (voltage resolution).

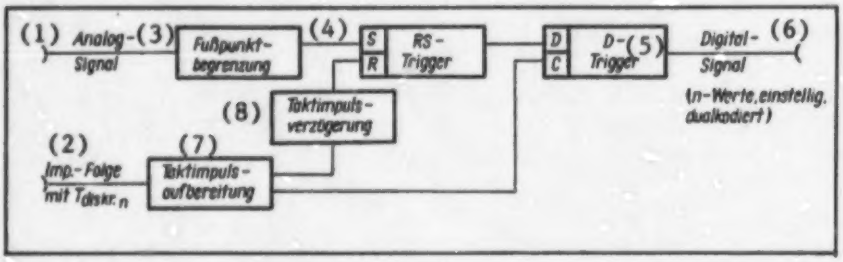
The lowest processable level (referred to as $u_{in\ min}$ [input minimum]) is the root-mean-square value of the background noise in the analog signal. A lower initial quantization gradient will result in no improved signal to noise ratio, but would only lead to a more accurate reflection of the noise in the digital range, and that is undesirable.

Many ADC circuits were developed. For the conversion of radar signals, only converter types with very high conversion frequencies are used (ADC's with parallel conversion). Such converters can be produced efficiently with microelectronic components in spite of the high number of circuits involved. Converter frequencies in the range between 100 and 200 MHz are now possible. The ADC is adjusted for data record lengths of from 6 to 10 bits. Possible circuits are described in detail in the specialized literature of the field.

A frequently occurring special case is quantization with output of a single digit data record. This is possible in non-coherent signal processing with signal to noise ratios greater than 2. The following is also true: If a signal is present, the output is H; if no signal is present, the output is L. The transition level from L to H is set based on an established probability of a false alarm p_{false} at

$$u_{schwell} = \left(2 \cdot \ln \frac{1}{p_{falsch}}\right)^{1/2} \cdot \sigma_{rausch}$$

[u = analog signal, schwell = threshold, falsch = false, rausch = noise] Illus. 2 shows an example.

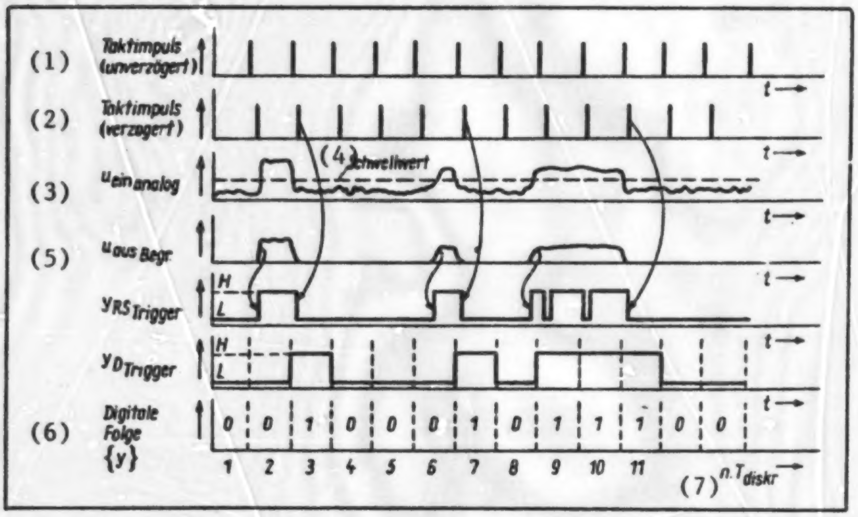

(1) Analog-Signal
(3) Fußpunktbegrenzung
(4)
S
R
RS-Trigger
D
C
D-Trigger (5)
Digital-Signal (6)
(n-Werte, einstellig, dualkodiert)
(8) Taktimpulsverzögerung
(2) Imp.-Folge mit $T_{diskr.\,n}$
(7) Taktimpulsaufbereitung

Illus. 2. Block Diagram of an Analog to Digital Converter With the Output of Data Records of n Number of Digits

Key:
1. Analog signal
2. Pulse sequence with $T_{discr._n}$
3. Lower limit
4. RS [noise/signal] trigger
5. D trigger
6. Digital signal (n-record, encoded digitally in binary code)
7. Timing pulse preparation unit
8. Timing pulse delay

Illus. 3 is an operational representation. The analog signal passes through a threshold stage, in which the lower limit is set (σ_{noise} setting). If a voltage pulse which exceeds the level of noise appears at any time, it sets the following RS trigger. This relays H as the signal input to the following D trigger which can, however, only accept the H potential when a timing pulse is applied.

The timing pulse is prepared with the discrete time interval. This pulse is delayed slightly in the timing pulse preparation unit and resets the RS trigger after transfer of the data. If an L potential coincides with the arrival of the next timing pulse at the signal entrance to the D trigger, the D trigger is also reset for L output. The processing guarantees exact coordination of the H or L value to the temporal fundamental unit of the discrete time.


(1)
Taktimpuls (unverzögert)
(2)
Taktimpuls (verzögert)
(3)
u ein analog
(4) Schwellwert
(5)
u aus Begr.
y RS Trigger
y D Trigger
H
L
(6)
Digitale Folge {y}
t →
0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 1 0 0
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
(7) n.T diskr

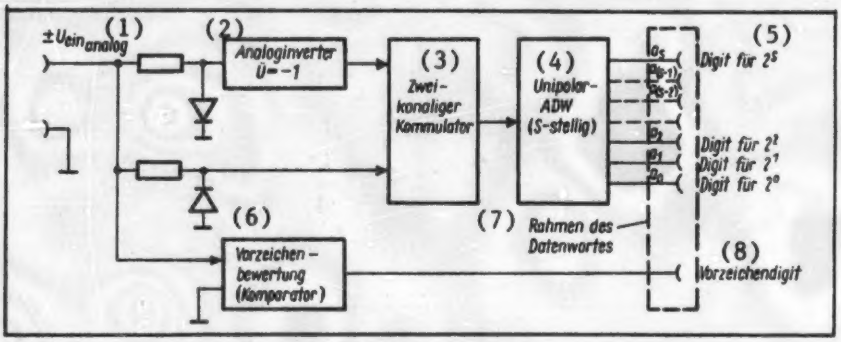
Illus. 3. Voltage Processing in the ADC Represented in Illus. 2

Key:

1. Timing pulse (not delayed)
2. Timing pulse (delayed)
3. $u_{in_{analog}}$
4. Threshold
5. $u_{out_{limit}}$
6. Digital sequence (y)
7. n $T_{discr.}$

Illus. 4 presents an example of an ADC with conversion of bipolar voltage. The polarity of the input voltage must appear as data in the sign digit of the data record. An analog signal with negative polarity can enter the commutator via the inverter with u = -1; a positive signal moves directly to the second entrance. The sign digit evaluation comparator generates the level H for any u_{in} [signal input] less than zero. That results in a 1 in the sign digit of the data record. The commutator simultaneously implements the input of the inverted signal into the ADC. For positive input voltages, 0 appears as the sign digit, and noninverted input is relayed to the ADC.

There are currently numerous ADC's in the video frequency range. With the continuing evolution of microelectronics, calculation times will be further reduced, and real-time processing in the intermediate frequency range is expected soon.


±U ein analog
(1)
(2)
Analoginverter
Ü = -1
(3)
Zwei-
kanaliger
Kommutator
(4)
Unipolar-
ADW
(S-stellig)
(5)
a_S
$a_{(S-1)}$
$a_{(S-2)}$
a_2
a_1
a_0
Digit für 2^S
Digit für 2^2
Digit für 2^1
Digit für 2^0
(6)
(7)
Rahmen des
Datenwortes
(8)
Vorzeichen-
bewertung
(Komparator)
Vorzeichendigit

Illus. 4. Block Diagram of a Bipolar ADC

Key:

1. $\pm u_{in_{analog}}$
2. Analog inverter U = - 1
3. Two channel commutator
4. Unipolar ADC (S-number of digits)
5. Digit for
6. Sign digit evaluation (comparator)
7. Structure of the data record
8. Sign digit

2.2. Digital Filter for Suppression of Nonsynchronous Pulse Interference

For the most part such components are positioned in the non-coherent signal processing channel (amplitude channel).

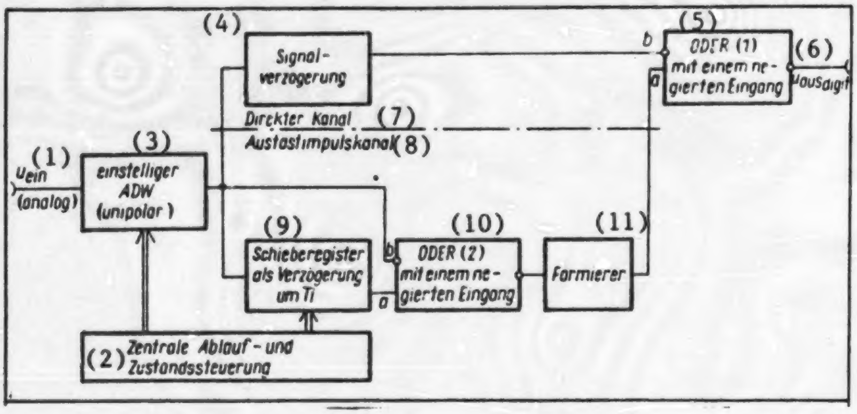
The noise suppression concept makes use of the fact that signals of interest alter their timing relative to the reference impulse only insignificantly during the passage of at least 10 transmitted pulse intervals T_1.

Nonsynchronous interference pulses, however, vary by at least one basic step in their timing relative to the transmitted pulse during two consecutive transmitted pulse intervals. With use of the criteria mentioned, the block diagram (Illus. 5) is a possible representation.

In this case, the analog signal of the amplitude channel demodulator is converted in a digital ADC. The division of time into discrete units results in n basic time units for a transmission pulse interval where

$T_{discr.} = T_{1\ \text{FuMG [radar set]}}$. The sequence of digital data records thus corresponds to the data content of a transmission pulse interval.

The digital signal path branches. In the direct channel, the signal is delayed for a period of time equal to the total processing time in the indirect channel. This is necessary in order to obtain exact simultaneity for arrival of the two input signals at the downstream OR circuit (No. 1).


(1)
u_{ein}
(analog)
(2) Zentrale Ablauf- und Zustandssteuerung
(3)
einstelliger ADW (unipolar)
(4)
Signalverzogerung
(5)
ODER (1) mit einem negierten Eingang
b
a
(6)
$u_{aus\,digit}$
Direkter Kanal (7)
Austastimpulskanal (8)
(9)
Schieberegister als Verzögerung um Ti
(10)
ODER (2) mit einem negierten Eingang
b
a
(11)
Formierer

Illus. 5. Greatly Simplified Block Diagram of a Digital Filter for Suppression of Nonsynchronous Interference

Key:

1. u_{in} (analog)
2. Central process control and status control
3. Digital ADC converter (unipolar)
4. Signal delay
5. OR (1) with negated input
6. u_{out} (digital)
7. Direct channel
8. Blanking channel
9. Shift register for delay by T_1
10. OR (2) with negated input
11. (Formierer)

In the indirect channel, where the blanking impulses are generated, the digitalized signal is immediately fed directly to the negated input (b) of OR circuit (No. 2). It also is relayed to the signal input of a shift register. This acts as a buffer and its capacity corresponds to the number of stored basic intervals n. Thus, the data content is buffered for a transmission pulse interval in the form of ones (≙ H) or zeros (≙ L).

Since the buffer is organized according to the first in--first out principle, in the k transmission pulse interval, the data for the same basic time unit, and also for the (k-1) transmission pulse interval, appear at the output of the shift register. They arrive at the second input (a) of the OR circuit (No. 2) with negated input. Its function is clarified by this switch availability table:

a	b	y	$\bar{y}$
L	L	H	L
L	H	L	H
H	L	H	L
H	H	H	L

It is clear that for synchronous (wanted) pulse signals ($a = H$, $b = H$) for $\overline{y}$ L-level appears. Thus no blanking pulse is generated. A nonsynchronous interference pulse for the current transmission pulse interval ($a = L$, $b = H$) results in $\overline{y} = H$; therefore a blanking pulse is generated.

After (Formierung), the blanking pulses arrive at the entry (a) of OR circuit (No. 1). The interaction of the direct and the indirect channel can again be further clarified by the switch availability table. When $a = H$ and $b = H$, $\overline{y} = L$. This means that when the indirect channel transmits a blanking pulse, the interference pulse is suppressed at the OR circuit (No. 1). For wanted signals $a = L$ remains, and the result is $\overline{y} = H$. Target echoes pass through the filter circuit without being affected.

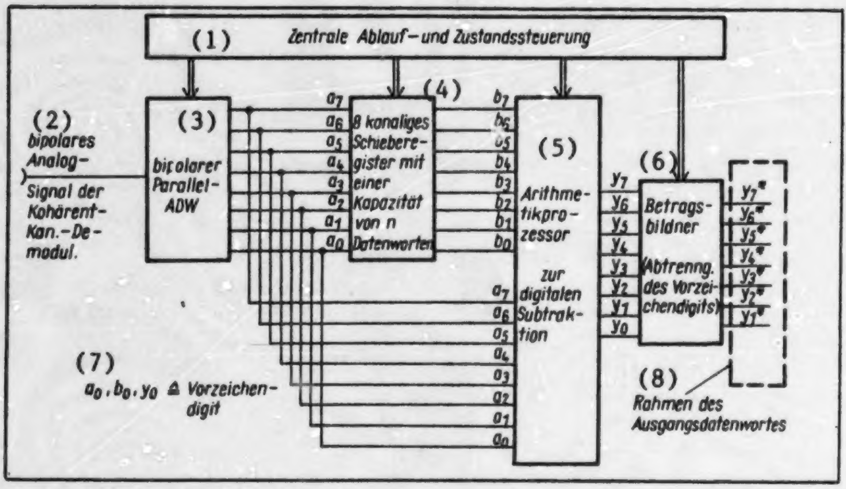
2.3. Digital Filters for Suppression of Passive Interference Echoes

In the circuitry described here for detection of moving targets, the signals are processed coherently; and, thus, wanted signals and clutter signals are distinguished from each other. At the output of the coherent channel demodulator, a video signal is produced in which the voltage reading of the echo pulse of the flying object can vary between $+u_{max}$ and $-u_{max}$ from T_i to T_i. Pulse signals of blocked out passive clutter do not vary in amplitude and polarity from one T_i to the next. In the evaluation of selection criteria, clutter suppression can be configured according to the block diagram (Illus. 6).

In the circuit, a subtraction is performed on the data content of two consecutive pulse intervals. For this, the output signal of the coherent channel demodulator is relayed to a bipolar ADC. This performs the division into discrete time intervals (n basic time units) and the conversion into binary encoded data records. In the chosen example: seven digits for coded amplitude values and one digit for the sign digit.

The data records transmitted from the ADC go, on the one hand, directly to the inlets $a_0 \ldots a_7$ of the arithmetic processor and, on the other hand, to a buffer to be delayed by T_i. The buffer must have an adequate number of channels to accommodate a record length of 8 bits and a capacity of n data records. An easily producible type of buffer is an 8-channel shift register (8 parallel processing individual registers which are synchronized) with n storage locations.

With it the data content of a transmission pulse interval can be stored in the form of data records. Since the buffer is organized according to the first in—first out principle, it takes in pulse by pulse the data record of the current transmission pulse interval ($T_{i\ q}$); simultaneously, the corresponding data records of the preceding transmission pulse interval ($T_{i\ q-1}$) appear at the output. The shift pulses are generated by the central process control and status control, which also pulses the ADC.


(1)
Zentrale Ablauf- und Zustandssteuerung
(2)
bipolares Analog-Signal der Kohärent-Kan.-Demodul.
(3)
bipolarer Parallel-ADW
(4)
8 kanaliges Schieberegister mit einer Kapazität von n Datenworten
(5)
Arithmetikprozessor zur digitalen Subtraktion
(6)
Betragsbildner (Abtrenng. des Vorzeichendigits)
(7)
a_0, b_0, y_0 ≙ Vorzeichendigit
(8)
Rahmen des Ausgangsdatenwortes
a_7 a_6 a_5 a_4 a_3 a_2 a_1 a_0
b_7 b_6 b_5 b_4 b_3 b_2 b_1 b_0
y_7 y_6 y_5 y_4 y_3 y_2 y_1 y_0
y_7^* y_6^* y_5^* y_4^* y_3^* y_2^* y_1^*

Illus. 6. Greatly Simplified Block Diagram of a Digital Filter for Suppression of Echoes From Passive Clutter

Key:

1. Central process control and status control
2. Bipolar analog signal from the coherent channel demodulator
3. Bipolar parallel ADC
4. 8-channel shift register with a capacity of n data records
5. Arithmetic processor for digital subtraction
6. (Betragsbildner) (removal of the sign digit)
7. Sign digit
8. Structure of the output data record

The delayed signals are now available at the data inputs $b_0 \ldots b_7$ of the arithmetic processor. The processor is likewise timed and performs the subtraction for each respective basic interval. The subtraction of the data records for a wanted signal (flying target) gives $y_{wanted}(T_1) \neq 0$; and for passive clutter $y_{clut}(T_1) = 0$.

Such a circuit performs very efficient clutter suppression, which is all the better the more precise the coherent processing and the AD conversion become. Standard values for the suppression factor which can be achieved are from 15 to 20 dB [expansion unknown] for a one-step subtraction.

The use of digital filters, which operate according to the principle of discrete Fourier transformations, of course, involves more calculation expense but is considerably better and more universal. In the future, they will handle most of the suppression of passive interference. But before that happens, extremely fast microprocessors must be developed.

2.4. Digital Processing for Signal Detection

Such circuits electronically imitate the function of the human eye in distinguishing targets from the background of noise and clutter. Optical target detection means that, through sweeping the object, a "bundle" of target echoes which stand out on the screen against the background of interference will be obtained via the antenna diagram. Thus target detection is the integration of the interrelated target echoes within a bundle of echoes. The persistence and irradiation effects of the CRT phosphor further enhance target detection.

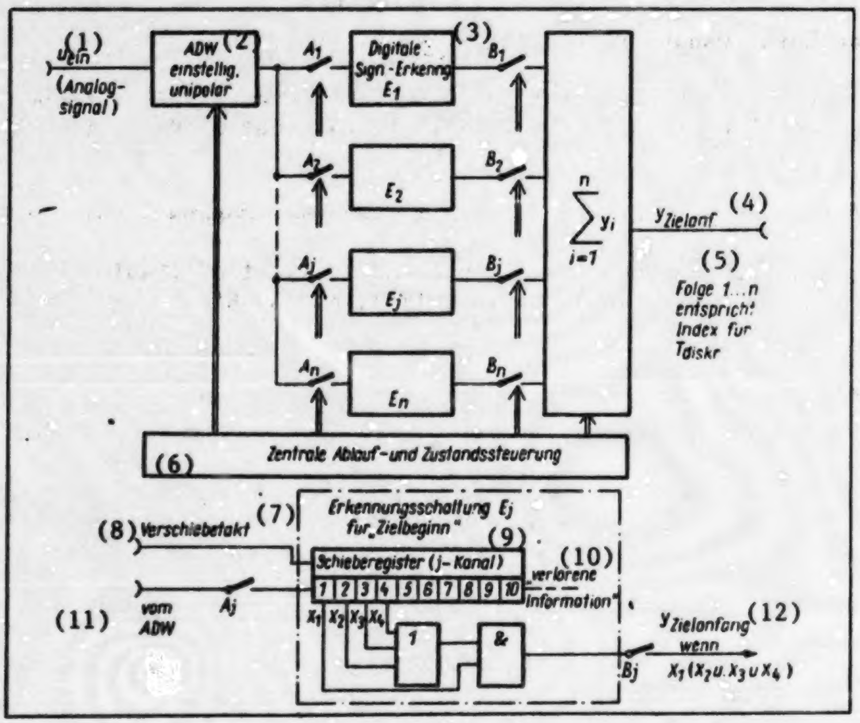
Digital target detection must be designed according to the integration process. For selected basic units corresponding to certain range rings in surveillance radar operation, the presence of target echoes is checked for in several transmission pulse intervals. (Search for pulse bundles).

A signal detection circuit for a radar system in surveillance mode may be configured according to Illus. 7.

The sequence of digital data records, which are already available digitalized through the commutator for the amplitude/coherent channels and filtered, arrives in parallel to the input switches $A_1 \ldots A_n$. These connect the detection circuits $E_1 \ldots E_n$ physically (therefore temporally also) one after the other into the signal path. Their output signals are relayed via switches $B_1 \ldots B_n$ to the summing integrator. Thus, a resultant signal is reproduced which can be fed to an evaluation computer. The switches are supplied by the central process and status control with corresponding timing pulses. The fundamental component of digital target detection in the case under consideration is a shift register with a buffer capacity corresponding to the number of pulses anticipated in the bundle of echo pulses. Shifting of the data to the right lasts a transmission pulse interval in each case.

The data record of the j basic unit reaches the detection circuit. During scanning of the area in the j range ring, with the first reflection from a target object, a 1 is entered in the first memory cell of the detection register. If the second pulse of the bundle appears, it is entered in the first cell, after the 1 which was previously there is shifted one place to the right. In a best case example, therefore, after passage of 10 T_1 with a loading of 10 pulses and a register capacity of 10 places, all memory locations are occupied by 1's. It is already totally sufficient if target acquisition is based on the condition that the parallel output of the first 4 register locations (x_1 to x_4) satisfies the selection criteria of 2 out of 4. During continuing processing, y_{target} will be stored for this basic unit until a set number of 0's follow each other in the detection register. Then the target end determination is made, and the target data for continued processing is stopped.

The effort described is essential for each basic unit. It is, however, manageable through the use of microelectronics.



(1) u_{ein}
(Analog-signal)
ADW einstellig. unipolar (2)
Digitale Sign.-Erkenng E_1 (3)
A_1
A_2
A_j
A_n
B_1
B_2
B_j
B_n
E_2
E_j
E_n
$\sum_{i=1}^{n} y_i$
$y_{Zielanf}$ (4)
(5) Folge 1...n entspricht Index für T_{diskr}
(6) Zentrale Ablauf- und Zustandssteuerung
(7) Erkennungsschaltung E_j für „Zielbeginn"
(8) Verschiebetakt
(9) Schieberegister (j-Kanal)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(10) verlorene „Information"
(11) vom ADW
A_j
X_1 X_2 X_3 X_4
1
&
B_j
$y_{Zielanfang}$ (12) wenn $X_1(X_2 u. X_3 u X_4)$

Illus. 7. Greatly Simplified Block Diagram of a Target Detection Circuit

Key:

1. u_{in} (analog signal)
2. ADC, digital unipolar
3. Digital signal detection
4. Target acquisition
5. Sequence 1...n corresponds to index for T_{discr}.
6. Central process and status control
7. Detection circuit E_j for target acquisition
8. Shift timing pulse
9. Shift register (j-channel)
10. "Lost data"
11. From ADC
12. Target acquisition when

The various approaches above are only intended to give a glimpse into the continuously increasing potentials for processing of radar signals. Detailed descriptions would have exceeded the framework of the article. Therefore, it is necessary to refer the reader to publications in the technical literature of the field and to the sources indicated.

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CSO: 2300/527

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JPRS-EER-86-011

27 January 1986

East Europe Report

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MALINOWSKI ON FARMING PROFITABILITY--"I want to state that in spite of all the discussions the principle of farming profitability is and must be realized. The profitability of this production should be of interest to the whole society, because among others, this is what the growth of the food production depends on. In the same way, the farmer should be interested in the profitability of the means of production, because only then will those be produced in sufficient quantities. No country has attained food self-sufficiency while having low profitability of farm production, low income of farmers, and disparity between the income of the farming and non-farming population." [Roman Malinowski, president of NK ZSL, deputy prime minister] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Oct 85 p 2] 12470/13046

STATE OBLIGATIONS TO FARMER--There should not be any trouble with delivering the grain, or with spare parts for farming machines. Because of lack of a stupid belt for the combine-harvester, I have lost a whole day. There is no reason to cry, because we have it good. A farmer sits on the combine and pushes the grain with his leg. But since the government is demanding from us and we recognize our obligation towards the government, namely, to feed the people, then we should also be spared such troubles which are only the result of somebody's laziness and incompetence. [Wladyslaw Cybulski - farmer] [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 5] 12470/13046

CSO: 3600/113

PARTICIPATION IN CEMA INTEGRATION HIGH PRIORITY FOR CSSR

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 33, 1985 p 3

[Article by Eng. Milos Prochazka, Foreign Trade Institute: "On Protocols on Exchange of Goods with CEMA Countries"]

[Text] Economic cooperation and CSSR foreign trade with CEMA members within its framework are in this year marked by a number of important factors. First, this is the last year of the 5-Year Plan; its results projected into sales will greatly influence the implementation of exchange of goods in the 5-year period. Also in this year, intensive negotiations between CEMA planning agencies on coordination of economic plans, and on closing consultative protocols for 1986-1990 in conjunction with the conclusions of CEMA economic conference of 1984 are taking place. In accordance with the coordination of plans, new long-term trade agreements for the next 5-year plan will also be concluded this year which in their impact are a starting point for further development of socialist economic integration. The contracted protocols on mutual exchanges of goods and payments for 1985 therefore are of exceptional importance for every CEMA member, and thus also for the CSSR.

This year should further intensify the participation of our economy in the process of socialist economic integration. The CEMA countries' share in CSSR foreign trade in 1984 reached 73 percent and the share of USSR came out as 45 percent. These high shares together determine the structure of our economy and its effectiveness in export.

It appears that for a further development of CSSR economy it is necessary to enforce consistently the priority foreign economic relationships with the socialist countries, especially the CEMA members. First, it is necessary to realize long-term agreements on specialization and cooperation with USSR, similar agreements with other CEMA countries, the objectives of the long term target programs of cooperation, the projects of the agreed plan of multilateral integration measures, projects of bilateral integration, to seek a more effective economic, legal and organizational system of agreements on specialization of production and cooperation and to coordinate investment policies with CEMA countries.

A Warning Signal

How do the results of trade-political negotiations with the socialist countries stipulated in the protocols for this year fulfill these tasks? The extent of integration of our economy into the international socialist division of labor is virtually determined by the dynamics of the growth of sales negotiated in the protocols. In accordance with the results of negotiations it is assumed that CSSR trade with socialist countries will increase in 1985 in comparison with the protocols for 1984 5.7 percent in current prices, of which our export constitutes 8.2 percent and import 3.4 percent. Increased growth of exports is directed mainly to USSR where it shows a trend of 8.4 percent, while imports are increasing by 5.1 percent. As compared to the long-term trade agreements for this year, the yearly protocols stipulate an increase of sales of 7.3 percent (exports 6.2 percent, imports 8.3 percent). The higher rate of exports increase as compared to imports is motivated by an effort to maintain a gross balance-of-payments relation. The achieved trends of increase document that foreign trade with socialist countries maintains its satisfactory development.

The composition of exchange of goods with CEMA countries, negotiated in the protocols for 1985 does not show any substantial changes in comparison with the structure of the 1984 protocols and the long term agreements for the current year, as appears from the following statistics:

Commodity structure of CSSR exports and imports with CEMA countries (in percent):

Group of goods according to CEMA nomenclature	Protocols 1984	Long term agreements 1985	Protocols 1985
Total exports	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Machinery and equipment	67.3	69.1	67.9
II. Raw materials, semi-finished products and materials	14.8	15.3	14.8
III. Livestock, agricultural and food industry: raw materials and products	1.3	0.8	1.3
V. Industrial consumer goods	16.3	14.7	15.7
Other	0.3	0.1	0.3

Group of goods according to CEMA nomenclature	Protocols 1984	Long term agreements 1985	Protocols 1985
Total imports	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Machinery and equipment	34.6	33.6	34.2
II. Raw materials, semi-finished products and materials	55.7	58.3	55.6
III., IV. Livestock, agricultural and food industry: raw materials and products	3.9	3.1	3.6
V. Industrial consumer goods	5.2	4.9	5.8
Other	0.6	0.1	0.8

Regarding exports, the machinery products retain their leading position: especially in trade with the USSR, their share being almost 70 percent, they have a decisive influence on the composition of our deliveries. Second place is held by consumer goods of industrial character; they are acquiring increasing significance in Soviet trade, having a share of almost 18 percent. Regarding imports, deliveries of raw materials, fuels, energy and materials, which are again significant in trade with the USSR, retain their leading position; they have a share of more than 80 percent out of the overall Soviet imports to the CSSR.

If we compare the commodity composition of trade with individual CEMA members, we discover above all that the role of the USSR in foreign economic relations is irreplaceable. With regard to other socialist European countries the commodity structure is approximately balanced; this is related to the equalization of standards of national economies of individual countries and to the intensification of industrial specialization and cooperation.

At the same time the structural balance of mutual supplies of goods is a warning signal testifying that a portion of machinery production which in past years has been traditionally exported to socialist countries in meeting with increasing difficulties in sales. These difficulties are both objective, resulting from the economic and budget problems of our partners, savings-related programs and changes in investment policies; and subjective, resulting from consumers' high requirements for quality, technical parameters, delivery time and the extent and quality of service. Both CSSR foreign trade and manufacture face the task of consistently developing the socialist countries' markets and researching and analyzing their needs and potential.

Until Now Trade Has Involved a Limited Range of Products

An important element in the CSSR's participation in integration is specialization of production and cooperation which are being realized at an increasing pace, primarily in the machinery industry, including electrotechnics; but, recently, also in the chemical, agriculture, food and light industries. CSSR or Czechoslovak organizations are at this time party to 405 binding specialization and industrial cooperation agreements, of which 269 are bilateral and 136 multilateral, with CEMA members.

CSSR participation in international specialization and industrial cooperation within the CEMA in the last year as compared to the protocols concluded for 1985 is shown in the following table:

Specialized and cooperative production in CSSR foreign trade (share in import and export in percent)

	1984 reality	1985 protocols
CSSR exports		
Share of CSSR exports of specialized and cooperative production in total exports to CEMS	28.1	35.9
Share of CSSR exports of specialized and cooperative machinery production in total exports to CEMA	38.6	47.2
CSSR imports		
Share of CSSR imports of specialized and cooperative production in total imports from CEMA	12.6	16.4
Share of CSSR imports of specialized and cooperative machinery production in total imports from CEMA	31.1	38.3

The figures show that both export and import of specialized and cooperative production together, as well as export and import of specialized and cooperative machinery products to and from CEMA countries in 1985 show a trend of increasing. As compared to 1984, Czechoslavak deliveries in the current year on the basis of specialization and cooperation increased by almost 12 percent and purchases 6 percent from which our exports produced in the framework of multilateral specialization and cooperation are growing by almost 16 percent, and imports by more than 7 percent.

Unused opportunities

The impact of specialization and cooperation for some of our products is such that it determines the extent and nomenclature of their export to CEMA countries. So, for instance, the share of specialized production in export of ball bearings amounts to 93.4 percent, metallurgical equipment 76.7 percent, medical instruments and tools 75 percent, transportation 62.6 percent, etc. But a serious shortcoming of this progressive form of international economic cooperation is that as a whole it extends only to a narrow range of CSSR products and exports and so does not determine the structure and volume of our production and supplies to member states of the council. Imports show an even smaller share and impact of specialization and cooperation. The USSR has a decisive share of the total volume of our specialized and cooperative production (56.7 percent).

In spite of the overall positive trend, it is necessary to state that specialization and cooperation are so far only in the initial stage of their development, and their actual potential has not yet been utilized either in production which is their center of gravity or in foreign trade. Our participation in specialization and cooperation presupposes solution of a number of systemic and material problems. It is necessary, for instance:

--to focus on specialization and cooperation in manufacture of production centers, aggregates and parts of machinery and equipment; this, however, requires concentration of their production and changes in capacities and structure of the production base; it is necessary to make these changes by reducing and, in some cases eliminating non-progressive production programs. One of the important conditions for changes in the production base is a thorough knowledge of needs and possibilities of our partners;

--to develop a programmed approach toward specialization and cooperation in production oriented toward solution of central problems of scientific-technical development, toward reconstruction of the national economy, and improvement of quality and technical standards of production;

--to introduce into use a system of mutually coordinated economic and organizational measures both within the individual CEMA members (thus also in CSSR) and in the managing system of international economic cooperation.

An important form of intensification of socialist integration is the negotiation and realization of the plan of multilateral integration measures. For the years 1981-1985 the plan counts with the completion of some projects started in the preceding 5-Year Plan and sets up further multilateral integration projects.

Part of the plan also constitutes 14 measures focused on production specialization and cooperation in priority areas.

The expected supplies in export and import for the mentioned integration projects for 1985 are secured for this year by contracted quotas. However, it is necessary to take into account the fact that--even though these are important integration measures focused from the viewpoint of CSSR economy on exports of primarily machinery and on securing necessary fuel, energy and raw material imports--the value of mutual supplies amounts to only 7 percent of the total CSSR sales to CEMA members.

Conclusions of the economic consultation

A new stage in the development of the socialist economic integration was marked by a top-level economic consultation between CEMA members in June 1984.

It also adopted a number of goals with respect to mutual trade between CEMA countries.

The implementation of goals for foreign trade originating in the measures adopted by the top level economic consultation is being secured in the framework of the CEMA Permanent Commission for foreign trade and organizations for foreign trade of individual countries. The primary goals of the Czechoslovak foreign trade in this year are the following:

--development of mutual exchanges of goods with CEMA countries above and beyond the framework of the valid long term trade agreements;

--active participation by foreign trade officials in negotiations of the State Planning Commission about the coordination of the economic plans for 1986-1990;

--concluding new long-term trade agreements for the stated period in conjunction with the coordination of plans;

--contracting of long-term treaties concerning supplies of equipment with long-term production cycle;

--working at measures to increase the effectiveness of work in the sector of specialization and cooperation of production;

--creation of conditions stimulating the development of direct relations with other CEMA members;

--improvement of the exchange and finance system in international economic relations with CEMA members;

--improvement in the formation of contracted prices in trade with CEMA countries, including prices for specialized and cooperative production and business and technical service;

--creation of conditions conducive to closer integration of national structures of the economic mechanisms in individual countries.

The stated tasks concerning mutual goods exchanges are already anchored in the annual protocols for 1985. In the framework of the CEMA agencies the method of calculating the contract prices for 1986-1990 has also been agreed upon already.

Now the issue is ensuring the temporal, material and organizational implementation of the results of coordination of economic plans for the new 5-Year Plan period in new long-term trade agreements, which should be concluded by the end of this year.

In the long term the participation of Czechoslovak economy in the international socialistic division of labor should be further intensified, while foreign trade should actively work toward a gradual structural change of our production in the direction of a greater responsiveness to the needs and requirements of the socialist countries, especially the USSR.

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CEMA LIGHT INDUSTRY COOPERATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by (kos): "Conference of the CEMA Commission"]

[Text] The 45th session the CEMA Standing Commission for Cooperation in Matters of Light Industry convened on 22 Oct 85 in Bielsko Biala. Representatives of: Bulgaria, CSSR, Cuba, Mongolia, GDR, Romania, Vietnam, Hungary, USSR and Poland participated. The main issue of the 4 day deliberations will be an evaluation of the results attained by resolutions made at the summit level of CEMA member nations, at which demands for higher productivity and improvements in product quality were made upon light industries. The commission is expected to approve a 5-year cooperative scientific research program for the textile, knitting, garment, leather shoe, furniture and graphic industries covering the 1986-1990 year period.

The opening day of the 45th conference was devoted to a plenary session. Discussions centered around the 5 year cooperative program which will be approved within a few days after its refinement by editing staffs. The purpose of this program is to stimulate cooperation among the light industries of the socialist countries to a point where they would meet the requirements of their respective countries to the fullest degree possible. The aim of this document is to regulate efforts designed to increase productivity, improve product quality and design, as well as to promote planning which will eventually free them from dependency upon imports and expenditures for additional machinery replacement parts. Particularly important in this situation are contacts which can provide technical know-how and which we intend to expand significantly.

Methods for the involvement of other countries in the project to update the light manufacturing industries of Mongolia, Vietnam and Cuba were also discussed. A statement was made to a reporter of RZECZPOSPOLITA by a member of the delegation, deputy minister of chemical and light industries, Eugenjusz Zarzycki, that Poland, as an example, proposed to supply Mongolia technical equipment, dyes for its leather industry, offered educational potentials available in Poland and the assistance of Polish wool sorting experts in exchange for their finished products.

In an attempt to acquaint the foreign guests with the light manufacturing products of the Bielsko province, an exhibit has been prepared at the woolen industry facility "Bawelna." The exhibit also displayed auxiliary systems including spare parts manufactured in our country and products offered for export. The pressing machinles, automation, various mechanical equipment and the plant conveyor systems should be of particular interest.

12306/7051
CSO: 2600/117

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN SOFIA NEEDS EXPANSION, MODERNIZATION

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 3 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Tanya Chervenkova: "Still in First Gear"]

[Text] Specialists point out that during the last few years the mobility of the capital's population has perceptibly increased. This interesting observation means that a resident of Sofia today rides the bus, trollyebus or tram more often, and is more dependent on public transportation. This tendency is a natural result of a more dynamic way of life: a city with one million residents grows, adds new districts, stores, cultural institutes, places of leisure, and the possibilities for traveling grow. During the last few years some express bus lines have been opened for residents of housing blocks, certain tram routes have been extended, but still mass transport now fits like tight clothing on a large city, it still has not managed to keep stride with the general growth.

A "Picture" in Motion

Let us take a look at transportation in the capital, as we see it every day now.

At the Al. Zhendov stop, buses for Oriov Most and downtown have not come for close to 20 minutes. And although this is rush hour (7:15 am), a lot of people gather there, waiting, around 50 people, all looking toward where the busses they are waiting for, Nos 4, 13, 80, 105, and 106, are coming from. The buses are of course coming, but it is not necessary to describe precisely how the people get off and get on, how things go inside . . .

Trolleybus No 9 is moving along Rakovski Street, filled well beyond its capacity. The stop at the Krust'o Sarafov Higher Institute of Theatrical Art turns out to be the last in is its workday, it cannot go on any longer. Since the following trolleybus "prudently" passes the stop, the people who have gotten off decide to continue on foot . . .

Basically, the examples could be even more numerous and vivid. Each one has his own typical case, his inimitable experience of encounters with public transportation. Readers' letters and signals to the editors only fill out the picture. Samuil Moskov, for example, tells about how he waited more than 45 minutes for the No 1 trolleybus. Dimitrinka Trifonova, from block 726 in the Lyulin district, reports that she went to work in a bad mood in the morning because waited 30 minutes for crammed buses. And Emile Marinov, from block 73 in the Mladost-1 district expresses his dissatisfaction with the irregular transport services to the housing complex.

This outline shows a difficult situation for municipal transport at the moment. And this fact cannot be exaggerated, for it is established every day; our moods are often disturbed for quite a while, inconvenience and unpleasantness are created. And winter is coming, which will undoubtedly lead to additional trials and difficulties for everyone.

If one must report on the current weakness in Sofia municipal transport, they would show several directions. First, there is a shortage of transport capacity, given the constantly growing transport needs of the city. Travel time in the capital now often exceeds contemporary norms. Many inhabitants of Sofia travel more than 40 minutes to their places of work. Finally, more and more often the regularity of transport vehicles' movement is being violated; well thought-out schedules are not being maintained.

When a Decree was Underestimated

We are speaking about Decree No 45 of the Council of Ministers from December 1981, when in essence detailed program for the development of municipal transport during the 8th 5-Year-Plan was presented. Soon it will be 4 years since the publication of that important document. Let us recall again what it foresaw and how it has been fulfilled. It stipulated that in the now concluding 5-Year-Plan in Sofia 23 kilometers of tram and 25 kilometers of trolleybus lines should be constructed. The actual result, however, is 6.5 kilometers of rails, which includes lengthening lines 4 and 11 in the Ovcha Kupel district, No 6 along Vlado Georgiev Street and in the Nadezhda district. During this period only 13 kilometers of trolleybus lines were opened up, to the Lyulin district. In addition, it was foreseen that the percentage of trams and trolleybuses would increase from 30 to 40 percent of the total share of transportation, that from 1981 through 1985, 55.3 new places would be secured. But neither the number of trams and trolleybuses nor the number of places budged at all.

Basically, the rich program for the development of municipal transport has not been fulfilled in half of the stated deadlines. And the greatest result of this is, because of the expected rapid growth in electrified transportation, but transport has fallen significantly behind, since fewer vehicles were planned. This delay is already being acutely felt. At the huge Mladost block, for example, there was a need for comfortable, spacious trams, and trolleybuses, which would gradually replace the buses. And during those years not one new Ikarus has been added to the line there, and the electrified "competitors" still are not there. But Mladost is growing constantly . . .

The situation with trolleybuses now is critical, for this is a comfortable type of transport for the capital, especially with the new, jointed vehicles. For the 5-year-Plan, it was foreseen that 120 modern trolleybuses with 180 seats each would be supplied. If these had indeed been acquired, then this type of transportation would be twice as large, and riding would be more convenient.

The situation is no better in regard to trams, this most traditional type of transport in Sofia. Fifty new, comfortable trams that had been anticipated were not supplied. But if this situation had arisen because of objective causes, all possible reserves would have been tapped. In Sofia there is one factory which produces one absolete type of tram that is not manufactured under modern conditions and does not meet today's requirements. If we have to develop our modern tram production, this cannot come about without serious assistance from the Ministry of Machine Building, of large factories in the capital, and in the nation.

And so, the current alarming situation in municipal transport in the capital is due to many reasons, to a great degree to the unjustified underestimation in carrying out Decree No 45 of the Council of Ministers, mostly on the part of the Metropolitan Investors Directorate, the Inzhstroy State Economic Trust, the Transstroy State Economic Trust, the Obshestvenno i Promishlenno Stroitelstvo Economic Combine.

Drivers Are Being Sought

Municipal transport, however, is not distinguished only by a shortage of vehicles. There are 1,200 vacant positions for drives and fitters at the Gradski Transport Economic Directorate. We know about the great labor and social gains made by drivers in the capital in recent years. The question is how their work can be made easier, more productive, and in the final accounting, more attractive, through a more rapid implementation of scientific-technical achievements, through affirmation of a new organization of labor, with material and moral stimuli, with an improvement in their social and domestic conditions, etc.

Will We Travel Faster?

In conversation with specialists form the Transport section of Capital People's Council and the Gradski Transport Economic Directorate, we learned about certain recent changes in the capital's mass transit system. They are now awaiting the start-up of a tram line along Graf Ignatiev Street. They are anticipating that by New Year the residents of Mladost will be carried on trolleybuses along Lenin Buolevard to Stochna Gara. Nearing completion is the extension of tram lines 6 and 15 to the Nadezhda district.

Soon there will be a change in trolleybus transportation, especially on lines 2 and 9; new double Ikarus buses are coming from Hungary. They are continuing to build a system for control and management of traffic with new dispatcher centers. They are working on perfecting a graduated schedule for Sofia resident's working times.

All of this undoubtedly will help to change the picture of municipal transport. But some rather important problems remain, and their rapid and correct resolution is the only way to guarantee the system's complete recovery in the near future.

It is necessary to make all possible efforts to obtain additional quantities of buses. Only in this way can we replace a large portion of worn-out and unsuitable vehicles. It will be possible to open up new lines to the Obelya-2 and Druzhba-2 districts, without violating the general status of the vehicle fleet.

But the important and Vital concern now is for investors and builders to face the responsibility of their task in rapidly carrying out the points of Decree No 45: a tram and trolleybus depot at Iskur Gara and new tram and trolleybus routes to the apartment blocks. As the data show, the plan for construction and installation work for the first 8 months of 1985 has been fulfilled at a rate of only 42.8 percent, which places in doubt the start up of the sites anticipated by the end of 1986.

Yes, the situtatiton with Sofia's buses, trams and trolleybuses is neither easy nor pleasant. The serious difficulties that have arisen will not be overcome soon, if rapid and active measures are not taken to make up for lost time and to make mass transportation in the capital more modern, comfortable, and certain.

12334/13068
CSO: 2200/44

ECONOMY BULGARIA

DIFFICULTIES IN POWER SUPPLY ANTICIPATED

Sofia NARODNI SUVETI in Bulgarian No 9, 1985 pp 28-30

[Article by Dimitur Sokolov, vice minister for power supply: "We Are Taking the Necessary Measures"]

[Text] The winter last year was severe and cold, and this created significant difficulties in the nation in a number of units, including the electrical power system. This hindered normal power supply for consumers in the communal-domestic sector and in industry, especially during the months of February and March.

The analysis of the power supply system's operation, carried out after the fall and winter season, showed that the cold winter was not the sole reason for the difficulties that were created for the power supply system in the nation. The cold periods truly created serious difficulties in unloading the coal cars at the electric power plants, and especially in the transport of imported coal, but other factors were introduced as well, and they are of no less significance. First of all there was a delay in the construction of the new electricity producing capabilities in comparison with the nation's electrical consumption. For example, the start-up of the 5th power block in the expanded Mamritsa-Iztok 2 thermoelectric power plant (TEP) was late, and the 6th block has not been started yet.

Last year turned out to be a significantly dry one. The shortage of precipitation in the summer forced the consumption of a significant amount of water at the basic reservoirs for the purpose of irrigation. This limited the use of hydroelectric power plants in the winter, and thus created great difficulties in commitment to the nation's capacity balance.

We must not underestimate the subjective factor either, for in a number of cases it was of decisive significance. It is true, however, that because of certain structural changes in the national economy, with the development of more alluring branches and productions, conditions for fluctuation in power supply were created. This negatively affected the training of cadres and hence the level of operation and support of the equipment at the power plants, because of their relatively high incidence of breakdowns.

In terms of the power balance, great significance is accorded to the national energy consumption. Despite the efforts put forth in recent years to limit the maximal consumption, no special results have been attained. Long-term habits of economizing on electric power have not been created either in the communal-domestic sector or in industry. The consumption of electric power grows annually, at rates unforeseen in the plan, and this has become a reason for overexpenditure of power resources.

The factors just pointed out, which have negatively affected the national power supply during the most recent fall and winter season, are at work now, and they will create difficulties during the coming fall and winter season. We still have not overcome the lack of correspondence between the present production capacities and the growth in consumption of electric power. This leads to not being able to have on hand the necessary reserve capacity, and this reserve has to exist in order to guarantee normal power supply to the nation.

1985 has turned out to be even drier than last year. During the spring the basic reservoirs were not filled because of a shortage of snow in the mountains. They again had to be used intensively for irrigation. This has created extreme difficulties, since at the beginning of the fall and winter season the water available at the reservoirs will be close to minimal levels, and the utilization of hydroelectric plants in the winter will be severely limited.

Based on all of this, and with a view toward the maximal satisfaction of the nation's needs for electric power during the fall and winter season, 1985-86, a number of measures are being taken by the Energy Ministry as well as the government. Special attention is being paid to the timely start-up of new capacities. A deadline is foreseen, at the end of September, for starting up the 6th block at the expanded Maritsa-Iztok 2 plant, as well as the steam generator No 8 at the Ruse-Iztok TEP.

Significant efforts have been applied toward the timely and qualitative conduct of repairs on equipment at the power plants. Decisive significance in this regard belongs to the conduct of repairs at the power plants of the Maritsa-Iztok economic mining and power complex and the Bobov Dol TEP, where the basic capacities which use our coal are concentrated. Because of its low quality, problems are created for using these power plants, and this reflects on the technical condition of the equipment. In order to restore the equipment, a large-scale repair campaign must be carried out, with the participation of significant labor resources. In order to achieve optimal results from the repairs of these capacities, the government has affirmed the "Goal-Oriented Program for Repair of the Power Plants at the Maritsa-Iztok Economic Mining and Power Complex and at the Bobov Dol TEP." This program foresees carrying out a number of additional measures with a view toward normal conduct of the repair campaign. These are reflected in Decree No 11 of the Council of Ministers. Additional labor resources, around 1,000 people, are being drawn from other enterprises in the okrugs, where power plants are situated, to conduct a certain amount of repairs. In the process of the repair campaign, labor resources were also drawn from the Bulgarian People's Army. With these measures, significant assistance was provided by the Energoremont Economic Trust and the personnel of the power plants in carrying out the anticipated repairs.

As a result of the measures taken, the conduct of the repair campaign at a number of power plants is normal. The technical condition of the equipment is being restored and it is being prepared for work next winter. This applies to the Varna TEP, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the Bobov Dol TEP, the Dimo Dichev TEP, etc. Problems are still being created by obsolete equipment and the necessity connected with this for conducting restorative repairs at the Purva Komsomolska TEP, the Maritsa 3 TEP in Dimitrovgrad, and the Republika TEP. There are delays to varying degrees in the repairs at certain thermoelectric power plants.

With the goal of ensuring normal conduct of the repairs and the accumulation of energy resources for the following winter, the resolution of the Council of Ministers limits the maximal electrical capacity of the nation, various okrugs, and the larger enterprises.

We expect that with the measures adopted and the efforts devoted to carrying out the anticipated repairs at the power plants, the problem of increasing the preparedness for work at the electric power producing capacities for the next winter will be solved.

Along with this, however, other problems must be solved. One of the most important is providing the necessary energy resources. Analyses show that additional resources will be needed during the winter to maintain the nation's energy balance. This has come about primarily because of a shortage of water in the reservoirs. A resolution has been adopted to solve this problem, and means have been provided to purchase additional quantities of imported coal. This coal will be used by the Varna TEP and the Ruse TEP, power plants where there are opportunities for additional production of electric power.

The condition of the electric power lines is of great significance for ensuring normal power supply to the nation during the winter. Preparations for them to work under winter conditions began last spring. Carrying out tasks this year related to building new sites for the power transmission and distribution system has turned out to have had significant influence on improving power supply. Other factors include improving the technical condition of the operational equipment along the line of the basic repairs, modernization, and reconstruction.

A number of sites are anticipated to be built and put into operation; these include the 400 kilowatt electric power lines with (SRR), 110 kilowatt power lines named for G. Delchev, the Spanchevo Hydroelectric Power Plant, Lom-Vidin, Oreshets-Belogradchik, and the following transformer substations: Belogradchik, Michurin, Varna-Sever, Bansko, Trakiya in Shumen, Dulovo, Borimechka in Sofia, etc. Together with the development of the high voltage system, we will construct a number of sites for the 20 kilowatt power distribution network, transformer posts, and low tension electric networks in populated areas.

Along with the construction of new sites, the collectives from the power producing rayons, units, and combines are taking a number of organizational and technical measures to improve the technical condition of electrical equipment and to prepare it for handling the increased power loads during the winter season.

During the first six months, the basic portion of the planned preventive testing of the power transformers and the high tension circuit breakers was carried out at the substations. More than 12,000 kilometers of aerial lines were checked to eliminate weak spots and defects, many insulators were replaced, small sections of bad wiring were replaced to increase the technical strength of the networks and to improve their transmission capacities.

According to specially formulated plans, preparation of othe equipment has begun so that it can work under the winter conditions; "soft" spots are being eliminated; transformers are being replaced; and comprehensive preparation of the traffic posts is being carried out to handle the winter loads.

With the conclusion of harvesting the crops, conditions are being created for beginning work on the fall inspection check of the aerial power lines.

These and a number of other measures, which are anticipated according to the plan for wintertime preparation of the electric transmission network, are being carried out successfully, and they will finally be completed at the end of September.

Despite the organizational and technical measures, disturbances in power supply to certain populated areas, districts and individual buildings can take place during the winter, when the equipment is loaded beyond the permissible norms. In this sense it is especially important, along with the preparation of the equipment for working during the winter, to use all available means to conduct an explanatory, systematic campaign among the populace about the economic and effective use of electric power, especially at hours of peak load for the power system. In this regard, the assistance of people's councils could turn out to be extremely important. Under their guidance and with the cooperation of social organizations, measures must be taken that will lead to savings in the use of electric power. It must be explained to the people that it will not be possible to have the normal supply of electric power to the nation during the winter if they do not fully comply with all the tasks related to saving electricity. There are still untapped reserves in this area. Efforts must be concentrated in the following basic directions:

A decrease in the use of electric power in the communal-domestic sector. For this aim, it is necessary to explain, to require, to conduct systematic checks, as well as not to permit any compromises that deviate from the explanations.

A decrease in the use of electric power in industry. Here it is most important to maintain technological discipline, to increase the responsibility of the collectives at enterprises, and to carry out constant, effective checks.

12334/7051
CSO: 2200/39

ECONOMY HUNGARY

CHANGES IN WEALTH DISTRIBUTION PROPOSED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 8/9, 1985 pp 38-49

[Article by Gyorgy Szepesi: "Our Distribution Relationships: Present and Future"]

[Text] Incentive, Social Policy, Bearing the Common Burden

The growth in the standard of living and the improvement in living conditions is a fact of outstanding importance--recognized by domestic and international public opinion alike--of the development which has taken place in our country in recent decades. For well known reasons this development slowed at the end of the 1970's, in certain respects it came to a halt. In this period, due to the burning necessity of restoring the balance of payments, it was possible to realize only a preservation of the standard of living achieved up to then. The 17 April 1984 position of the Central Committee formulated it thus in connection with this: "In this situation the December 1978 session of the Central Committee gave priority to restoring and consolidating the balance in economic policy practice, and this was confirmed by the 12th congress of the party--supplemented with the requirement to defend the standard of living achieved." (1)

On the basis of the experiences of years past we can now undertake to examine what peculiarities characterized the policy aimed at preserving the standard of living, what are the lessons for the shorter or longer range. In practice, naturally, the preservation of the standard of living could not mean and did not mean some sort of immobility, a rigid fixing of the levels of supply and consumption achieved. It could not because the resolution of the 12th congress and the Sixth 5-Year Plan based on it posted as a goal the preservation of the standard of living and a further modest and differentiated improvement in living conditions. There has been progress in our country in the past 4-5 years in the area of living conditions; it is true that the most important quantitative indexes of the standard of living increased a good bit more slowly than in the past, some of them remained at the earlier level or even decreased in certain years. We achieved further results in the area of housing conditions (the number of families per 100 housing units moderated from 108 in 1980 to 105 in this period), the supply of housekeeping machines for the families expanded, the number of personal automobiles increased. In contrast to this, because of the narrowing possibilities from the economic side, the development became more uneven and certain contradictions in distribution sharpened.

In connection with this latter phenomenon we must call attention to a quite common view. In broader public opinion, by the nature of the thing, there is a close correspondence between the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the standard of living (consumption and supply levels) and the modalities of distribution (the ratio of distribution, its link to performance or to social need). It follows from this that an illusion may arise that a favorably developing quantitative growth will automatically end the contradictions of distribution. In any case it is true that managing distribution problems is easier if economic growth is faster. But it can be proven on the basis of the experiences of the early 1970's that this automatism does not exist; certain tensions in distribution may arise even in a period of fast growth (let us think of the early debates about the lag in wages at large factories, the earnings ratios between agriculture and industry and the auxiliary branches in the producer cooperatives). Attention must be called to this because today some are inclined to attribute the contradictions and injustices which always accompany distribution exclusively to the narrowing in the possibilities for an increase in the standard of living. There has not been and will not be a period when the distribution relationships function in complete harmony, even if the nostalgia fashionable today pretties up the past in this regard.

In the middle 1970's the changing links between distribution relationships and the standard of living came into the center of professional and social interest. At that time--thus still in a period of swift growth--and at the initiative of leading party and state organs, broad analytical work began to discover the characteristics of our distribution relationships and to outline the prospects for them. A number of partial studies embracing a longer range were prepared within this framework, for example concerning social strata in a multiply disadvantaged situation, the extent and value of the so-called second economy, and possible directions for the long-range development of our social policy.

The changed economic conditions made progress in distribution relationships even more urgent, and naturally new problems arose as well. To mention only the most important of these, the faster consumers price increases, the developing activity of small undertakings, and the differentiation in living conditions and material situations put distribution policy in front of a new situation. It followed from all this that at the beginning of the 1980's the planning and regulation of the standard of living had to be solved in close harmony with a long-range development of distribution relationships, and in the interest of this the planners and those working in scientific institutes had to formulate a model of the distribution system which was in harmony with the economic and social conditions probable by the turn of the century. The experiences of actual development, to which we turn below, served as an important lesson for this.

The Standard of Living at the Beginning of the 1980's

From the viewpoint of the development of the standard of living the period since 1979 can be divided into two parts, although it is certain that the divisions within such a short period are quite debatable. The basis for the division is the well known fact that from the beginning of 1982 the external conditions of the Hungarian economy deteriorated significantly compared to earlier (the international credit crisis, the prolonged recession, the further deteriorating terms of trade). The hardening of the external conditions naturally affected the freedom of movement for standard of living policy, especially because we could no longer count on external resources, indeed, beginning at this time, we had to begin to reduce the outstanding debt--a good bit earlier than planned.

This raised the question whether, amidst the new conditions, we could maintain the fundamental goals of the Sixth 5-Year Plan pertaining to the standard of living. The position of the April 1983 session of the Central Committee gave an answer to this, stating that the general goals of standard of living policy were still valid.

The more strict conditions, the obligation to achieve a positive foreign trade balance, the further deterioration in the terms of trade, etc. also raised new problems in addition to the problem of fulfilling the unchanged basic goals. In this period, that is since 1982, real wages decreased year by year, the growth of consumers prices rose by 6-8 percent average per year, and the increase in popular consumption slowed. These processes put two groups of questions into the foreground: the problem of wage payment and in connection with this the problem of material incentive, and improving the status of certain socially sensitive strata (those living on small pensions, those with many children, etc.).

In the period beginning in 1982, in addition to the general effort to preserve the standard of living as a social average, protection of the standard of living, of the social results achieved, came increasingly to the fore in certain areas.

The question frequently arises in this connection whether the standard of living attained earlier really was preserved in the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan thus far. The resolution of the 13th congress established the following concerning this: "We could not realize in its entirety the resolution of the 12th congress concerning the preservation of the standard of living. Average real income and consumption increased somewhat, but real wages decreased. The real value of pensions and of some social allotments decreased, and so the standard of living of some strata of the populace deteriorated." (2)

As for the infrastructural services determining two chief components of the standard of living, current consumption and the living conditions of the populace, the situation characterizing the second half of the 1970's, the period of the Fifth 5-Year Plan, was repeated in their ratios to one another. We fulfilled, even over-fulfilled, the Fifth 5-Year Plan in regard to the most important service indexes affecting the non-producing infrastructural branches, while we lagged behind the posted goals in the area of consumption and incomes--for well known reasons.

In certain important areas of the infrastructure we have already achieved the level planned for 1985 (increasing the number of general school classrooms, sidewalk construction, developing the retail network in some settlements, etc.). It appears that the prescription of the Sixth 5-Year Plan can be reached or approximated in the number of new dwellings built also. We largely succeeded in overcoming those problems which appeared in connection with the fact that the demographic wave reached, in the early 1980's, the age group entering general school. Despite about 100,000 more students the number of students per classroom decreased. The ratio of day students in the lower grades increased from 56 percent in 1980 to 62 percent in 1983. The availability of nurseries reaches 90 percent, which is a respectable ratio even in an international comparison.

But along with all this we must also see the problems deriving primarily from structural disproportions and the unsatisfactory quality of services. State housing construction already lags visibly behind what was planned. But we have a chance to make this up with the private construction which has received greater impetus. We should also be aware that the various forms of housing construction (state housing, family houses) affect different social strata differently, and despite significant efforts the conditions for young people to get housing have not improved, and have deteriorated in some larger cities.

Our problems include an inadequate proportion of drinking water supply and sewerage, a deterioration in the quality of drinking water in some areas, a poor supply of telephones, very low by international standards, hindering technical development and requiring great extra expenditures, and the inadequate development of hospitals. Popular initiatives, social work and the material contribution of smaller collectives continue to have an outstanding role in the fact that development according to the plan was achieved in certain basic indexes in the development of the infrastructure.

Popular consumption increased continually in recent years, by 6 percent over 4 years, between 0.5 and 2 percent per year. The consumption structure was modernized further. In 1980, 33 percent of the actively earning families had automobiles, this ratio can now be put at 45 percent; the per capita consumption of meat and meat products increased from 73.8 kilograms to 77 kilograms between 1980 and 1983; the number of dwellings connected to central heating increased by 21 percent, to 531,000.

Real wages still increased in 1981, since 1982 they have decreased. When evaluating the development of earnings we should not disregard the new, or increasingly legalized, economic organizations, the small undertakings. Registering, recording and statistical processing of incomes arising in this way are not yet entirely solved. From the theoretical viewpoint these incomes should certainly be included among work incomes, even if in a few concrete cases there is still a possibility for earnings not proportional with the work. Experiences thus far suggest that the majority of those active in legal small undertakings (60 to 80 percent of them depending on the method of counting) do supplementary activity after work. Even about one third of the artisans engage in small commodity production, with operating permits and after their main work time. The incomes coming from this have increased very dynamically in recent years. If we add these to the earnings coming from the main job then we get a more favorable picture in the area of work income. (The real value of work income per active earner increased by 3.3 percent between

1980 and 1983.) But we should not forget that although a significant part of the populace conducts some sort of supplementary activity with more or less regularity, the incomes coming from this are very differentiated, their spread significantly exceeds the spread of earnings coming from the main job. (3)

A significant ratio shift took place in popular incomes to the side of social allotments (social allotments--in money and in kind--made up 27 percent of popular income in 1975, 32 percent in 1980 and 35 percent in 1983). This shift is also indicated by the fact that while work incomes remained essentially unchanged in recent years, the sum of social allotments increased by about 13-15 percent. We must establish this ratio shift as a fact even if it is also true that we were not able to entirely preserve the real value of monetary social allotments in recent years. Thus the purchasing power of pensions under 2,500 forints and the real value of child care and maternity aid decreased. The ratio shift was produced primarily by automatic operations in the area of social allotments and to a lesser degree by demographic processes. In addition to the increasing expenditures the multiplying social problems in themselves indicate that we must rethink and modernize the mechanisms of our necessary social policy.

The sharper separation of nominal and real processes and the relatively swift increase in consumers prices are unique characteristics of the development of the standard of living in recent years. (The consumers price index developed around 9 percent in 1979-1980, under 5 percent in 1981 and between 6 and 8 percent in 1982-1984.) If we study the outflow of money incomes then we find no significant deviation compared to the 1970's in the rate of growth of either total income or work income. It follows from this that the tightening in the standard of living made necessary by the more severe economic conditions has been transmitted to the populace in recent years primarily by the more swiftly increasing consumers prices, by the higher price level which thus developed and by the changes in the consumers price structure.

Although the consumers price indexes for the basic social strata do not show significant deviations, still a finer analysis shows that there are social strata and groups which are affected more sensitively than the average by the increase in consumers prices (pensioners with small incomes, families with many children, young households, certain groups of those living alone, etc.). The increasing problems of these families also justify on the part of society an effort to increase consumers prices less, insofar as possible, to a tolerable degree, that is the problems justify the development and implementation of an effective anti-inflationary policy. Together with this, with the given possibilities for increasing consumption, limiting the increase in prices will necessarily be accompanied by a more strict regulation of purchasing power, which will sharpen other tensions, primarily distribution tensions, and could narrow the possibilities for material incentive, insofar as efficient production does not provide a basis for the outflow of purchasing power aimed at material incentive. So the coordination of the development of consumers prices and the outflow of income has become perhaps the most significant problem of standard of living regulation of recent years.

Despite a development approaching the basic goals, a feeling may arise in a relatively broad circle of the population that the standard of living as a whole is decreasing too. A partial explanation of this is provided by the fact that in the situation which has developed the sensitivity to income and property differences has increased, and it is true that there has been an increase in the number of individuals and families who are not able to preserve their earlier income level, or can do so only with a good bit more work.

But it must be added to all this that when we announced that in the years ahead we could undertake to preserve the standard of living which had been achieved only as a social average that illusions attached to this program in public opinion. This is well characterized by something frequently said at that time: "Only let it not be worse than this." It can be seen now, although it may have been obscure before, that preserving the standard of living which had been achieved as a social average will magnify certain differences. Today more are feeling this and they are feeling it more. And preserving the standard of living means something different in a family with ordered material circumstances where the parents are already middle-aged and the children are grown or have no family ties than it does for a young person beginning a career or for a young family which still has an unsolved housing problem. For the latter preserving the level achieved could mean closing the door on development in regard to improving living conditions or material progress, so in this circle the goal formulated for society as a whole cannot be interpreted literally.

Even on a foundation of restricted conditions a standard of living policy or a distribution policy must provide preferences for those strata the situation of which or the developmental possibilities of which lag significantly behind the social average for various reasons. The magnitude of these preferences naturally depends on the economic possibilities. Under our present conditions these resources are not sufficient to entirely counter the more quickly rising prices, the rising housing costs and the low beginning wages. The preferences, supports and concessions offered to young people and various strata and groups with low income or other disadvantaged situations could theoretically be increased under the given economic conditions too, but in the short run only to the detriment of other goals, such as material incentive or technical development. And this group of questions takes us to the next problem to be discussed, what changes in our distribution relationships and mechanisms and in our incentive system are justified by the longer range economic conditions.

A Few Theoretical Questions of the Development of Distribution Relationships

Even today there is a debate about whether our present situation justifies longer range changes in the distribution relationships. There is a position according to which "we should not make a virtue of necessity", should not fall into the error of projecting the present tight conditions into the future and adjusting our long-range thinking to them.

From the other side there is formulated a demand that we develop a distribution system which organically adjusts to the conditions and requirements of intensive type economic development, to a modernizing system of economic guidance.

This debate has led to the question of social values. The value categories, in the philosophical and sociological sense, broke in at the end of the 1970's and became fashionable in domestic professional circles, and later in broader public opinion. Their swift and successful course is indicated by the fact that depicting a value system for social development received very great weight even in long-range planning work. It hardly needs proof that the comprehensive and detailed interdependencies of distribution involve many values and are closely tied to certain basic social values. So it is justified to review the thinking pertaining to the long-range development of distribution relationships on the basis of the debates which have taken place concerning certain social values and principles of distribution, and again call the reader's attention to the fact that these questions, in part, are still open today and the consensus necessary for practical action has not developed in everything. The debate and resolution of the 13th congress provide orientation and offer worthy aid for the latter for they characteristically outline the basic principles of distribution: "Distribution according to work in earnings on the one hand, social services better expressing need on the other, and an income-proportional bearing of the common burden which extends to the populace as a whole."

Full and Effective Employment

The question which aroused perhaps the most and the most heated debate concerned employment. Although it would appear that the majority of the arguments were voiced for or against full employment, in reality deeper lying interdependencies come to the surface here. There are relatively few today who argue that the best solution for low work productivity, the disorganized nature of work and the sometimes wasteful manpower management would be a sort of "managed unemployment." This "proposal," in any case unacceptable, is receding because in the midst of the unemployment sweeping the developed capitalist countries, in percentages expressed in two figures, full employment is upgraded as the stability characterizing the socialist countries. Full employment is one of the basic values of our society, the security of existence and properly interpreted socialist equality cannot be imagined without it. How could someone have a chance for anything if he was excluded from the social work process?

But declaring for full employment on a social scale does not end this debate. Various guarantees and institutional systems are linked to employment, to the work relationship, and these create a definite degree of security for employment. It appears that there is a need to make changes in the sphere and character of these guarantees. Well thought out changes would fit into the framework of full employment, because if we think it through the latter is not an easily defined concept. It can be accepted as an extreme interpretation, for example, that a person who does not find a job must be guaranteed work by the state or by some state institution. The type of work is not considered in this case. The other extreme is that everyone must be provided with the sort of work he wants. Obviously very many sorts of intermediate solutions between the extremes can be imagined. Now the direction of movement in employment relations must be one which dissolves the unconditional guarantees tied to a given enterprise, job, assignment or income position; in this area also there should be a strengthening of healthy competition. This requires that the position of the employers should strengthen, that on this basis they should be able to implement better the stricter efficiency requirements.

Many doubt that there can be significant progress in the efficiency of employment, arguing that in the present manpower shortage situation the employers have practically no way to implement the stricter requirements. An analysis of the data suggests that the stubbornly persisting manpower shortage, or the negative consequences of it, is, in a paradoxical fashion, virtually independent of the actual state of the economy. At the beginning of the 1980's a manpower shortage developed in some areas of the magnitude which characterized the middle 1970's. But if we compare the chief indexes for economic growth or for foreign and domestic market demand it immediately appears that two entirely different periods are involved.

Many interdependent factors played or play a role in the development and stubborn persistence of the manpower shortage. A significant part of this shortage is not a real manpower shortage, rather it is a performance shortage. This is suggested also by the fact that where a way opens for the real material recognition of performance the manpower shortage generally moderates as well (this is shown by the practice thus far of the operation of the enterprise economic work associations and the various special groups). Or, to cite the newest experience: Last year in an experimental way and this year in a broader sphere the incentive wage regulation also played a role in tangibly decreasing the number of unfilled jobs. (In one year the number of these jobs in the cities fell to about one half.)

The macro ratios of employment also have a role in the chronic structural tensions of the manpower situation. The ratio of those employed in agriculture is very high compared to our developmental level, even if we note that about one third to one half of those working here do not perform agricultural activity and that in the future also we want to maintain this many-sidedness of the agricultural organizations. The ratio of those employed in industry is high too, and for this reason a real manpower shortage characterizes the service sphere. A role in the persistence of the manpower shortage is also played by the fact that an extensive path was followed in the developments of the enterprises even when it became obvious that personnel could not be expanded, the demographic labor sources were not expanding, but would be narrower. (Since 1980 the number of active earners has decreased by about 100,000.)

It follows from all this that there are not only social but also economic conditions for the truly greater efficiency of employment. Naturally a change in employment structure can take place only with the aid of indirect tools or incentives. Measures of an administrative nature are essentially useless in this area--on the basis of experiences thus far. Among the incentives the wage system is outstanding in terms of effect. But this area also includes the renewed or developing institutional system for training, further training and retraining.

In the longer period ahead we cannot count on an increase in manpower sources. The beginning and middle of the 1990's will be an exception to this, when the larger age groups born at the beginning and middle of the 1970's start work.

So production and developmental ideas will have to put in the foreground solutions based on the existing personnel and on flexible manpower management. The quality view must pervade manpower management too, that is manpower should not be regarded in either planning or practice simply as numbers. There must be a spread of new factors such as multiple skill training, frequent specialty changes during a career, career modification and a high degree of interest in constantly expanding and modernizing knowledge.

The realization of these nice sounding and certainly justified goals is made difficult by their contradictory nature. For dissolving the guarantees linked to a given job, assignment, income or position, greater pressure to renew and maintain information, the greater competition deriving from this and the sometimes forced mobility violate existing interests and thus run into open or hidden resistance. A further ahead question arises as well, to what extent are the opportunities and chances equal to fulfillment of the stricter requirements linked to getting and keeping a better job. (Let us only think of how a person who must travel several hours a day--and there are more than a few such--can continually train himself further or how he could stay in competition with fellow workers in a better situation.)

All this leads to the second group of problems, the question of equality and of the fairness of the distribution relationships. Before we turn to a discussion of this problem we must state that increasing the efficiency of employment is not a question of choice, we have no alternatives in this. By developing suitable economic and social conditions we must rationalize manpower management, improve the utilization of work time and capacity and stimulate the acquiring of information and utilization of existing knowledge.

Socialist Equality and Fairness

There is also a very broad debate today, filled with emotions, about the question of equality. This question cannot be viewed without values and emotions, so it is understandable that sometimes even extreme opinions are voiced. Treatment of the problem is made difficult by the fact that very much in this area is still unclear in theory. For example there is a view--in our opinion untenable--according to which no sort of inequality or difference has a place in a socialist society. In a broader circle than those formulating the above opinion it is asked how we can reconcile our long-range aspiration directed at the realization of equality with the existing inequalities of a material and non-material nature--inequalities which sometimes increase and in a certain respect reproduce themselves.

One of the historic missions of socialism really is to realize the noble ideal of social equality. This cannot mean however a uniform equality in the spirit of the phalanstery but rather--as is already more or less accepted--it means the gradual coming together or balancing of chances. The coming together of cultural, occupational, access to housing and other chances does not rule out the possibility of alternate courses of life in our socialist value system, indeed this is one of the important aspects of our social development.

Social equality interpreted in this way is not a category free of contradictions either, for it can be realized only in the long historical perspective, and this means that a definite system of inequalities characterizes each developmental phase. The existing inequalities always require a concrete political, social and economic judgment and treatment. In this area we must strive to see that the regulation adjusted to the given situation does not frustrate our long-range goals pertaining to equality and social fairness. Examining our situation in this light we must call attention to the following chief interdependencies.

The narrowing possibilities for developing the standard of living in themselves, as we have said, strengthen the differentiation processes of society by, for example, reducing the savings or accumulation possibilities of certain strata--including the young people starting their careers--and making it difficult for them to get the housing and durable consumer goods which play a crucial role in the development of their standard of living. The possibilities today for the development of the standard of living also create more difficult conditions for the so-called multiply disadvantaged strata. Some conclude from all this that in such a situation we should strive in general not to strengthen differentiation but rather for a distribution of income a good bit more even than in the past. Perhaps this principle cannot be disputed from the purely ethical viewpoint. But it must be noted that from the social viewpoint it is also unfair if different performance is rewarded with the same wage. At this point one can justly raise a counter-argument, that we are not talking here about differentiation of wages but rather about differentiation of incomes. But equalizing incomes could only involve a very significant expansion of social allotments, and this would not be without effect on the possible development of earnings.

The other side of the interdependence is that if we are to get out of our present difficult situation and lay the foundations for more dynamic economic growth, and raising the standard of living based on this, while strictly maintaining the economic balance then we must strengthen the performance orientation of society, that is must give wages and earnings a greater stimulating effect. And this requires, first of all, that wages reflect performance better than at present and that they be differentiated to a greater degree as a function thereof.

For social fairness--which is in complete harmony with the principle of distribution according to work and with the differentiation based on it--it is also necessary that we reduce the present unjustified differences in payment for work done in various sectors, organizations and branches and end as soon as possible or at least moderate the "double standard" existing between the first and second economy, which has a very significant role in holding back performance and thus in the apparent manpower shortage.

Differentiation based on performance also hides contradictions. Of these perhaps the most difficult to accept now is that low earnings or income provide a more modest consumption level and living conditions while the higher wages based on better work provide better material possibilities, and this has an effect on chances too.

It is not only performance which will play a role in the development of wages and earnings in the future either. They will be affected by the structural relationships of manpower supply and demand, by the contradictions which will exist in this area for a longer or shorter time. Certain skills and occupations in short supply will have greater value even if no special training is needed to fill them. In addition, the strengthening of the profit interest of the enterprises will make it necessary for wages and earnings to depend more on enterprise results, and so profitability will have a strong influence on the ability of enterprises to keep or attract manpower. Thus it could happen that the same performance would be rewarded differently at different enterprises.

After all this there arises the very important question, Is there a solution to or at least a way to handle the contradictions indicated above? Remaining on the basis of realities it must be said that there is no formula which would entirely eliminate these contradictions. But there is a solution (or one must be found) which will make it possible for the development of distribution relationships to go simultaneously in the direction of increasing performance orientation and strengthening social fairness.

Social Policy

From the viewpoint of solving the equality-inequality problem it is of decisive importance that closer harmony than before should develop among the different areas of standard of living planning and economic planning, and on the basis of a consistent value system. Social policy gets an outstanding role here. By thinking through social policy we must seek an answer to the question of whether we can undertake a deliberate strengthening of differentiation according to performance under circumstances where income differentiation is increasing as a result of automatic processes.

The two fundamental social functions of social policy, strengthening the security of existence and bringing together the career chances, are performed in different ways. Its role is active and determining in laying the material foundations for the security of existence of people unable to work; but in moderating social inequalities it can undertake primarily subsequent, supplementary, corrective tasks. It can carry out this latter role only if we develop the social policy institutions and services in harmony with the other institutional systems determining the living conditions and employment relationships of the populace (housing supply, community services, transportation, etc.). The economic conditions expected in the years ahead and the need to strengthen social stability and social security necessarily put in the foreground the function of social policy in laying the foundations for the security of existence. This presumes that the principle of need should be realized better in the distribution of the various social allotments, supports and concessions, and that income security should strengthen among the needy.

Important social interests also attach to strengthening the equalizing function of social policy. Progress in this depends on the extent to which the income producing ability of the economy increases, whether certain disproportions in distribution are reduced. An important question of principle arises in this connection (together with all its practical consequences), as to the extent to which the state can undertake to ease the inequalities not interdependent with work. The lower limit of this is certainly some sort of minimum level.

Studies have begun aimed at a concrete determination of this. Determining the upper limit of equalization presents much greater problems (here, naturally, what is involved is stating some sort of theoretical limit and not concrete magnitudes). Here again we run into the basic question of the equality-inequality problematic: Should there be an effort to see that all families live under uniform circumstances or, if not, then what size differences can we tolerate? From the theoretical viewpoint the correct answer might be that the differences in family incomes should reflect the earnings differences of the earners living in the family, that is, from the other side, the state should undertake all the costs of supporting dependents. We are still far from realizing this. At present the paradoxical situation obtains--at least according to the statistical data--that the role of earnings officially considered in the income differences among families with active earners is only 15-20 percent.

So in the longer period ahead the principle outlined above cannot yet guide the concrete practice of social policy in moderating the inequalities not interdependent with work. There are those who dispute even in principle that the state should assume all the costs of dependents. In any case, in regard to the foreseeable future, there is a need for principles in this area which will provide a good orientation. When developing these what must be kept in mind primarily is that the "deeper" the support offered a certain group or stratum the narrower will be the possibility for it. (Naturally we are not talking here about the allotments laying the foundation for the security of existence.) This interdependence also appears in the debate which has been conducted and is still being conducted concerning modernization of the system of housing management.

Our social interests require that preferences, supports and concessions serving to bring chances closer together should be determined for a broader circle of the populace, because in this way we might head off the development of new, undesirable inequalities. In addition this method offers the broadest possibilities for individual aspirations, for increasing performance and for a thrifty style of life.

Bearing the Common Burden

Realizing the socioeconomic goals which can be realistically set for the long run makes necessary--as we have seen from the foregoing--a rethinking and modernization of the distribution relationships, thus a continuation of the work begun in the middle 1970's. The results thus far suggest that going beyond what has gone before there is also need for a new mechanism of distribution, or more precisely redistribution, not used thus far. A possible solution for this would be introduction of a general popular tax system. (This could come up in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan on the basis of a separate decision.) A general tax system would be suitable for carrying out in a cultured way a number of economic interest and income regulation functions. Naturally this is not free of contradictions either! Here and now we will mention only two characteristics of a popular tax system important from the viewpoint of distribution relationships.

The income and property ratios at any time are the results of complex, historically determined economic-social processes. One way to judge these is the extent to which they are in harmony with our fundamental distribution principles, with our social values. But there is also a short-range, primarily political principle of judgment; this is the ability of society to tolerate it at any given time, that is the extent to which the populace will bear the income differences existing in the given situation. For a long time here one could feel a high degree of sensitivity to high incomes. In judging incomes, naturally, the basic viewpoint is whether they are based on work, whether they are in harmony with the work done, with what was accomplished. Insofar as there is work behind the income it must be accepted and people must be made to accept it. Naturally getting people to accept it cannot mean that there is no need for further regulation. It is useful to keep income differences within a range of tolerance which is socially acceptable but does not hold back incentive. Determining this at any time is part of the "art" of politics, of economic policy. A general tax system could be a continual, flexible tool for keeping incomes within this range.

By the nature of the thing the standard of living development goals posted for the longer range cannot be opposed to one another. There is no sense, and it would be socially unacceptable, to ask which was more important--improving the situation of young people or of pensioners. Despite the fact that the various goals pertaining to the standard of living must constitute building blocks in a well ordered system in planning work, when making actual decisions and selecting the several alternatives these goals appear as alternative forms of using national income, and so willy-nilly they become opposed to one another. In a situation--and who would dispute that we are in such a situation today--where we must simultaneously improve the status of those with small pensions, families with many children and young people starting their careers, harmonic development requires supplementary resources. We cannot rely on external resources, as is well known, and even in the area of efficiency, although urgent, we must post realistic goals.

A social bearing of the common burden can be considered as a supplementary resource. This is a unique redistribution mechanism the essence of which is that the members of society contribute in proportion to their income or property to the realization of certain social goals of great importance. A system of personal income taxes might be the best tool for realizing a bearing of the common burden directed toward general goals. Forms of bearing the common burden or of common development relying on small, local collectives are beginning to develop too, and these have traditions among us. Let us think only of the recent past, what significant aid social work, or the participation of certain communities, gave to the development of nurseries or easing the problems troubling the general schools. Thus far social work has been the most typical form of bearing the common burden. In the future, in addition to the survival and further spread of this, there will be a need for new methods, partly of a different type. The modernized system of the regional development contribution about which the Presidential Council passed a resolution in 1984, for example, belongs in this sphere.

Naturally the base for the realization of our long-range social and economic development goals is a strengthening of the performance capacity of the economy, increasing efficiency, accelerating structural change and the greater profitability based on this. Now, in the period of intensive development, this depends fundamentally on the human factor, on the realization of the accumulated intellectual energies, human knowledge and creativity. In part the further development and modernization of the distribution relationships should serve this goal too. But it would be in vain for us to think that distribution relationships are simply subordinate to the economy. They have an outstandingly important role in the system of our social relationships, in the practical realization of socialist social values. The modernization trends being outlined within the framework of long-range planning should serve this goal as well.

FOOTNOTES

1. TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 5, 1985, p 4.

2. "The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party", Kossuth Book Publishers, 1985, p 199.

3. The so-called enterprise economic work associations (VGMK's) are the most populous of the new forms of undertakings. (At the beginning of 1985 about 200,000 people were active in the 17,000 VGMK's.) The average monthly income per member was between 3,000 and 4,000 forints last year. In general one can make a larger income than this in the other entrepreneurial forms. The ratio of the incomes coming from the enterprise and private economic work associations, other private activities and the industrial service special groups makes up 10 percent within work income.

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MAROTHY PRESENTS VIEWS ON 7TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Budapest KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 85 pp 1025-1032

[Article by Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy premier: "Growth, Its Conditions Under the 7th Five-Year Plan"; based on author's speech at the 24th Congress of Economists]

[Text] The acceleration of growth is one of society's real demands, and from it stems also the demand to thoroughly explore the opportunities for growth. Growth is also a central issue of our party and government's economic policy.

It must be made clear at the very outset that by economic growth we do not mean primarily an increase in the physical volumes of products. The acceleration of development is our objective in the sense of improving our economy's ability to generate income, so that we may allot for domestic use--for the productive sphere's development and the living standard's rise--as much as possible of the additional income produced in this manner.

Events within the economy are taking place with lightning speed, and this does not leave us much time for meditation. Admittedly, we are over the worst of the rearrangement of values in the world economy, which has been a very bitter experience for us. But we must assess our opportunities as quickly as possible and resolutely begin their consistent utilization. I may say without exaggeration that the 7th Five-Year Plan's elaboration in the right direction, and subsequently its successful fulfillment, will play a decisive role in switching the Hungarian economy to its new track of development.

Our Experience in Recent Years

The existing conditions guided our country's development to date in the well-known direction. We had to begin the economy's "forced" organization after the destruction caused by the war, and with a paucity of resources and an obsolete structure. Emphasis was necessarily on the great transformations.

This was both natural and possible at that time, because there were ample sources of extensive development.

The market's regulating effect, and its pressure on performance and quality did not manifest themselves. Anyone who heeded the slogan "Produce More to Live Better" truly felt that he was working well. The productive forces necessary to produce more were available. The attainable efficiency was influenced significantly by the influx in industry of a million "inexperienced workers" between 1950 and 1975, mainly from agriculture.

Good results were achieved on the track of extensive development. But at the same time there accumulated also the stresses whose resolution is the task of today's creative and working generation.

So far as the results are concerned, national income last year increased fivefold over 1950; industrial production, ninefold; the construction industry's output, six fold; and the farm output doubled. These increases were based on a 1.2-fold increase in the number of persons gainfully employed, and on a 4.5-fold increase of the stock of fixed capital.

Many results of even the 6th Five-Year Plan itself, a period of the economy's consolidation, will stand comparison. The 13-percent rise of gross national product, and the 10- to 11-percent rise of national income must be rated as favorable, although they are backed only partially by performances typical on the track of intensive development.

It is common knowledge that we rank among the last third of the countries of Europe in terms of per capita gross domestic product. This position reflects well the order of magnitude of our productivity gap, and predominantly of our technological gap. In addition to the changes that the oil price explosions triggered in the world economy, this too has contributed to the unfavorable development of our export opportunities and export prices; in other words, to the worsening of our terms of trade that has been a drain on the domestic use of national income and on the standard of living. Hungary's terms of trade worsened by 26 percent from 1970 to 1983. The resulting loss is about 500 billion forints. Therefore, less and less money has been available for investment in the 1980's. But far more serious has been our failure to spend the available forints and convertible currency the most efficiently. It will suffice to mention the so-called age tree of the products produced with the investments: the proportion of new products within the output of state industry has been between 2 and 3 percent in recent years; and the proportion of products phased out in the current year has been 1 percent! The average age of the products is 16 years.

At this low efficiency of investment, our structural policy could not be truly effective in recent years. In many instances the efficiency of the rapidly expanding enterprises has not differed significantly from the efficiency of the stagnating or declining enterprises. A control mechanism of growth that is based on real efficiency has not evolved. We have not yet found a way to break the vicious circle:

--We are unable to discontinue obsolete and uneconomical production, because also the export from such production is necessary to improve our balance of payments;

--Uneconomical activities tie down substantial resources, diverting them from the development of progressive activities, and therefore we are unable to make our export economical!

There can be no doubt that we must seek in this latter area the point where we can break the vicious circle!

Our party's economic policy has provided the right answer to the world economy's challenges in recent years, to the external economic conditions that are becoming worse and worse from our point of view. Through higher performances, and predominantly by shifting the proportions of national income distribution, we have been able to stabilize our economic situation and to maintain our international solvency.

At the same time, the start of switching to the new track of development has required sacrifices. The stopgap measures have affected unfavorably the situation of the economic organizations and the population. Instead of the living standard's perceptible improvement year after year in the past, realistically we have been able to strive only for preserving its attained level, and even this has required a sharp curtailment of our investment.

Under the 7th Five-Year Plan, however, a further shifting in this direction of the proportions of national income distribution is not feasible, and the possibilities inherent in such a shift have already been exhausted. The further curtailment of consumption would be an increasingly severe test of society's tolerance. A restrictive investment policy would increasingly widen our gap in relation to countries employing modern, advanced technology; and in the final outcome it would result in our falling behind.

Thus our experience in recent years can be summed up as follows: we have recognized our problems and identified our tasks; and we are working intensively, but often still in the spirit of extensive development. However, practice and the results show that hard work and diligence in themselves are not enough. We have managed to remain on our own feet, but the danger of our falling back historically is not yet over. To avoid this we must work more purposefully, mainly more efficiently and in a better organized manner.

Present Factors That Determine Our Freedom of Movement

We will have to reckon also in the future with the international political conditions and the secular trends of the world economy. We can expect imperialism's extreme circles to continue their recurring attempts to gain military superiority. And the countries of the socialist camp will have to respond accordingly to maintain the balance of power.

In the world economy, the competition for markets will further intensify. The capitalist economies and their various economic integration will not abandon even in the future their aspirations to monopoly and protectionism.

In this sense, the external conditions for our efforts to develop our economy are not expected to improve, and they do not hold any promise of additional sources of financing the acceleration of our economic growth. We will already regard as a favorable development if the external conditions do not restrict our economic growth as much as they are restricting it at present.

Naturally, we will unalterably continue to cooperate with the capitalist countries, on the basis of our proven principles and practice. We wish to ensure also from capitalist provenances the economic, technical and technological conditions essential to our economic growth. And we will definitely strive to ensure them.

In the coming years, too, we will continue to safely rely on our economic relations with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular. CEMA and bilateral specialization, cooperation and trade will play a decisive role in stabilizing our economy under the 7th Five-Year Plan as well.

With greater care and more thoroughly than up to now, we must explore each other's opportunities, particularly in the areas of modern technology and of research and development, which are the overwhelming driving force behind economic growth.

We are firmly convinced that a great source of our economic growth lies in the perfection of CEMA integration.

Our hardest nut to crack is the vicious circle of ability to export--debt servicing--importation of advanced technology.

In this game we have always been in a forced move up to now, and remain in one for the time being. We must gain the advantage of a series of small moves to enable us to concentrate an ever-greater share of our export earnings on research and development, whereby also our ability to export will improve. Only through such, increasingly dynamic, "inching ahead" can we escape from the vicious circle. In the interest of our most promising development projects, therefore, it is essential that advanced technology account for an ever-greater share of our import!

It is customary to cite our limited markets as a rigid barrier. We must not forget, however, that market limits are not an absolute category. Experience shows that somebody is always able to sell! Anybody can sell at a loss. But only competitive products can be sold profitably. This leads us to the same conclusion: the rigidity of the limits of our markets again depends on our ability to export.

To some extent the situation is essentially the same regarding our energy constraint. The energy constraint is stricter than ever before. Under the 7th Five-Year Plan our energy consumption may increase by 1 percent a year. Assuming a more favorable production structure, a 1-percent expansion of production could result in a 0.4-percent increase in energy consumption. But this will require modern equipment and technology, economic pressure and incentives to employ them, and--last but not least--economic discipline. Otherwise the procurement of the additional energy would again divert resources from the industries that act as engines of growth. We must finally take seriously that the cheapest energy is the one that we do not consume! This restriction of growth can be resolved only with energy-conserving research and development that permeates entire society.

When finalizing the 7th Five-Year Plan's system of goals and instruments, we must follow the instructions of our party congress and consider in a more nuanced manner the most sensitive factor and our actual objective--man. We cannot disregard the interests of those who in the present are working honestly for the future. We cannot curtail our attained social achivements. Indeed, our social policy must show more initiative in some instances (on behalf of those who are truly in need).

Considering the past and the present together, we must perceive our tasks also here the way Comrade Janos Kadar put it at the 13th MSZMP Congress: ". . . we have reached a new stage in building socialism and developing our economy. We have advanced from the extensive to the intensive stage. This is a decisive step, because in the extensive stage we still had available resources; cost and quality did not matter as long as we got what we needed. But that period has ended once and for all." (Footnote) (KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE, No 6, 1985, p 674)

More Important Goals for 7th Five-Year Plan

At present we are still considering several versions. According to the most probable or so-called basic version, we expect:

--Gross national product to increase by 13 to 16 percent in five years; and

--Value added and net national product to increase by 14 to 17.

Per capita real income may increase by 2 percent a year on average. Both the net and the gross rate of capital accumulation may start to increase slowly, but will not reach their 1980 values by the end of this decade.

It is evident already from these key figures that it will be necessary to strive to derive the increases in output from improvements in efficiency. To achieve the aforementioned goals, overall efficiency in the material branches of production will have to increase by between 17 and 19 percent as compared with its 9- to 10-percent rise under the current five-year plan. Per capita net national product will have to increase by between 24 and 26 percent as compared with 14 or 15 percent previously. And the efficiency of fixed capital will have to improve by 7 or 8 percent, which is substantially more than the 1- to 2-percent improvement under the current five-year plan. These goals can and must be fulfilled to complete our recovery and to start closing the gap. Even if both favorable and unfavorable examples color our assessment of the situation at the start, and we are influenced also by this year's uncertainties.

What are we able to place in the service of economic growth?

Our basic objective under the 7th Five-Year Plan will be to close the period of the economy's consolidation and to begin its more dynamic growth. Thus our tasks will be directed primarily toward substantially increasing the economy's ability to generate income. Which means that in our economic policy we will continue to consistently assert the proven elements of the course that we have been pursuing since 1979. Naturally, our prospects of accelerating economic growth will be nil if we wish to achieve faster growth without changing the economy's structure and its driving force.

We must strive to identify and efficiently utilize the resources realistically available for economic growth.

To lay the foundation for economic growth, we must definitely speed up the production structure's transformation. The basic means of achieving this will be an export-oriented production and development policy that makes possible the establishment of high standards of production geared to market demand. In the interest of faster economic growth, it will be expedient to concentrate our intellectual and material resources in a few preferential areas, in accordance with our specific conditions, the international technical and economic trends, and the development of supply and demand. We will have to undertake first of all development projects for energy conservation in the entire national economy, for the utilization of scrap and reprocessed materials, and in general for the conservation of materials. It will be warranted to allot an increasing proportion of resources for the development of electronics, robotics, and biotechnology. These areas are the main driving force behind economic growth, and our government will support them also with central developmental programs, organized international cooperation, and various state action programs.

At the same time, we must not forget the importance of investments of the kind that raise the technical level of production in some narrower area, resolve production and distribution bottlenecks, and enable us to rapidly adapt to specific marketing opportunities. To an increasing extent, research and development must change primarily the microstructure.

To this end it will be necessary to provide suitably attractive conditions for the economic organizations and innovative collectives participating in this desirable structural transformation.

Differentiation based on profitability will have to be not only tolerated, but also promoted with the instruments of macroeconomic management and even of social policy. We will have to employ, more consistently than up to now, economic pressure and incentive mechanisms under which the enterprises will feel compelled to improve their performances and will also recognize that this is in their vital interest. Only in this way will we be able to make perceptible progress in improving the qualitative parameters, in uncovering the reserves within the domestic economy and work organization, in assessing more circumspectly our marketing opportunities, and--in the final outcome--in reallocating resources to more profitable economic activities.

The fact that economic activities operating at low efficiency or a loss tie down significant resources is a heavy burden on our structural policy. For a variety of reasons, certain enterprises are unable to satisfy the requirements that stem from the changes in the external economic conditions, respectively from the subsequent tightening of our system of macroeconomic management. The profitability of their operations is low. Their problems are reflected, at these enterprises themselves and elsewhere, in insolvencies and queues. Regrettably, very often it is not yet possible to establish unambiguously the relationship between the financial difficulties on the one hand, and mismanagement, the inability to suitably adapt to the changes, on the other.

In those cases where the problems stem definitely from mismanagement, we will have to discontinue the present practice of resolving financial difficulties. In the future it will not be possible to pass onto the entire economy the burdens of independent enterprise operation and risk-taking. Thus the state will intervene much less frequently than in the past, only in the most warranted cases. However, the purpose of intervention by the state must be the permanent restoration of the enterprise's viability, and not merely a temporary bailout. But if it appears on the basis of circumspect analyses that not even reorganization by the state would be able to provide a long-term solution, the economic organization in question will have to be liquidated. Naturally, provisions will have to be made to find jobs for the workers, and to use the enterprise's resources more efficiently.

A sound structural policy cannot dispense with the sensible replacement of worn out capital. It has become the practice in Hungary to regard as natural every economic organization's right to maintain its technical level, without capacity expansion. This is true in principle and will remain so also in the future. But no economic organization operating under a profit incentive is entitled to government aid for this purpose. It must exercise this right independently.

A structural policy geared to our specific conditions requires carefully considered and coordinated development projects. The projects in their turn reqire additional resources and modern capital goods.

It is common knowledge that a large part of the modern equipment and processes can be obtained only from the developed capitalist countries. Therefore the expansion of our dollar-denominated export, and of the production of goods suitable for such export, remains a key issue of our economic development under the 7th Five-Year Plan. We must also strive to broaden our scientific and technical cooperation with these countries, on the principle of mutual advantages, and to employ all the forms of cooperation through which our technical and technological level can be raised. In the interest of more dynamic economic growth, it will be necessary to consider more resolutely than up to now the possibilities of attracting foreign operating capital.

We will have to strive more forcefully in the future to obtain from within the socialist economic integration an ever greater share of modern technologies and sophisticated plant and equipment. To this end we will actively cooperate in implementing the programs adopted at the high-level consultations. We will also have to propose new forms and methods of cooperation that will mutually contribute toward the output of modern products and the expansion of our trade, and will provide--through the perfection of market relations--more incentive for the joint financing of mutually promising activities.

So far as the additional resources to finance structural modernization are concerned, they will not stem necessarily from a substantial increase of the allotment for investments. There are greater reserves in spending the available financial resources more effectively. Profit, of course, will have to mean not the planned profit, but the actual profit after the completion of the investment. Because we have to shoot at a moving target, we will have to estimate more responsibly the foreseeable demand and the realistically attainable prices. Otherwise we will not be able to place in the service of economic growth the meager resources available for development projects.

In this area we are attaching high hopes particularly to the changing role of science and research in our economy. For we cannot be satisfied with the results to date or even with the approach. The scientific results and R&D work must be introduced on a wider scale at the plants. Innovation cannot remain the isolated task of certain organizations, but must permeate entire society. Not only production, but also education, medical care, transportation and trade, and even government. And this will happen only if society's material and moral recognition rewards innovative behavior.

Our faster switching to the track of intensive economic development will depend basically on the successful implementation of our economic policy. Therefore our system of macroeconomic management must be adapted continuously to the economy's realities, with due consideration for the requirements of the future. From our arsenal of instruments we must employ all the methods by which our efficiency can be improved. We are relying primarily on the already mentioned willingness to innovate, the encouragement of entrepreneurial behavior and the intensification of competition; and we are establishing the market relations, and the conditions of stimulation and regulation necessary for this purpose. We must take more determined steps to create the necessary conditions--in terms of approach, organization and regulation--for our domestic market relations.

Because we have placed profit at the center of the incentive system for our enterprises, they now justifiably expect us to remove all unwarranted obstacles to healthy competition and higher profits. We must enforce our principle that the government is responsible for supply. Producers ought to be able to sell where their profit is the highest. We realize that such an ideal situation can arise only when producers and merchants encounter real and wide-scale competition from imports. Until these conditions evolve, market disruptions must be avoided commercially, within the framework of the government's market supervision.

A suitable incentive system is necessary for the spirit of competition to evolve. Therefore we must enforce more consistently the principle that the enterprises' growth, their investment opportunities, and the rise of personal incomes must be linked to the development of the enterprises' profitability. The practice must cease under which differences in enterprise incomes are equalized through central interventions.

So far we have been unable to resolve the persistent conflict stemming from the stronger incentive to raise personal incomes than to increase profit. This fact necessitates the operation of independent systems of pay regulation. A change of attitude is also necessary for personal incomes to evolve that are backed by real performances. We must restore the prestige and recognition of activities performed during regular working hours.

The principle that more and better work deserves greater financial and moral recognition must be asserted, especially in enterprise wage policy. We cannot place one-sidedly in the service of economic growth the action mechanism of the systems of economic incentives. In addition to short-term stimulation, for later years the members of the collective--especially the ones who make enterprise decisions--must be given incentives linked directly to the increase and profitable use of the enterprise's net worth.

In the course of perfecting the system of macroeconomic management and especially the system of regulation, it will be appropriate to devote closer attention to the harmony of the value-creating and the real processes. We must take cognizance of the fact that ability usually is not a function of the incentive's strength. It is not enough to increase the incentive in cases when the objective conditions for the realization of a set goal are lacking behind the will to achieve the goal.

We must not forget the factor of time, either. Therefore we may rely on the spontaneous action of market forces, and on the regulating mechanisms' effect, only to the extent that we have ensured the conditions for their operation. Otherwise the exceptions will break through the basic rule, detracting thereby from the credibility of even the proven solutions. And this is something we can do without. Even so there are people who misinterpret our sound measures. They present our efforts to broaden enterprise independence, increase competition and establish market conditions, for example, as attempts by the state to shed responsibility. This is obviously not true. The state, macroeconomic management, will not move out of the economy; it will only make more lucid the system of rights and obligations! What we must achieve are clearly definable levels of decision-making. We must operate under a system of microeconomic management in which a sound combination of central and enterprise decisions directs the enhancement of the nation's wealth. The enterprise sphere is the principal scene of growth. This is why the process has started that will lead increasingly to the well-ordered definition of the state's role as owner, and of the enterprises' economic tasks. But guaranteed enterprise independence and increased economic responsibility are merely the framework for better work, an opportunity that the enterprise collectives must seize.

On the other hand, we must continue to perfect the government's work. This means not only the decentralization of authority and responsibility within reasonable limits, and the upgrading of state administration, but also that important economic questions are presented to the government for decisions in due time and in suitably prepared form.

State administration will have to play a more active role primarily in objectively exploring our specific conditions and long-range opportunities, and in developing our external economic relations. It would be reasonable to provide more detailed and more reliable information, and more responsible guidance, for the enterprises' developmental concepts.

Some institutions within our systmem of government are the subjects of debate among economic experts. Recently the economic press, too, has been devoting space to these polemics. We are aware that also the government's activity must be geared to our aspirations. Work, with the inclusion of experts, is proceeding in this area as well, and we will be adopting and introducing the necessary measures in line with the progress in the economic mechanism's further development.

Not even under the 7th Five-Year Plan will we introduce (or intend to introduce) profit-oriented competitive activity in every area. The preservation of our socialist achievements, and the strengthening of our socialist way of life demand that we offset with central measures the profit incentive's limitations in the basic areas of health care, education and culture.

In accordance with our ability, it will be reasonable to ensure suitable economic growth for the productive infrastructure as well, especially in the areas where the present conditions are hampering also the realization of our planned goals. I have in mind primarily the situation of the telephone network and of the railroad. We should mention in this area of activity also food production. Food supply is an important factor in shaping public satisfaction, and therefore food supply's developmental opportunities must be ensured within the limits of sensibly utilizing our specific conditions. We cannot expose domestic supply to the world market's capricious and highly manipulated trends. However, we must take the world market's secular trends into consideration in feasibility studies of our export-oriented development projects.

In the future we will have to take into consideration more purposefully, and especially more practically, the fact that also society's sense of well-being is a productive force in a certain sense. Certain negative phenomena (for example, incomes not commensurate with the work performed, and financial careers divorced from their usefulness to society) may lead astray even some of the well-meaning intellectual energies and undermine civic discipline; in other words, they may absorb the energies for growth.

We must strive by all means to provide suitable opportunity for the performance and recognition of progressive work, and simultaneously for differentiation in accordance with value. Society will accept and recognize living-standard differences that stem from real value-creating work.

The preceeding, of course, are not things that can be realized overnight, by waving a magic wand. The formation of consciousness begins with education in school, within the family, and at work. Here I have in mind not only education based on moral values or the curriculum, but also the motivating force of good examples.

To sum up what has been said above, it will be expedient to single out the key questions that can best serve economic growth.

Under the 7th Five-Year Plan we have to anticipate the following more important questions, to which we are now formulating unambiguous answers:

--The maintenance and consolidation of the national economy's external and internal equilibrium, and of the harmony of the two;

--To develop a more efficient economic structure, the ensuring of competition- and tax-neutrality for the various sectors of the economy, respectively for the economic organizations assigned to different forms of income regulation;

--Between the agencies of macroeconomic management and the economic organizations, smoother cooperation that makes for greater predictability and stability;

--Curtailment of income redistribution through the state budget and reinforcement of entrepreneurial ability, based on an increase of efficiency;

--Exploration of the feasibility of an anti-inflationary macroeconomic management practice (one that slows down the rate of rise of prices, and simultaneously transforms the economy's structure), and the establishment of the conditions for such a practice;

--Reinforcement of the net-worth incentive within the economy; and

--Financial recognition of innovation, new technology and technical improvements to provide incentives for them, and the operation of a system of state preferences that selectively supports this objective.

We cannot dispense with the profound and responsible creative work of our economists for the successful realization of these macroeconomic management measures that are intended to broaden our economy's scope.

I hope that those present share my optimistic assessment of the prospects for the realization of the 7th Five-Year Plan's principal objectives. I believe that all the prerequisites for their successful fulfillment are at our disposal.

With its definite and consistent policy, our successful party congress has pointed out the right direction. The masses understand this policy and are supporting it. All this fills us with justifiable confidence. I am certain that the Hungarian economists will contribute valuable ideas to this very demanding yet uplifting work.

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HOOS SPEAKS FOR PLANNING OFFICE ON 7TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Budapest KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 85 pp 1033-1040

[Article by Janos Hoos, doctor of economics, state secretary of the National Planning Office: "Growth Versions, Priorities in 7th Five-Year Plan; based on author's speech at the 24th Congress of Economists]

[Text] We will have to continue also under the 7th Five-Year Plan the proven practice of planning in different versions, and of identifying suitable points of main effort and priorities, according to which we then rank our objectives. It will be possible to determine on the basis of the specific situation at any given time which of these versions and objectives are to be the guide to action. This is not simply a methodological or technical approach, but a requirement that stems for the Hungarian economy's objective conditions. This is true particularly under the conditions of the foreseeable future.

Our Economic-Policy Objectives

We have to solve difficult and epoch-making tasks Under the 7th Five-Year Plan: we must accelerate the Hungarian economy's adaptation to the changes in the world economy. This is a prerequisite not only for equilibrium, but for the Hungarian economy's development and growth as well. Should we fail to relatively keep pace with the world economy, the growth rate of our economy would necessarily slow down further, and external economic equilibrium could be improved only at the expense of domestic consumption, which obviously would not be feasible in the long run. All this presupposes also pronounced changes, besides continuity, in the practice of economic policy. An essential continuity in economic policy is the retention of the task of improving external economic equilibrium, of reducing our net foreign indebtedness. But at the same time there are the following important changes:

--External economic equilibrium must be improved entirely from the produced additional resources, without any curtailment of national income's domestic use; indeed, national income's domestic use must even rise (the plan at present reckons with a rise between 2.0 and 3.5 percent a year, as compared with a decline of 0.6 percent a year in the current five-year period);

--The preceding change presupposes a certain acceleration of economic growth (in contrast with an average growth rate of 2 percent a year in the current five-year period, we are projecting a growth rate between 2.0 and 3.5 percent);

--On the basis of all this it will be possible to increase investment in the national economy (at a rate between 2.0 and 7.0 percent a year, in contrast with the 3.1-percent average annual rate of decline in the current five-year period);

--Favorable goals can be set also for the living conditions and standard of living, particularly for the rise of real wages (at a rate between 0.5 and 1.5 percent a year, in contrast with a decline of 1.2 percent a year in the current five-year period).

We must realize, however, that a sudden drastic change in economic policy will not be possible. Change can only be gradual, and even the exact time of its occurrence is uncertain: it may be delayed, depending on how the conditions evolve. Among these conditions we should mention especially the following:

1. The external economic conditions that to a large extent are beyond our control, particularly the market conditions, prices, credit terms, and interest rates.

2. The rate at which the favorable effects of perfecting the system of macroeconomic management unfold; this rate depends basically on us.

3. Finally, something that depends on us as well as on the external economic conditions: how the economic situation develops in 1985. For 1985 is the 7th Five-Year Plan's base year, and therefore it will of course determine many things.

Plan's Versions

The relative predictability of how the aforementioned conditions will develop is what objectively warrants open-ended and flexible planning. In practice, planning means that we prepare different versions of the plan, schedule and divide the plan's horizon into phases, and set suitable priorities. Planning is proceeding in three principal versions, and separately for two phases. Of the two phases:

--The first phase comprises 1986-1987 (respectively we include here also 1985 as the base year);

--The second phase comprises the years 1988-1990.

In the first phase, by our judgment at present, we have to complete the process of consolidation that began in 1979, strengthening our external economic equilibrium, and thereby providing the foundation for faster economic growth later, and for a faster rate of rise in national income's domestic use. In the second phase, relying on the acceleration of economic growth, we must round out the positive changes in our economic policy.

It must be emphasized that the durations of these phases may shift, and especially the first phase could take longer. (On the basis of the data for 1985, regrettably, there is a real danger of this happening.)

The plan's three principal versions differ from one another basically in their rates of economic growth--i.e., in their rates of creating resources--and consequently in the rates of national income's domestic use, depending on how the factors that determine economic growth develop, respectively on how we are able to shape their development. The most important factors that determine economic growth are as follows:

--Our nonruble-denominated export;

--The extent to which we are able to reduce our nonruble-denominated foreign debt, and the related credit terms and interest rates. (These two factors basically determine also our nonruble-denominated import, and thereby also our production to a large extent.)

--Our ruble-denominated import, which basically determines our ruble-denominated export in view of the fact that in ruble-denominated trade we are unable to attain an export surplus that hinges on substantial lending; indeed, it would be desirable to maintain a certain amount of debt in such trade;

--The development of our terms of trade; and

--How much of an improvement we are able to achieve in the domestic economy's efficiency, particularly in terms of the specific consumption of energy and materials, and of the increase of net income. (The plan anticipates an increase of 1 percent a year in energy consumption. This includes a 3-percent annual increase in the consumption of electricity, which is a very stepped-up target.)

Each of the mentioned factors is of decisive importance. As direct constraints on growth and extremely rigid conditions, nevertherless, we must regard our nonruble-denominated export, the expansion of ruble-denominated import, and the development of energy consumption. For these factors more or less reflect the other factors as well. Better management, for example, could increase our export and reduce our terms-of-trade losses; and the expansion of our export to capitalist countries would provide more favorable opportunities to import and to reduce our foreign debt. In other words, these are the factors we must concentrate on if we wish to accelerate economic growth. These are the immediate priorities whose effectiveness the other conditions must support, thus primarily also the conditions of macroeconomic management.

Of the plan's three versions, we regard version II as the most probable one. In other words, this is the version that today can be based with the most certainty on the foreseeable external economic conditions and on the attainable domestic improvement of efficiency. Therefore we regard version II as the basic version, and further planning work is directed toward its detailed elaboration and substantiation.

What are the principal numerical characteristics of the versions?

The average annual growth rate of GDP [in version II] will reach about 2.5 percent in 1985-1987 (as compared with 2 percent a year on average during the preceding five years); in other words, some acceleration will be noticeable already in the first phase (later, in 1988-1990, the average annual growth rate of GDP will be between 3.0 and 3.5 percent). A modest increase in investment and the maintenance of average real wages will be feasible already in the first phase, and the growth rates of both indicators could rise in the second phase. Investment during the five years will increase by 4 to 5 percent a year on average; and real wages, by about 1 percent a year (to a total of 5 or 6 percent for the period). Nonruble-denominated export will expand by 3.0 percent a year on average (import, by 4 or 5 percent); and ruble-denominated export, by 3 percent (import, by 2 percent).

This is the version that basically satisfies the requirements which social policy sets for economic policy, and therefore everything possible must be done to provide a solid foundation for it. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the conditions may evolve less favorably, just as there is some chance of their evolving, or being shaped, more favorably. For this very reason we must continue to consider how realistic the individual elements of the other two versions are, and therefore it will be expedient to elaborate them too, at least as secondary versions. Of these other two versions, version I is the less favorable one. It assumes:

--That we will barely be able to expand our economical export to capitalist countries;

--That our import denominated in convertible currency can be expanded at a slower rate, and therefore the expansion of our export will also be more moderate (between 2 and 2.5 percent, instead of 3 percent, a year; and at the same time import will increase by 3 or 4 percent, instead of 4 or 5 percent);

--That simultaneously we will be forced to make relatively larger reductions of our foreign debt to both principal areas; and

--That the economic processes in 1985 will depart significantly from their planned development.

Under these assumptions, the average annual growth rates might develop as follows: of GDP, between 2 and 2.5 percent, instead of 3; of GDP's domestic use, 2 percent, instead of 3; of investment, 2 percent, instead of 5; and of real wages, 0.5 percent, instead of 1. The growth rates might be even lower in the first phase of the plan period: investment, for example, would merely be maintained at its base level.

Version III assumes essentially the same external economic conditions as version II, but more significant improvements in efficiency at home. Export to capitalist countries would expand in this version by 4 percent a year; GDP would grow by 3.5 percent a year; and GDP's domestic use, likewise by 3.5 percent. The targets in this version are stepped up especially for export and its economic efficiency, and for a favorable specific consumption of energy. (These faster growth rates would have to be supported by a 1-percent annual rise in total energy consumption, including a 3-percent annual rise in the consumption of electricity.) Nevertheless, the approximation of certain elements in this version, especially of the ones relating to production and the economic efficiency of export, is highly warranted.

From the preceding it thus follows that the reduction of our total foreign debt will remain our No 1 task also under the 7th Five-Year Plan, but there will be added to it a new priority: a certain acceleration of our economic growth. These two priorities can be asserted in their mutual coordination, provided certain requirements are met. The most important of these requirements is that, in principle, acceleration is feasible only as a function of efficient export denominated in convertible currency, and of socialist import. Unless acceleration is based on these two factors, it would come into conflict with the requirement of reducing our total foreign debt, because faster growth could be maintained only by attracting external resources. We have already tried this road once and are familiar with its unfavorable consequences.

However, the requirement is not merely that total foreign debt must not increase; it also has to be reduced. Already for two reasons. First, debt servicing places a heavy burden on the economy, mainly because of the high rates of real interest (which are by no means a small drain on the economy). Secondly, we are able to maintain our long-term creditworthiness only if we demonstrate that the Hungarian economy, through its export performances, is able not only to service but also to reduce its foreign debt, and is thus basing its growth not on obtaining more foreign loans but on using its resources more efficiently. In other words, creditors have to continuosly convince themselves that our country is a reliable debtor, and therefore they are always willing to provide the credits that an economy in equilibrium requires. (Parallel with reducing our total foreign debt, we necessarily have to obtain a substantial volume of foreign credit, respectively we have lively credit transactions with foreign countries.)

Consequently, we cannot concur with those who:

--Wish to accelerate growth independently of the realistic and efficient export and import opportunities, without actually taking them into consideration; and/or

--Propose to accelerate growth at the expense of the requirements of external economic equilibrium. By how much our total foreign debt ought to be reduced may be the subject of debate, mainly in conjunction with the annual plans. But there is no realistic alternative to debt reduction.

Were we to follow the road corresponding to the aforementioned efforts, we could score some success for a time, consisting of very easy and truly temporary results. Within a relatively short time, however, this would prove to be a blind alley. And we would lose much valuable time. We must achieve meaningful and sustained development by improving the efficiency of production, and the economy's ability to generate resources. This road is truly the more difficult, but also the more effective.

Our Specific Tasks

From the macroeconomic conditions and requirements of economic growth there follow also more specific tasks for the individual partial areas. These specific tasks more or less define the priorities that must be observed, and also the available alternatives.

The key issue in production is its orientation: it is unambiguously clear that production cannot be anything other than export oriented. However, this does not exclude sensible import substitution; and import ought to be substituted where feasible. In principle, however, we can better adapt the Hungarian economy to the world economy only by improving our ability to export. Our economy has been a so-called export-led economy for years, and it will become increasingy so in the future. This is reflected also in the plan's principal versions: as we have seen, export and the growth rates are very closely interrelated.

External economic activity and domestic developmental efforts must start out from this basic requirement. It cannot be said as yet that we have matured to our new and greater tasks in these two areas.

In conjunction with the external economy, we can single out the following:

--Within CEMA, new opportunities must be uncovered for accelerating the expansion of trade. But the main effort must be devoted to the expansion of import, and through it to the expansion of mutual deliveries, and also to the elaboration of new methods and forms of cooperation that will make such expansion possible.

--New forms and solutions are necessary in trade with nonsocialist countries as well. In addition to the traditional commercial and commodity-trade relations, better use must be made of the opportunities inherent in leasing and in attracting operating capital. Unless we avail ourselves of these opportunities, we would be able to make only modest progress, without much hope of attaining the planned rates of export expansion. These are important conditions also for the acceleration of technological development.

In sum, we will be able to support the plan only with a foreign-trade policy that is more active and more purposeful than up to now, and employs a greater variety of instruments.

In developing the domestic economy, we will have to subordinate the following to the orientation on export, and to sensible import substitution that supplements this orientation:

--Technological development;
--Investment activity; and
--The directions that structural change must follow.

Decisive in this respect is basically the efficiency of the available resources' use, and not their volume. If we do not use the available resources selectively enough for the expansion of economical export, and primarily for the sensible substitution of our imports of energy and basic materials, then we would be unable to achieve our goals even with more resources. Resources (mainly investment resources, and imported equipment and technology) may be advanced for new production capacities, and for the expansion of existing ones, only to the extent that a meaningful and efficient return of additional resources can be safely predicted. (For example, additional national income actually available for distribution and use, instead of losses resulting from the worsening of our terms of trade.)

It is absolutely essential to satisfy this requirement because resources will remain very scarce also under the 7th Five-Year Plan. In accordance with this, however, it is likewise true that also additional resources will be formed for faster economic development, commensurately with how the meaningful improvement of efficiency accelerates economic growth. But the emphasis is on "commensurately." The national economy cannot afford development projects that are inefficient and do not produce marketable products. Indeed, it is an urgent task to phase out uneconomical production that generates losses and development-fund deficits that must be offset by reallocating resources from efficiently operating enterprises. There has been agreement in principle on these issues in the course of planning, but quite a few development-related controversial questions have yet to be decided in certain specific areas, and there are even more contradictions that will have to be resolved. In relation to industry, it will be worthwhile to point out two of these contradictions.

First, the coordination of the developmental or investment demands and export tasks of the basic materials industry, power industry, and manufacturing. The outstandingly high export tasks in manufacturing, and in the machine industry in particular, are to be fulfilled under significant changes in the structure of marketing. (In the machine industry, for example, ruble-denominated export is expanding by about 30 percent in 1981-1985, but an expansion of only 10 to 15 percent will be possible through 1990; and export denominated in convertible currency will have to be expanded by between 35 and 40 percent, as compared with the anticipated 20-percent expansion under the current plan.) Entire manufacturing's export denominated in convertible currency would have to be expanded by 30 percent in five years (as compared with an expansion between 15 and 20 percent in 1981-1985). Technologically we would be able to support manufacturing's increased tasks only by reducing the shares of investment in the basic materials industry and power industry, in favor of manufacturing. So far planners have been unable to find a way to do this.

Secondly, development of specific energy consumption in a way that would satisfy the plan's requirements has not been solved to satisfaction as yet. This is not the task of industry alone, but its fulfillment depends to a considerable extent on industry, respectively the task is closely related to industry's modernization. We must make do with a 1-percent annual rise in energy consumption, including a 3-percent annual rise in the consumption of electricity, because a higher demand for energy could be supplied only through a substantial expansion of our nonruble-denominated import and/or a sharp rise in the share of energy investments, but this would seriously hamper the economy's modernization. Thus we must do everything in our power to fulfill this energy-management task, and therefore we are elaborating also a central economic-development program for this purpose.

Under the 7th Five-Year Plan the tasks and economic-policy significance of industry will thus increase considerably, last but not least because the share of the other branches in the expansion of nonruble-denominated export will decline, due to the market conditions and external economic conditions. As a result, economical and marketable industrial activity will become the main vehicle of national economic growth; or more accurately, industry must become this vehicle. Very much will have to be done in the next round of planning to provide a better foundation for this.

All this is closely linked also with how the situation of the agriculture and food-industry branch will evolve under the 7th Five-Year Plan. In the coming years, market conditions and economic efficiency will determine even more the possibilities for the expansion of production. The combined effect of these conditions could hamper or slow down the growth of production in this branch. It will be possible to expand exports to capitalist markets only to a limited extent, with products of better quality, in a wider assortment, and at an economical increase in the degree of processing (which is a very difficult task). There can be only a moderate increase also in domestic sales. The volume of rubel-denominated export, however, will expand vigorously. If the increase of production is achieved under faster adaptation to market demand and market conditions, and at an improvement in economic efficiency, then even a track of faster growth could evolve. It would aid this process if the expansion of the farms' ancillary operations, as one of the sources of higher farm incomes, could again accelerate.

It follows from the preceding that in the agriculture and food-industry branch it has been possible to substantiate only a more modest growth of production than in the past: according to our present knowledge, we can target a 7- to 10-percent increase in the output of farm products, and a 12- to 15-percent increase in the production of the branch itself. Which does not mean that the attainment of these targets will not be an outstanding and commendable result, especially in view of maintaining and exceeding the base-year volumes that are high by international standards. Primarily agriculture's economy-stabilizing role will become prominent; other branches--mainly industry, as we have noted earlier--will have to assume the growth-accelerating role. And to strengthen agriculture's economy-stabilizing role, we need to formulate a developmental policy that is able to assert these requirements and also permits a certain shifting of emphasis in comparison with the past.

In the area of developing the productive infrastructure, the national economic plan starts out from the realization that, without modern infrastructural branches, neither the productive branches nor the activities decisive for the population's living conditions and standard of living can operate in a manner that meets the requirements of our time. Therefore all three versions of the 7th Five-Year Plan treat the infrastructure's development differently than in the past. This different treatment is reflected in that the volume of productive infrastructural investments will increase--for the first time in many decades--commensurately with the development of the productive sector itself. The infrastructure's capital expansion, at the same rate as in the productive sphere itself, will arrest the previous declining trend of the capital-labor ratio in the infrastructural branches and will even make preferential development possible, at rates differing by versions.

Version II (the basic version) of the national economic plan treats communications preferentially, with a 75-percent increase of the resources available for the development of telecommunications. The relative lag of the area in question, and the realization that not even the productive sector of a modern economy is able to function without an efficient and sophisticated telecommunications infrastructure, warrant such preferential development. The plan's data reflect the realization that any further delay would be an obstacle, not readily quantifiable but widely felt, to the production structure's modernization and to raising the economy's technological level. The allocations for the development of telecommunications in the national economic plan's versions are limited by the paucity of resources, and not by the perceived importance of this area of development. Regarding the telephone situation, for example, even much faster and greater development would be warranted on the basis of both production and civic considerations.

A debate is still going on as to the feasibility of developing the telephone network at a faster rate than what the plan provides for. The debate centers essentially on resources: whether it would be feasible to accelerate development at the expense of other branches, and by attracting the population's capital participation, and preferably to double in this manner the investment in telecommunications under the current five-year plan.

Within the productive infrastructure there are also branches for which it is not possible to provide macroeconomic preferences, but within which points of main developmental effort can be established. Within the essentially unchanged volume of investment in transportation, for example, there will be a modest opportunity to modernize the railroad; and within the management of water resources a perceptible improvement will be possible in the supply of good drinking water and in protecting sources of water supply. Real progress presupposes the application of version II, because version I would curb investment in every infrastructural branch other than the postal service and telecommunications.

Macroeconomic Management's Modernization

In the versions of growth, macroeconomic management's modernization is the factor over which we have the most control. The coming period may be divided into two phases also in this respect. In the first phase (practically through 1987) we must strive to forcefully implement the already adopted modifications and to gradually remove some of the brakes built into the system earlier (for example, in the area of wage and income regulation, in the application of bargaining procedures, and in providing state preferences). And in the second phase we can expect the introduction of new elements, including the banking system's development, a new system of personal income tax, and a certain redistribution of society's net income within the sphere of circulation.

Modernization of the economic mechanism's elements obviously will depend on how the real processes evolve during the plan period. The rate of the centralization of enterprise incomes, for example, has long been a central issue of our system of macroeconomic management. If in the course of national economic planning we are unable to provide the basis for development processes that require relatively smaller investments in the power and basic materials industries than in the past, then an increase in the centralization of enterprise incomes will be unavoidable. But if the economy is able to grow in a structure that corresponds to our specific conditions, then the rate of the centralization of enterprise incomes can be maintained or reduced. Economic policy is aiming for such a reduction because enterprise independence can truly evolve on this basis, and then the profitable enterprises will be able to grow faster. We may say that today it is not even possible to predict with a suitable degree of certainty the necessary rate of the centralization of enterprise incomes.

The national economy's income processes during the plan period will be influenced to a large extent by the demand for large-scale state investments, and by how the enterprises' ability to generate income will evolve. The presently known demands for large-scale state investments, and for the assumption of investment obligations stemming from CEMA cooperation, are a heavy burden, especially in the first phase when the growth rate of the resources available for distribution is already slower. The experience to date in planning indicates that the enterprises' ability to generate income will not increase as yet at the desired rate. And if we are unable to make progress toward greater efficiency in the creation of new value, then demands for the state to supplement enterprise incomes will foreseeably increase. And this will necessitate the centralization of enterprise incomes by the state, and an increase of the state budget's undesirable redistributive role.

The ability to generate income is of key importance also from the viewpoint of one of the coming period's central issues: successful implementation of an anti-inflationary policy. The following twofold demand is being formulated more and more definitely: on the one hand, prices should be able to reflect costs and the market's messages (changes in quality, the conditions of supply and demand); and on the other, the general price level's rate of rise, and especially that of the consumer price level, must slow down. On the basis of the analyses and feasibility studies to date as background material for the decisions, it can be said that an effective anti-inflationary policy cannot be based solely on administrative instruments. For such an approach is able to produce results only in the short term. In the long run, however, it will make the economy's structure rigid and hamper the improvement of the efficiency of production; because of this it will be necessary to increase consumer and producer subsidies, thus unavoidably undermining macroeconomic management's efficiency-stimulating effect. Moreover, if not enough income is generated, real wages will not be able to attain their planned rise, either. And if we raise nominal wages in the interest of stimulation, we may be forced to raise consumer prices. Thus the improvement of efficiency and of the ability to generate income is the key to the realization of a successful anti-inflationary policy. At the same time, of course, it is also necessary to employ a suitable system of state instruments (in addition to developing a market and establishing competitive conditions, there is also need for central rules, statutory regulations, strict price control, etc.). Only such a two-pronged approach can produce suitable results.

From the preceding it is evident which are the questions that the first round of national economic planning has outlined fairly accurately; and which are the problems for which we must gain additional information and find possible solutions in the few months remaining.

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CSO: 2500/102

BECK PRESENTS PLAN VIEWS OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Budapest KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 85 pp 1041-1046

[Article by Tamas Beck, honorary professor, director general of Budaflex Flax Spinning and Weaving Enterprise, chairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce: "The Enterprises and the 7th Five-Year Plan"; based on author's speech at the 24th Congress of Economists]

[Text] The enterprises have begun to formulate their views regarding the 7th Five-Year Plan earlier than for any of the preceding five-year periods. This can be attributed to the fact that the central planning agencies elaborated the plan's concept in due time.

The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce has debated before several forums the plan's versions, the partial concepts, the views of the National Planning Office regarding economic policy, the concept of a block of more closely related industries, and the goals formulated in the enterprises' strategic plans.

The substantive questions of the 7th Five-Year Plan's concepts have been strongly influenced by the general economic-policy information on the state of the economy and on the probable and possible directions of its development, and also by the effects of the increasingly stricter economic environment. The following must be noted in conjunction with the three versions of the plan's concept: although they are aware of the Hungarian economy's difficulties, very few of the enterprises can imagine that the stagnation of development activity will continue for another five years, together with the rapid widening of our relative lag.

In the course of the technical and economic concepts' elaboration, respectively during the current drafting of the plans:

--Every enterprise has evaluated the changes taking place under the 6th Five-Year Plan and has thoroughly analyzed its own situation;

--Parallel with this, there has been an upsurge in gathering market information, assessing the marketing opportunities, and estimating the changes in the economic environment;

--On the basis of surveying their marketing opportunities and commitments, the enterprises have been considering the feasibility of factor substitutions in their combinations of productive factors.

By analyzing these three principal groups of factors jointly, the enterprises have formulated, and are continually refining, their main goals for the period of the 7th Five-Year Plan.

Besides gathering general information, the industrial enterprises have been able to follow the substantive evolution of the block-of-industries concept's different versions, the efforts to identify the directions in which entire industry is heading. The enterprises had several opportunities to become acquainted with the block-of-industries concept; by expressing their views, the enterprises have helped to formulate the substance of this concept. As a peculiarity of our industry, it is worth noting that the block-of-industries concept had also a fourth version, prior to the elaboration of the latest views on economic policy. This version had the support of the widest circle of enterprises. In the opinion of the macroeconomic managing agencies, however, this version is not a realistic one, in view of what resources are available.

1.0 Drafting Enterprises' 7th Five-Year Plans

Within the framework of the preparations for drafting the 7th Five-Year Plan, the Chamber of Commerce conducted a questionnaire survey to determine the expectations and intentions of about 60 enterprises that had been invited to participate in planning.

1.1 Survey Results

The overall picture of the economic processes is not a favorable one at present. This fact is adding to the stresses in the enterprises' operations: problems are beginning to pile up, overshadowing the efforts to find ways of resolving them.

The enterprises understand the national economy's difficult situation, but they sometimes feel that the accumulation of problems is greater than what the economy's financial situation warrants.

I am convinced (and every chief executive readily admits) that there are vast reserves in the enterprises' operations, and the utilization of these reserves would enable us to reduce the national economy's problems. However, the uncovering of reserves does not depend on the subjective factors of volition or behavior; the processes pointing in the right direction must be stimulated and compelled.

The frequency with which the economic regulators are changed strengthens the short-term approach. It is desirable, therefore, that the changes be predictable.

The excessive centralization of enterprise resources, the curbs on development projects, and the paucity of capital are confronting the economic units with more and more insolvable problems.

The following general conclusions may be drawn from the enterprises' plans for the 7th Five-Year Plan's period:

--The enterprises are viewing their manpower situation pessimistically. The planned reductions in personnel are realistic, but the turnover of the available personnel and the steady decline of its quality are influencing unfavorably the enterprises' expectations. To compensate for the reductions in personnel, some of the enterprises have been seeking solutions that would permit the redeployment of personnel, but most of these solutions would not be shifts toward enterprise and national economic efficiency. New capacities to replace the existing ones would require investments with long payoff periods. Production cooperations established with the ancillary operations of the agricultural cooperatives could alleviate the squeeze of wage regulation, but as a rule they would lower the social productivity of labor. And foreign labor is too expensive.

--Under the 6th Five-Year Plan, the state budget's tax policies have gradually narrowed the enterprises' opportunities to expand their fixed capital. In some areas within industry in the first year of the 7th Five-Year Plan, the ratio of the gross to net value of fixed capital will probably drop to its 1980 level, and thus our relative technological gap will widen further. At the same time, existing plant and equipment is not being utilized adequately, either. The enterprises' fixed capital could produce more output and a wider assortment of products than at present. To a large extent this contradiction can again be traced to the manpower situation: the reductions in personnel are increasing idle capacity, and utilization of the quality of plant and equipment is worsening due to the declining level of skills (there are problems in vocational training, industrial occupations are losing their appeal, etc.). Lax labor discipline, too, is affecting unfavorably the utilization of the quality of plant and equipment.

--The financial situation of the enterprises (even of the best ones) is uncertain. The increasing centralization of enterprise income, and the unpredictable changes in the methods and schedules of centralizing income from the enterprises, have led in many instances to a shortage of capital that adversely affects efficiency.

The shortage of money is creating increasing problems also in the mutual relations between enterprises and is undermining domestic cooperational relations as well. As a result of the contradictions between the national economy's general requirements and the regulators, the enterprises' interests frequently are in conflict with the interests of the national economy. To sum up the situation succinctly, we may say that the enterprises have very little money for fixed-capital expansion; and even the enterprise that has some money is often forced to think twice about assuming a loan-repayment obligation at a high rate of interest.

--Due to the pressure of circumstances in recent years, the national economy's stocks of materials have generally been reduced, and inventory levels in some areas have dropped close to safe minimal values. The possibilities inherent in the structure of the consumption of materials, the cuts in their specific consumption, are clearly reserves for the improvement of efficiency. However, the haphazard deliveries of materials and the unreliability of the chain of domestic production cooperation usually do not make the uncovering of these reserves possible.

--The ongoing reorganization of enterprise management inevitably influences the assessment of the situation and the formulation of concepts. The enterprise plans are focusing their attention on opportunities for higher profit. This is the principal objective to which the enterprises wish to subordinate the substitutions and changes in their combinations of productive factors. In the mood of the enterprises it is already evident that the changes in the forms of enterprise management are reinforcing the short-term approach, at the expense of the strategic approach.

1.2 Market, Economic Environment Forecasts

The enterprises need suitable information to plan their expectations. A review is therefore warranted of what planning information the enterprises had at their disposal regarding:

--The probable development of market conditions, and the evaluation of marketing opportunities;

--The probable macroeconomic conditions, and the basic conditions of the enterprises' operations;

--The expectations of the enterprises' cooperating partners, and the mutual coordination of the expectations.

From the summation by the Chamber of Commerce of the views that the enterprises expressed in the survey, we are able to form a picture of how this demand for information has been met.

--The enterprises' assessment of the domestic market's probable development is rather uncertain. Many enterprises expect competition to intensify, specifically through their competitors' stepped-up activity in the domestic market. However, the ideas expressed in the 7th Five-Year Plan's concept do not adequately reflect the enterprises' expectations. Some enterprise circles (in the construction industry, for example) regard the development of domestic "sales" one of their least certain projections. Elsewhere (e.g., in metallurgy), under the influence of the acceleration predicted by the national economic plan's concept, domestic sales are expected to increase, occasionally at the expense of export to capitalist countries. In some areas (in light industry, for example) the possibility of shortages is indicated in relation to the demands from the three directions, because production is stagnating or declining due to the manpower constraint.

--Growing uncertainty is noticeable in assessing the socialist market's potential, and the probable feasibility of fulfilling our commitments. This is due in no small extent to the fact that the enterprises do not know whether the present rules for clearing socialist export (its profitability ratios) will change, and in which direction and by how much if they do. This uncertainty has been causing problems in preparing the plans, offers and contracts not only for 1985 but for 1986 as well. The clearing rules' lack of clarification and their short-term nature have led to proposals such as, for example, the one in ferrous metallurgy: let the foreign-trade enterprise switch to export for its own account in socialist trade, and then settle with the state budget.

There is uncertainty regarding also the probable development of pricing in socialist trade under the 7th Five-Year Plan, because prices will be determined primarily on the basis of international agreements, rather than enterprise figures and the outcome of negotiations.

--The enterprises, regrettably, do not anticipate as large an expansion of hard-currency-denominated export as national economic considerations call for. Practically every enterprise includes the expansion of export in its plan, but the many question marks regarding the conditions of economic activity make the enterprises noticeably cautious when it comes to estimating the rate of this expansion. This ties in primarily with the present assessment of the investment possibilities.

--The enterprises have little information about the probable development of the macroeconomic conditions. The national economic plan's concept is formulated in general terms, and from it the enterprises are unable to judge their own probable positions. The principal directions of development cannot be broken down at all to the enterprise or sectoral level, or only sketchily.

--The enterprises ought to be able to plan in detail the consequences of realizing the concept of development activity that is formulated in general outlines. The principal directions of development, such as electronics or biotechnology, will obviously affect many enterprises, including ones that operate in other areas but supply goods and services that are essential also to enterprises in the aforementioned areas. In practice, however, complex development --of the type that would make such all-round progress possible--has not been achieved up to now, and at the enterprise level it is extremely difficult to assess the possibilities and modes of financing it.

--The enterprises do not anticipate any significant easening of the present excessive centralization of their incomes (already because the macroeconomic expectations do not promise this, either), and they do not expect any substantial improvement in the price system's requirements and in the market conditions. Therefore every enterprise that anticipates growth during the five-year period makes its expectations contingent to a large extent on whether it will be possible to attract external sources of financing, including foreign operating capital.

--As before, relations between enterprises are not an essential condition in the enterprise plans. Today business relations between cooperating enterprises are clearly unreliable, and there is no sign of the economic environment's conditions under which this could improve during the next five years, and a meaningful abatement of the present constraints could be expected. In several instances (in light industry, for example) this has serious consequences for planning.

1.3 Expectations of Resolving Productive Factor Constraints

In conjunction with the changes in the economic environment, I have already mentioned that the enterprises are not expecting their financial situation to improve, at least not in the first half of the plan period.

The information obtained from the enterprises reflects the macroeconomic expectation that there will be slow growth in the first half of the plan period, and that the economic processes will accelerate after 1987.

The strengthening of wage regulation's incentive effect, and financial assistance to aid operation at a higher shift index, might produce a change in the manpower situation.

Regarding the quantity and quality of the basic materials consumed, the strengthening of the domestic raw material base and the expansion of ruble-denominated import could be of real significance. This would have to be closely linked, of course, with the structure of export by destinations, and with how the still pending tasks develop that are specified in international agreements.

The enterprise plans project many constraints on the productive factors. The main objectives of the 7th Five-Year Plan, however, can be achieved only through the more efficient utilization of the enterprises' existing possibilities. Here we have to think of the domestic improvement of quality and the structural changes that the policy decisions have unambiguously formulated as requirements for the national economy. But an essential condition is that the general public mood, the domestic environment determined by the economic regulators, aid the realization of this task.

2.0 Substantive Questions of Enterprises' 7th Five-Year Plans

As work on drafting the enterprises' plans proceeds, the main goals of these plans are gradually emerging. The following are some reflections on the substantive elements of the expectations formulated so far:

--The improvement of economic efficiency plays an essential role among the goals in the plans of practically every enterprise. Enterprise thinking clearly recognizes and expresses the need to improve efficiency, but great uncertainty is evident as to how the necessary conditions for this can be ensured.

The already mentioned picture, according to which practically everbody is relying on external resources for development, indicates that the enterprises are attaching less hope to an increase of their internal resources. But there are significant differences among the individual groups of enterprises in how they judge the likelihood of obtaining these external resources. There is extremely great uncertainty, for example, in metallurgy, in a large part of light industry, in certain sectors of the machine industry, and the food industry. But the chemical industry and one or two light-industry enterprises are very confident about the prospects of obtaining external resources. All this indicates that the enterprises' mood, reflected lately in their diminishing interest in starting development projects, will be carried over into the 7th Five-Year Plan's period.

--In accord with the National Planning Office's expectations, the reduction of the material and energy intensity of production likewise figures prominently in the enterprises' expectations, with the qualification that the conditions essential to meaningful progress in this area are hardly available. We may regard as general the assessment that significant savings in the consumption of materials and energy cannot be achieved solely on the basis of the enterprises' decision to economize. Neither metallurgy nor the other branches of industry are expecting a radical change, and only along the fringes are there efforts in this direction. In the opinion of the enterprises, a meaningful result could be achieved only through a significant transformation of the product structure, but its capital requirement would be so high that the enterprises are unlikely to obtain the necessary capital. This raises the question as to whether the product structure's slow development can create a modern production structure that would make possible a meaningful reduction of production's energy intensity. The uncertainty is also a reason why the enterprises' plans hardly contain any meaningful ideas for changes that could influence the material and energy intensity of production.

--Caution is typical also of the enterprises' expectations regarding the improvement of their position in the market. Instead of actively influencing the market, most enterprises are choosing to trail the market conditions. As they see it, they will only be able to maintain their market position or to improve it slightly.

--In planning their manpower, the enterprises are not expecting any significant changes and see no way of influencing their labor turnover.

--In the coming period, the enterprises will again be able to influence the cost intensity of their production only with difficulty, because rising costs will probably remain a typical phenomenon, primarily as a result of the domestic conditions of economic activity. (A separate problem within this is the widening gap between the relative prices of farm products and industrial products.)

--There are few expectations that call for raising the degree of processing of the enterprise's products, or for increasing the value of the intellectual effort incorporated in them. This clearly reflects the development dilemma that our enterprises will have to be able to resolve by all means.

--There is hardly any reference to the import dependence of the performances under the 7th Five-Year Plan. Probably the enterprises expect the situation to remain more or less the same as at present, and therefore they are cautious also in their expectations regarding production. There are not many signs to indicate that the enterprises might be able to achieve significant results during this period in phasing out some of their products. It appears that product substitution and the sale of fixed capital will remain a problem also in the coming period. An exception to this will be only the enterprises able to attract significant resources for the realization of their expectations.

--In their plans the enterprises are reticent about their organizational development. A few enterprises are explicitly in favor of maintaining their present enterprise organization, which indicates that the current organizational changes--primarily the transformation of the system of enterprise management--are limiting the enterprises' expectations. However, growing emphasis is being placed on the modernization of the enterprises' internal organization, and there are enterprises that expect significant results from the introduction of matrix management.

--What conditions will trigger the change in the rate of economic growth that is forecast for the middle of the plan period, and how this change will occur, is an open question in the enterprises' expectations. The national economic plan's concept has very little to say about this, and therefore the conditions ought to be included somewhere in the enterprises' plans. However, the enterprises' expectations do not provide an answer to this question. To all this we should add that acceleration, a faster growth rate, can occur only in the wake of suitable preparations. Whereas deceleration can be achieved by administrative means, the acceleration of economic growth is something entirely different and requires the action of factors that manifest themselves in the development of the economic processes. Thus if we expect a change in the rate of economic growth halfway into the plan period, we must make provisions already at the start of the plan period to ensure that the appropriate economic processes will unfold.

Under the 7th Five-Year Plan, industry's contribution toward improving national economic equilibrium will have to be more significant than up to now.

But the acceleration of industry's growth requires conditions and instruments that will make possible the product structure's modernization, greater competitiveness, better technological development, and more efficient organization and management.

Conditions of operation more advanced than at present will have to be ensured not only for industrial production itself, but also for all the factors (including communication, freight transportation, and trade) essential to industry's efficient functioning.

The productive sphere's increasing export-orientation demands active and even aggressive international activity. We will need an offensive marketing policy and will have to employ on a wide scale the novel methods of gaining market share.

A basic task for planning is to explore more thoroughly the productive areas' potential for creating resources, and to designate the activities that will provide the basis for an increase in the amount of income produced. The resources must be used in a manner that will enhance their economic and social efficiency. Priority in investments must be given to expanding the production of the sectors that will ensure a higher degree of processing and will supply economical exports. The preferential development of telecommunications will be desirable within the productive infrastructure.

In addition to the priorities in the policy on income distribution, care must be taken to ensure the harmony of taxes and incentives, the basic instruments of restraint and stimulation.

An important task in perfecting the system of macroeconomic management is to develop the management tools that will really give the enterprises freedom to make decisions within the existing limits, and will permit the expansion of their decision-making authority commensurately with their performances.

The value, appreciation and respect of industry, and of work in industry, must be restored. Decisive in the longer-range development of economic regulation is to undertake a comprehensive and structural reform of the tax system, and to give the enterprises more incentive--parallel with ensuring the proper conditions--to increase their performance and profits.

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CSO: 2500/102

FINANCIAL, POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DANUBE PROJECT DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Nov 85, Supplement pp 1, 4

[Interview with Peter Havas, director general of the State Development Bank: "Lock System District"]

[Text] Work on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros lock system (GNV) took new impetus from the Hungarian side following the government resolution of August this year. Peter Havas, government commissioner for the investment, stated for our compilation that we have an interest in having the installations yield benefits as soon as possible.

Peter Havas, director general of the State Development Bank (AFB), guides construction of the lock system for the Hungarian side; he is government commissioner for the investment. Our first question is connected with this.

[Question] What is the task of the government commissioner? Is there any significance that a bank expert holds this office on our side?

[Answer] This office was created on both sides by the interstate agreement; there is a separate little book about the tasks of the government commissioners. These are very broad and extend not only to the investment but also to future operations. Since everything here is joint and goes on a 50-50 basis, the government commissioners come to an agreement on interests and tasks, harmonize the work of the state guiding organs and the enterprises participating in the investment and make decisions in financial, technical, environmental protection and other questions. A joint operational group guides the work directly; I, as a government commissioner, do not have my own apparatus. My office at the AFB is connected with my commission only to the extent that our bank is also financing this investment. So the two functions are basically of a different nature.

[Question] You were appointed government commissioner in 1981. In this period our government initiated a modification of the interstate agreement and a postponement of completion of the investment. Did you have a role in this?

[Answer] Undoubtedly I was among those who considered it unavoidable, because of the changes which had taken place in economic conditions and because of the shrinking of developmental sources, that we should temporarily relieve the budget of the expenditures planned for the investment. At the same time we could not ignore the fact that work on the joint undertaking was in an advanced stage. Finally, as a result of discussions, the interstate agreement was modified so that we postponed the handing over of the locks by 4 years each. Thus in the Sixth 5-Year Plan period we spent 2.5 billion forints on the investment instead of the 13.5 billion forints originally planned. In the meantime there was time for further scientific studies, at the government's initiative, and within the framework of a comprehensive analysis the environmental effects of the project were cleared up in a reassuring way. As a result of this the detailed planning work was enriched by a few new solutions, and these offer additional security against the possibly harmful effects.

[Question] One hears two types of figures in regard to the cost of the lock system; they are figuring with 34 billion forints at the 1981 price level while the expenditures are estimated at 53 billion forints at predicted prices.

[Answer] This corresponds to our planning practice; with investments which take such a long time we always figure on price changes in the meantime, with the effect of inflation.

[Question] How did the delay influence the final costs?

[Answer] This certainly had its price, but it is also certain that the burden today would have been "more expensive" than the burden will be tomorrow. In these years the work was concentrated on the Slovak side--this followed from the course of construction--and the Czechoslovak side also did work which originally we should have done. And since the property is joint property I can also say that they invested for us. We will repay this with electric power produced by the power plants.

[Question] How will our expenditures develop in the Seventh 5-Year Plan?

[Answer] By the end of this year the expenditures of the Hungarian side will reach 3.3-3.4 billion forints. Our construction tasks will increase in the years ahead and in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan these will represent an investment of 15-16 billion forints at the 1981 price level, or 23-24 billion forints at the predicted prices. We would also like to reduce the current expenditures in this period, so we are discussing bringing in foreign resources. But we will take advantage of this possibility only if the conditions are favorable for us, are economically advantageous. Parallel with this we have announced international bidding for execution of tasks for which there is no capacity here at home, or for which we lack experience, and so the cooperation of foreign firms is desirable. We are interested in having the installations yield benefits as soon as possible. By the beginning of the 1990's we will have great need for the electric power produced by the new power plants, and for the greater operational security offered by their output.

[Question] Do economic calculations support our interest in this?

[Answer] Building a lock system is economical if it can be used for several purposes, and the Danube project will be of this sort. There is no doubt that a hydroelectric plant is the most expensive power plant investment, but operating it is cheapest, because the water is free. According to our calculations--we have done many analyses--the electric power production will economically cover about two thirds of the total cost of the investment. The additional one third, which serves to improve navigation conditions and provides more secure flood protection and better water supply, will become economical too and will cover the costs of preventing possible damage.

[Question] Finally let me ask, why, in your opinion, did the plan to build the lock system arouse antipathy in certain groups of public opinion?

[Answer] It is understandable that the interest of public opinion should be aroused by such a large scale intervention in the ancient order of nature. It can also be regarded as natural that misgivings arose. But misgivings arose in connection with the regulation of the Tisza in the last century, and with the draining of the Hansag. Since then time has proven the knowledge and circumspection of the Hungarian water affairs experts. We would be poorer without the realization of these projects. I am convinced that there is a political charge to the voicing of misgivings by some smaller groups. It appears that some of them have an interest in arousing feeling against the government decision by appealing to national emotions and the--strengthening--sensitivity toward the natural environment, and by twisting the facts. And this found an echo in a part of public opinion. We talked over every debatable question in professional circles and came to the conclusion that building the lock system is in our interest, in our national interest if you like. We can make use of the Danube, as our national treasure, only in such a cooperation. We are not "selling the Danube," the national borders will not change, our rights are not being curtailed, and we will carry out the necessary environmental protection and environmental development investments.

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CSO: 2500/81

COMMENTARY ON CHANGES IN SOVIET ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Oct 85 p. 6

[Article by Gennadi Pisarevski: "Before the 23d Congress of the CPSU. Soviet Economy: Time of Decisive Changes"]

[Text] Preparing for the 23d Congress, Soviet communists regard acceleration of social and economic development of the country as the main goal for the 12th 5-year plan (1986-1990). The point is to achieve a fundamental turnaround in economic development, based on scientific and technological progress, and reaching a qualitatively new level in national life.

Certain difficulties encountered by the Soviet economy in the late 1970's and early 1980's arose as a result of several objective and subjective causes. In particular, rate of investment growth in the 11th 5-year plan (1981-1985) decreased by a factor of 2.5 in comparison with the 9th 5-year plan (1971-1975), and increase in fuel and raw materials production decreased by a factor of over 3.5. This can be attributed to moving of the base of extraction industry to Siberia and other difficult-access regions. The country experienced several droughts. A demographic problem arose as increase in labor supply slowed down significantly. An important role was played by the aggravation of international situation and Washington administration's drive to upset strategic military balance, necessitating additional expenditures for defense needs.

The list of objective factors retarding development of the economy could be continued. But the main cause, in M. Gorbachev's words, lay in the absence of needed decisiveness in changing the structural policy of forms and methods of administration. The measures used were partial, ineffective, and not applied consistently. As a result, the economy was developing extensively, and a changeover to intensification was taking place too slowly. The share of intensive factors in the growth of national product in years 1971-1975 was 25 percent, in years 1976-1980 - 33 percent, and in 1981-1985 - 40 percent (according to preliminary calculations).

The program of accelerating social and economic progress in the USSR projects increasing the tempo of switching national economy to tracks of intensification. In the nearest future, the growth of national product is planned to increase from 3 percent at present to at least 4 percent a year, and later to achieve even higher norms.

This task is very complicated if one takes into account the fact that increase of labor and material resources will be slower. However, a solution is possible provided that the rate of labor productivity growth will increase by a factor of 1.5-2, and raw material and fuel use will be 2 times less per unit of production.

There is only one way to solve these problems--to accelerate scientific and technological progress. There is no other solution. Structural changes in the economy will be achieved primarily through the basic reconstruction of the machine industry. In the next 5-year plan, development of this branch of economy will receive 1.8-2 times as many investment resources.

Absolute priority was given to development of computing technology which will provide the material basis for carrying out a program of comprehensive computerization of national economy. The USSR will be developing and deepening cooperation in this field with CEMA members. In particular, much attention is being given to implementation of the general agreement signed in Warsaw at the 40th CEMA session (in June 1985), concerning working on and organizing specialized and cooperative production of elastic systems of production. Such systems are a synthesis of achievements in electronics, automatics, and robot technology, and they make possible a 5- or 6-fold increase in labor productivity; as they are perfected, this parameter will grow even further.

One of the main directions of the strategy of economic development of CEMA countries is more efficient use of energy, raw materials, and fuel. It was computed that 1 percent saving of energy materials in CEMA countries will permit reduction by 25 million tons of fuel equivalent a year, which corresponds to 16 million tons of crude oil.

The first step in the implementation of this program of cooperation among CEMA countries in saving and rational utilization of material resources until the year 2000 has been made through a multilateral agreement to cooperate in using natural gas as engine fuel. In the USSR it is planned that by the end of the 12th 5-year plan, millions of cars will be changed over to compressed gas, reducing the demand for gasoline by 8 million tons. This will also reduce the extent of atmospheric pollution.

The struggle for acceleration of scientific and technological progress in all branches of Soviet economy has the same political significance as the industrialization campaign in the 1930's. Scientific and technological progress in the future should become a kind of leading element in all plans, a basis for fundamental changes in the Soviet economy.

Decisive significance belongs to the human element, the "live creativity of the nation." CPSU devotes a lot of attention to this factor. The aim is to achieve a breakthrough in the minds and attitudes of people, to achieve a psychological reconstruction of cadre consciousness. This is why the party opened the way for new people and new ideas, evaluation work in a Leninist fashion, demandingly and based on principles.

The meaning of acceleration of social and economic development of the Soviet state on the basis of scientific and technological progress rests on raising step by step the standard of living of the population, to improve and perfect all aspects of people's lives. Particular attention is being given to solution of present tasks: achieving scientifically justified norms of nutrition, producing good quality consumer goods, developing and improving services, broadening the scale of construction, improving work of health and education services. It is projected that retirement benefits will be raised, that life of the elderly will improve, as well as the standard of living of multichild families, the newlywed, and single mothers. In particular, full satisfaction of needs for kindergartens and child-care centers is planned. At the same time, quality of work in protecting nature, especially in Siberia, will improve, although this will require additional expenditures.

The CPSU, preparing for its 13th Congress, approaches problems of perfecting Soviet society scientifically, in a balanced and responsible way. These problems are often new, complex, and difficult, The party openly states that progress in the USSR is hampered by shortcomings in the economic mechanism, bureaucratic attitudes, conservatism, and irresponsibility of some workers.

There is a multitude of problems, but there has never been a society without problems. The essence of the matter lies in how such problems are solved.

12503/13046
CSO: 2600/107

NEW TRADE PICTURE WITH USSR IN 5-YEAR PLAN

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Henryk Chadzynski: "Poland - USSR. New Scale - New Forms"]

[Text] Coordination of economic plans for the next 5 years between Poland and USSR, and agreements made in an already signed protocol, illustrate further intensification of mutual integrative processes. For the first time, the two countries agreed not only to all subjects of exchange and cooperation, but also became involved in synchronization of developmental processes, beginning with research and construction work, through investment, to specialization in production. At the same time, these new mechanisms have significant bearing on the possibilities of increasing the volume of trade.

It is worth recalling that preliminary agreements concerning exchange of goods in the next 5 years were initially projected to reach a value of 68 billion rubles. However, in light of our economy's needs for raw materials, fuel, machines, and equipment needed for modernization and reconstruction of production potential, Poland asked the USSR to consider additional possibilities of increasing trade and economic and production cooperation. As a result of this initiative, both countries set up task groups, led by deputy chiefs of planning and organizations and comprising representatives of 17 branch ministries, as well as ministries of foreign trade and committees for economic cooperation with foreign countries.

During the course of working together, the Polish proposal was studied. It included a list of topics that could be of interest to our partner in the framework of a program to reorient Polish economy towards deepening of cooperation with the USSR. The talks were characterized by a spirit of partnership and mutual interest. Thus, the Polish proposal to the USSR that it participate in financing of expansion of our repair shipyards involves an operation that would be beneficial not only to the proponent, but also to the partner who would secure an opportunity to overhaul its own fleet. The list included various proposals. It contained scientific and technical programs, an offer to finance investment projects in Poland that were started and are presently suspended, and plans to embark on new directions of specialization. An important premise is to decrease dependence by both countries on imports from the West. Polish proposals were augmented by suggestions of the Soviet group concerning 20 topics in machine and chemical industries.

Back in Second Place

As a result of these agreements the value of mutual turnover will reach 73.5 billion rubles, returning Poland to second place, after the GDR, as a trade partner of the Soviet state. In the period of economic downturn, we lost our position on the Soviet market and were overtaken by Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. It is projected that USSR's share in Poland's trade will also increase from about 37 percent in 1985 to over 40 percent in 1990.

For Poland, significantly closer ties with a partner who is the main source of supply of raw materials and fuel, as well as the basic market for processed goods, are extremely important as a factor in stabilization of external conditions of development. For it was agreed that the past structure of exchange will be maintained. Thanks to that, fuel and raw materials will continue to be a major part of shipments from the USSR to Poland, while our exports to the Soviet state will consist mainly of industrial goods, primarily machines and equipment.

Looking at this process of deepening integration, two currents may be seen. The first consists of the centralized agreement concerning not only the balance of trade, but also joint investment projects, creation of joint enterprises, and coordination of economic policy. The second current assumes a significantly greater decentralization of links between enterprises and economic and scientific organizations in both countries. The purpose of these direct contacts is a creation of a new kind of production and technological links, and thus a deeper division of labor between the two countries.

It is worth pointing out here that these new forms of cooperation will permit a more effective realization of the main goals of economic policy of both countries which aims for a quick change to intensive development. It is projected that cooperation between enterprises will force one or the other side to adapt to the technical and organizational level of the more effective partner. At the same time, a basic outline of a timetable was set for switching to production of new generations of goods. This concerns machines and equipment as well as consumer goods which became a subject of cooperation to a much greater degree.

Joint Enterprises

There is a novel agreement to create joint enterprises and other organizations on the territory of Poland. At the present time, work is being continued to specify legal and financial solutions, but basic principles have been set. They include joint ownership of infrastructure and trade goods created on the basis of equal participation by both sides, joint personnel and management, sharing of risk, and distribution of production and profits.

It is projected that one such venture will involve an enterprise in the lathe industry created on the basis of the "Avia" factory in Warsaw. In Biala Padlaska province, a potato-processing plant will be established. Completing investment in the second "Miraculum" in Cracow is projected as another joint enterprise. This project was begun in the 1970s and then suspended because of shortage of resources. A plan for bidding on this project was well known but has never materialized. Completing this project requires about 2 billion zlotys and 3 million dollars. As a result, production volume at "Miraculum" for Soviet and Polish needs will be doubled.

Investment Credits

Financial participation in investment projects in both countries will also take place on a much larger scale than heretofore. Undertakings of this kind are known in steel and machine industry. Less is known about cooperation in the chemical industry, although it is also growing on a larger scale.

It is projected that Poland will take part in constructing an installation to produce low pressure polyethylene in the USSR. In return for our construction services, beginning in 1989 the USSR will supply to Poland 30,000 tons of polyethylene and about 1,000 tons of polybuthylene annually. The USSR also expressed its readiness to expand the nitrogen plant in Tarnow, thus insuring shipments of needed chemicals in return for ruble and convertible currency credits.

The planned volume of exchange will be more fully achieved as a result of direct agreements between enterprises, ministries, and scientific research units. Each partner tries to utilize his best experiences. It is known that we have a good position in production of mining machines and equipment. This position will be strengthened thanks to the introduction of new generations of equipment with automated steering using microprocessor technology. In turn, receiving two great excavators from the Soviet Union will be very important for our brown coal mining.

One could mention many such examples. In the next 5 years we plan to buy 110 trolley cars; based on import from the USSR, the airplane fleet of [the Polish airline] LOT will be modernized; trade in market goods for consumers will develop on a larger scale, but this is a topic requiring separate discussion.

12503/13046
CSO: 2600/107

ECONOMY

POLAND

PLAN FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN ECONOMY SHARPLY CRITIQUED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 42, 20 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by W. O.: "Restructuring--But What Kind?"]

[Text] The need for structural changes in the national economy arises from its fundamental weaknesses which manifest themselves, above all, in a high level of energy and material intensiveness, a low level of energy and material intensiveness, a low level of exports, unused production capabilities, shortage of workers and the dictating of scientific-technological progress by developed countries. This sentence, which is of fundamental significance and of a diagnostic nature, opens the "Preliminary Program of Structural Changes in the National Economy" prepared in the Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

In the opinion prepared by the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] Committee for Scientific-Technological Policies with regard to the above mentioned work, it is affirmed that these symptoms attest to the weakness of managing the national economy and particularly, the production sphere. In the opinion of the committee, such a diagnosis requires that, above all, the causes of this ineptness be examined and that the meaning of structural changes in the economy be explained, beginning with a definition of the meaning of an economic structure and structural policy. At the same time, verbal assertions alone cannot be used; it should be explained precisely what this change is to be based on, what is being aimed for and what measures ought to be adopted to attain this goal. This is all the more important that changing the economic structure is the most difficult and the most expensive therapy that the economy can undergo.

The authors of the critical analysis prepared in the Planning Commission affirm the need for structural changes in the national economy but they support this with examples which are almost exclusively from the sphere of industry; i.e., only a certain area of the economy. Therefore, it is debatable as to what kind of structural changes are really being considered and whether the elimination of the weaknesses mentioned at the outset definitely concerns structural changes.

In its opinion, the committee expresses the view that these "weaknesses" were reflected much earlier in the legislative documents which are currently in force. At the present time, without using the powers of the resolutions contained therein, new measures are being planned to be placed into use, under a different name and with mechanisms and effects which have not been specified more precisely by the authors and without their imagining how events will proceed and how these plans will overlap and also without defining the anticipated but unspecified public costs of such undertakings.

A change in the structure of the economy is needed according to the opinion of the committee. What is also needed is a plan of these changes; not as an all at once operation but rather as a system of its continuous shaping along with the establishment of a hierarchy for the undertakings, activity and mechanisms of management. Such a huge project cannot be carried out by any temporarily appointed team. The fact should not be concealed that we do not have specialists who would draft and implement such large-scale undertakings. Therefore, we must be all the more careful and perceptive. After all, we are preparing to make changes in the structure of the national economy whose value according to 1983 prices amounts to approximately 20 billion [trillion] zlotys whereby industry constitutes about half of these assets. It should be realized that much can be gained through wise moves. At the same time, much can be lost by doing this incompetently. Thus, the responsibility is almost historical because it concerns our entire national assets gained over the years.

Changes in the structure of our national economy are supposed to promote a better and more complete satisfaction of public needs. Up until now, these needs have not been outlined precisely; they do not have a hierarchy. Therefore, it has not been said what sort of needs and what degree of their satisfaction the structural changes are supposed to "promote." In the study on the structural changes in the economy, there is a return to the projected plans of accelerated economic growth of the 1970's. In connection with this, certain data ought to be recalled. For example, in the electrical engineering industry the production of new goods was placed into operation at this time and outdated products were either modernized or removed from production. All of these totaled more than 20,000 different products. It is difficult to agree with the assertion that this led to the distortion of the production structure. It is possible to even risk making the judgment that the concept of those years, which was based on accelerating economic growth by means of, among other things, imports and technological progress, was not completely erroneous. On the other hand, the method of implementing this concept was definitely wrong. An important deduction follows from this regarding what to in order not to make new mistakes because a good plan and good implementation spell success whereas a weakness in one of these elements means a new disaster.

The law of 26 February 1982 on socioeconomic planning, shapes in principle a model of the life and well-being of the public and also shapes socioeconomic growth and therefore, obliges that the structural directions of changes in the economy, particularly in branch and territorial systems be defined. The decisions and work which are described in the Planning Commission's analysis as indispensable have not been presented in as much as outline form. Information and assumptions for departments, branches, plants and industrial enterprises have not been processed.

Every more important socioeconomic decision must refer back to the resources and directions of changes in socialist, capitalist and developing countries; to raw material and power [energy] resources held and capable of being acquired; to opportunities for the modernization of exports and imports; to achieving a constant high standard of production and to the number of specialized products. All highly developed countries and their decision-makers, who are responsible for industry, analyze and vary their products in a like fashion and organize strategic and tactical decisions. Such analyses must be conducted in a continuous manner and each decision must be preceded by very thorough and differentiated research on the basis of extensive comparative material. The nonfulfillment of the above criteria invites inaccurate or even erroneous decisions.

The NOT Committee for Scientific-Technological Policies acknowledges that the work to date on "the preliminary program of structural changes in the national economy" is not in compliance with the methodologically, analytically and substantively indispensable insight which would characterize the approach to an undertaking of such proportions. Above all, there is the lack of a base which would enable the carrying out of this work in the form of the qualitative identification of social needs. An explanation is lacking as to on what basis and from which set of data and criteria, the general technological and economic assumptions for 42 undertakings were made.

The NOT committee proposes the setting of a common outlook on how to prepare structural changes in the national economy and is announcing, in the name of the SNT [Scientific and Technical Association] NOT Federation, its readiness for direct cooperation on this very essential and currently socially most important issue.

9853/13167
CSO: 2600/109

POLISH ECONOMIC SOCIETY DISCUSSES REFORM PROBLEMS, NEEDS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] (Own service.) What does the economic reform need? This title of a paper written by Prof Dr Habilitatus Zdzislaw Sadowski as well as the reply given not only by him but also by other speakers could constitute the principal theme of the conference organized by the PTE [Polish Economic Society] in Warsaw titled "Economic Reform--Phase II."

"The key issue for today, which determines the prospects of reconstruction, is a faster pace of changes," stated Prof Sadowski. "It cannot be overly slow. The implementation of these changes, which are necessary for giving further impetus to the entire process of changes, cannot be postponed during the coming 5-year period. If they [changes] were to be postponed, the future would be greatly threatened."

How convergent this statement was with Prof Dr Jan Mujzela's basic argument who in reality devoted his paper to the problems of price setting. However, at the outset he presented general remarks which in essence constituted an alternative to a scenario considered to be official. Prof Sadowski welcomed with pleasure the thesis about the necessity of accelerating the reform. However, he considered the basic assumption that the complex of economic changes ought to be examined on a broader base of the democratization of our social and political life to be a condition for giving the reform its indispensable impetus.

In his paper prepared for the conference, Prof Jozef Pajestka also expresses himself in favor of the changes, although, he sees different dangers and somewhat differeent determinants of successful action. He points out that the aim of the reform, from society's point of view, dictates the necessity of oreinting it toward improving the efficiency of management. At the same time, the significance of the human factor in progress, in the role of science, technology and innovative dynamics increases. The necessity of including the economy in the stream of the international division of labor exists but this, too, requires the reconstruction of the economic system and cadre activity.

However, as far as instruments and a basic driving force are concerned, the development of autoregulation mechanisms stands in the foreground. Other presenters of papers referred to this differently. They spoke about market mechanisms [mechanizmy rynkowe] and a system of parametric management. However, basically it came down to the same thing; i.e., to create economic pressure for efficient management. In analyzing the process which has existed until now, however, there was a distinct separation of that which may be called the principles of reform and its legal-statutory regulations, and that which takes place in the sphere of reality. On this basis, Prof Pajestka sees two possible scenarios. The first one, together with a drop in favorable economic effects of the reform and unfavorable factors for the economic situation in 1985 and 1986, threatens with the regression of the reform. An alternative scenario is one that presents the intensification of the reform so that it will bring greater economic benefits and particularly changes that will determine long-term progress.

"It may be assessed realistically," states Prof Pajestka, "that the immediate future will develop under the threat of the coming true of the first scenario." However, the author of the paper does not believe that this scenario would implement itself fully because the reform is deeply implanted and in addition, the sociopolitical system will work for the changes. In this sociopolitical system, the patriotic renewal movement will strengthen itself and the new Sejm can assume resolved activity in support of the reform.

The mounting centralistic-technocratic trends toward the creation of all sorts of intermediate structures are being considered currently as the primary threat, whereas the effects of undertaken activity may create accomplished facts which preserve old habits and practices. "However," as Prof Pajestka put it, "technocratic conservatism does not give solutions to dilemmas with which the economy is faced nor does it have anything to offer in the matter of structural changes."

Prof Zhzislaw Sadowski also speaks in favor of the implementation of exigencies and the consistent use of economic tools, although, he detects that a low level of social tolerance constitutes the primary hindrance for a consistent mechanism which assures economic discipline. However, the degree of resistance with which the economic reform is progressing was pointed out by Prof Dr Habilitatus Czeslaw Skowronek. The conclusion of his presentation sounded quite pessimistic. Prof Wladyslaw Jaworski's presentation also prompted reflection on the reality of things. He claims that we cannot separate institutionalized [systemowe] matters from economic reality. During the current year, the inflationary gap will be larger than last year. The degree of investment decentralization has also increased significantly. Next, Prof Jaworski spoke about the fact that by means of subsidies and allowances, the budgetary system replaces the bank to a certain degree and consequently causes increased issuing of currency.

On the basis of these realistic warnings, two proposals are possible. The first one would favor securing oneself against responsibility for decisions made [asekuranctwo] and would lead to nowhere. On the other hand, the second one should lead toward the giving of an impetus to the reform as, in reality, the only chance for healing the economy and overcoming developmental barriers and various restrictions. However, a joint front is needed for this purpose of all those who want to resist the threat of regression and who would instead strive for new incentives that would revitalize economic activity.

The organizers of the conference did not conceal the fact that such was the purpose of the event; that they wanted to dispose the representatives of various trends and schools of thought toward efforts on behalf of the primary goal. However, the attacks of those who advocate pressure or criticism formulated the extremist-opposing points of view will not be conducive to this purpose nor will the complete negation of the strides already made which is just as damaging to the reform. Various assertions were made during the discussion. However, one thing is certain and that is: that by pointing out the dangers and threats to the reform, the conference at the same time, forced all of those who know that this is a high stakes game to place primary causes above particularism, parochialism and animosity and sensitivities. It would be worthwhile for the organizers to convey these main conclusions of the conference to the authorities.

9853/13167
CSO: 2600/109

NEW INCOME TAX PLANS DESCRIBED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by B.P.: "What We Know So Far"]

[Text] What do we know so far, on the basis of information obtained, above all, from the Ministry of Labor, about the new tax on above-standard remuneration which will go into effect in the coming year? Quite a lot is known, although many issues which are related to it still remain unsettled (e.g., the scale of the tax burden and the step levels on the basis of which the tax will be calculated). At one of its most recent sessions, the Council of Ministers gave only a directional acceptance of the draft plan of the decree pertaining to the matter under discussion.

Therefore, we know that this will be a multi-variant tax; i.e., five tax versions adapted to the conditions of enterprise operations will function parallel to each other. The multivariant feature creates chances for cutting or at least limiting special treatment and bargaining for better tax breaks.

Currently, there will be only one claim allowance for reduced taxes--exports. It is also certain that decisions regarding the appropriation of the tax formula will be made centrally. The Ministry of Labor will be authorized to carry this out with the obligation to consult with the Ministry of Finance and with the parent agency. The tax version assigned to a given enterprise (it is assumed that frequently it will coincide with the enterprise's own choice, although, this does not have to be the way in every case) will be binding for the entire upcoming 5-year period. This is a necessity which protects against possible financial manipulation in conflict with social interests. The stability of the wage tax formula should also simplify planning within enterprises.

At a meeting with journalists and in reply to the question, Why not allow enterprises to select their own tax formula?, Minister Baka stated that such an unrestricted form of selection would lead to bidding and open the door for private or fragmentary interests.

It is also known that objectively economic criteria will be taken into account during the assigning of a formula, e.g., the potential of production growth, the share of live labor [praca zywa] outlays in it and the scope of the enterprise's freedom in the selection of other regulations and parameters including, above all, the kinds of prices used. The assumption is being made that in many cases, although not in all, the choice made by the enterprise itself will correspond to the decision regarding the wage tax variant.

In general (since the final decision has not yet been made), how do the five proposed tax formulas on unsubstantiated wages look?

Formula I--its creators call it a gauge-ceiling [miernikowo-progowa] formula. This means that wage increases will be contingent upon the increase of sold net production with a ceiling set in advance; i.e., a correcting cofactor on the basis of which the tax will be calculated. The correcting cofactor will, in principle, amount to 0.5; i.e., for every zloty of production increase, it is possible to pay into the pockets of people, without tax, 50 grosze. A considerably more favorable cofactor of 1.0 is envisaged for specific kinds of activity, among other things, for living and well-being services, for health protection services, for outlay production and for units involved in planning and implementing progress for cooperatives for the disabled. It is expected that in all probability, this will be the basic formula and the most common one.

Formula II--a so-called ceiling [progowa] formula will be independent of production increases. It will be applied there where increases are not desirable and where they would not constitute a proper gauge, e.g., in public utility and communal enterprises. The amount that will be tax exempt will depend in this case on the base; i.e., the amount exempt from tax during the previous year (reference to the tax exempt amount during a preceding year will also apply to formula I and III) and on a fixed ceiling setting the limits of the tax as determined in the Central Annual Plan.

Formula III--a so-called share [udzialowa] formula which will be the product of sold net production and the share of wages in production. It will be used, it may be presumed, in cases where the share of wages in costs is exceptionally large. Up until now, units of this sort applied for tax breaks, as a rule.

Formula IV is a so-called profit formula whereby the tax will be calculated on the basis of the tax exempt from the preceding year and on the percentage increase (or decline) of profit with the use of a 0.5 correcting cofactor. It is difficult to say in what kinds of enterprises this variant will be used. A representative of the Petrochemical industry in Plock spoke in favor of this variant at a meeting of enterprise, reform consultants.

Formula V will simply be a tax on personal income. The amount of its increase that will be tax exempt will be specified in the Central Annual Plan.

In conclusion, it is also worth mentioning that it is envisaged that certain tax exempt wage movement will be connected to cost of living increases and that this will be specified in the central annual plans, regardless of the binding formula. Therefore, inasmuch as the possibilities of the economy will allow it, it is intended that commonly submitted postulates pertaining to tying in wage movement with price movement will be met half-way.

9853/13167
CSO: 2600/109

PROJECTED INCREASE IN PRODUCE EXPORT TO USSR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by T.B.]

[Text] Hortex is this country's largest exporter of produce to the Soviet market. Fresh fruits, mainly apples, and vegetables, as well as frozen fruits and vegetables are sold there. A large share of produce is being sold directly to many major Soviet cities without it being channeled through special agencies handling store purchases.

Hortex apple exports to the USSR this year will amount to 100,000 tons, bringing Poland credits amounting to 30 million rubles. This way the country is able to unload surplus far exceeding domestic demand and at the same time earn badly needed rubles to purchase raw materials and fuel.

For the first time this year, Hortex exported a new kind of summer apple to the USSR. Fresh cauliflower was also delivered directly from the producers to Moscow stores.

Onions are a major vegetable export. Already 12,000 tons have been sold in the first-half of the current year and it appears that an additional 12,000 to 15,000 tons will be added to the total.

During the signing of a trade protocol coordinating Poland's and the USSR's 1986-1990 socioeconomic plan, an agreement was reached to export Polish fruits and vegetables to the year 2000. Leonard Swirkula, director of Hortex, stated to a reporter of RZECZPOSPOLITA that he plans to at least double the firm's exports to the USSR in the coming 5-year plan.

The problem in increasing exports is transportation. This is why Hortex is placing great hope in the idea of organizing a joint Polish-Soviet enterprise, exclusively for the purpose of transporting fruits, vegetables, frozen foods and flowers to the USSR.

The expected increase in commodities sold on the Soviet market has prompted Hortex to expand its operation in the Soviet Union by opening new stores in Kiev, Kharkov and other cities.

13090/7051
CSO: 2600/106

FOOD, CONSUMER GOODS TRADE WITH USSR TO INCREASE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Henryk Chadzynski]

[Text] It is not surprising that whenever mutual trade turnover between Poland and the USSR was reported in the past, it consisted mostly of trade in machinery, appliances, transport vehicles and raw materials. These items had the greatest impact on the amount of turnover in any given year. Less, however, has been said about trade in goods shipped directly to department stores, food products and manufactured consumer goods, even though these items represented the greatest share of interest to the peoples of both countries.

It is understandable then that our exports to the USSR continue to stress items such as ships, computer equipment and building material, just as cottonseed oil, metallurgical and factory equipment are stressed for imports. Trade in consumer goods, however, has always played a less important and less visible role in the market place. Just as Polish goods such as cosmetics, sweets, flowers, and, more recently, apples have become popular on the Soviet market, so have Soviet goods on the Polish market. Soviet bicycles, refrigerators, washing machines, color television sets, cameras, champagne and, more recently, canned fish are all well known to Polish consumers.

Trade in consumer goods is to increase in the next 5-year plan. A document has been signed in Warsaw that not only coordinates the Polish and Soviet 5-year economic plan for 1986-1990 but also includes a point of unheard of importance; that this is to become a permanent feature in future plans. Therefore, the appearance or non-appearance of consumer goods in the marketplace will not be dependent on fluctuations in the supply curve. They will instead be set in advance for a 5-year period and will represent significant increases not only in our exports but also in our imports.

The market supply of food items and manufactured goods will also increase. Of course they still constitute a small percentage of trade, however, they too have a good chance for significant expansion in the future. Fruits, vegetables, frozen foods and preserves will dominate our food exports to the USSR. In the current 5-year plan, we sold 400 million rubles worth of these commodities. In the following 5-year plan, however, delivery will increase to 1.1 billion rubles. Up to now, Polish food imports from the USSR did not represent a significant amount. In the coming 5-year plan, imports will increase nine-fold to 568 million rubles.

Soviet delivery of canned fish, highly rated in our country, will increase sharply. In accordance with an agreement signed in Warsaw, we will purchase some 250 million cans in the next five years. Champagne, grape wine and cognac imports will also significantly increase to the point that the supply will meet total consumer demand in Poland.

However, the most significant factor for our market will be the expected increase in the purchase of manufactured consumer goods. In the current 5-year plan, our imports in these goods reached 1.2 billion rubles whereas in the next 5-year plan, this figure will increase to 1.552 billion rubles. Delivery of Soviet refrigerators, for example, is expected to increase to 900,000 units. The total amount of refrigerators and freezers imported from the USSR in the coming 5-year plan will be 2.4 million units, or more than 90 percent of that currently being delivered to the country's stores. This is clear proof of how important these Soviet deliveries are to our market. The country will purchase some 760,000 automatic washing machines in 1986-1990, an amount almost half of current domestic production. An agreement has also been reached in purchasing 500,000 color television sets, a significant number considering that domestic output for home consumption will amount to 1.2 million units.

Imports of bicycles, especially the folding kind, cameras, watches and light bulbs will also increase considerably. It is expected that Soviet delivery will completely satisfy consumer demand for such commodities. Another Soviet import worth mentioning is kitchen utensils for which there is great demand in the domestic market.

Poland will export, among other things, fabrics, garments and hosiery, as well as perfume and cosmetics which may regain their former status on the Soviet market.

The increase in the flow of consumer goods has lead to a heightened interest in modernizing production techniques. Both countries are to undertake a serious effort not only in improving the quality of several commodities but also creating a new line of durable manufactured goods. In the case of color television sets, a mutual effort in their production is to lead to the development of a new model with a push button control system. This is a typical example of cooperation which is to embrace the entire development cycle from scientific research toward a common design to the control of subassembly production. The joint effort will make it possible to produce 400,000 units annually in each country.

The idea concerning color television sets had been proposed from above, as it were. However, with increased cooperation between factories and research-design centers in several areas, the creation of a new line of products with equal sucess may become the result of worker initiative. Much importance is placed, however, on meeting the defined modernization time table to be able to introduce a new line of manufactured goods. This principle takes into account all lines of goods, including those for the domestic market. It will be exactly these goods which will make it possible to introduce the fruits of advanced technology to the people of both countries. It seems that the possibilities are unlimited, taking into consideration that previously, CEMA member-countries have not always taken advantage of a rapid mutual transfer of technical achievements regarding products which directly reach the individual consumer.

Apart from centrally directed trade, the availability of consumer goods is also likely to increase considerably thanks to trade conducted directly between domestic trade industries and co-op organizations. Additionally, trade in consumer goods will be expanded through direct exchange between neighboring regions.

The coordination of economic plans for Poland and the USSR for 1986-1990 has increased cooperation in areas decisive in directly meeting consumer demand. It will undoubtedly become important in stimulating trade and technological activity. How this opportunity will be utilized, however, will be dependent upon the business know-how of tradespeople as well as the ingenuity and effort of those who will produce the new lines of products attractive to consumers in both countries.

13090/7051
CSO: 2600/106

POLISH-SOVIET COOPERATION IN CRANE-BUILDING

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by J. Dembinski]

[Text] Industrial and customer research on a second generation self-propelled crane with a lifting capacity of 40 tons was completed in September of this year at the January Insurrection Heavy-Crane Building Plant in Odessa. Similar research was conducted earlier in Poland. As a result of this research, the crane will be put into serial production in our country and in the Soviet Union. This crane type has a more sophisticated structure than a model with similar lifting capacity now in serial production for the past 8 years in both countries.

Work on type classification of heavy cranes by lifting capacity ranging from 25 to 100 tons is being conducted in accordance with agreements reached in 1975 between the ministers of metallurgy and machinery industry in Poland and the construction and road machinery industry of the USSR. These agreements were extended to the end of last year. Poland, in connection with this agreement, is specializing in the production of self-propelled lifts together with a driver's cab and a sliding telescopic arm. Conversely, the Soviets are specializing in the crane body, operator's cab and hydraulic mechanisms and components. The machines, in accordance with the principles agreed upon, will be assembled in both countries according to market demand and production capabilities.

A joint Soviet-Polish construction team from the Institute for Industrial Machine Building [PIMB] in Kobylska and a similar Polish-Soviet team in Odessa worked together on the proposed design and conducted the necessary scientific research.

The second generation 40 MG crane which has been approved for serial production is the direct result of the cooperation between the two construction teams. Their basic goal was to prepare a modern design and construct a model competitive with those being produced in the USA, Japan, FRG and France. Much of the work concentrated on decreasing the machine's material and energy consumption as well as complying with traffic regulations in many of the world's countries. There was concern for upgrading the equipment's techno-operating parameters, service, and cabin comfort.

It was possible to reduce up to eight tons from the equipment's weight in relation to models now in production, without decreasing or increasing its parameters. The height of the equipment rose from 27 to 35 meters; the width of the machine, while in the public road transporting position, decreased by some 25 centimeters. There was also a reduction in axle load from 14 to 10 tons in order to comply with public roadway regulations in most of the world's countries. The equipment also showed an increase in speed; for example, going from 55 to 60 km per hour while in transport.

The chief builder of the crane at PIMB, engineer Zygmunt Ogonowski, said that further improvement of electrical equipment will be attempted before the crane is completed. This model will also use lifting capacity limiters supported by domestically produced microprocessors allowing for more accurate instrument readings. This model will contain diagnostic equipment which will allow the operator to observe and analyze the current state of the machine and its components while in use. Also, it is equipped with gauges which indicate when it is in a level position during the job.

Previous to the negotiations, heavy hydraulic cranes with a lifting capacity of 25 to 100 tons were not produced in the CEMA member-countries. Through a secondary form of payment, these countries were able to satisfy their needs by importing this equipment. The present cost of these machines, depending on their size, ranges from $150,000.00 to $500,000.00 [US]. Hundreds of these machines will be needed by the CEMA member-countries annually despite a decrease in capital investment worldwide.

After evaluation of their own and other countries economic needs for heavy equipment for construction-assembly and stevedoring, a bilateral agreement has been reached by Poland and the USSR to establish a research and technical center for self-propelled cranes. The decision is the result of the desire to become independent of costly western imports and the wish to stimulate their own research environment. Among the center's many responsibilities will be decreasing the equipment's environmental impact by lowering its toxicity and noise level, as well as adapting the machines for operation in various climates.

13090/7051
CSO: 2600/106

EXPANDED PORT ACTIVITY NEAR SZCZECIN

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] On the 19th of this month, the motor ship "Alco" from the FRG put into port in Stepnica located in Zalew Szczecinski [Szczecin Bay]. It is supposed to take approximately 2,000 cubic meters of so-called wood chips from here. Its arrival underlined the changes in the history to date of the port in Stepnica. After being rebuilt following war damage, it constituted for many years only a base for servicing barges which arrived here with goods intended for the supply of agriculture. However, over a year ago the shipping of Polish energy coal [wegiel energetyczny] to a buyer in the FRG was begun.

Currently, new prospects are opening for the port. Besides coal, wood will also be shipped from here. A contractor from Lubeck [FRG] will be the recipient of the wood chips.

"It took a lot of work to prepare for the arrival of the first seagoing vessel at the port of Stepnica," comments its manager, Bogdan Daszkiewicz. The port canal was dredged and the wharves were fortified. Modernizing work will continue in order to adapt the port for accommodating even larger vessels.

The need for building a seaport near Szczecin which would take over some of the functions of the Szczecin port has been indicated for a long time. This problem was raised quite often during preelection meetings of the seacoast public with candidates for Sejm delegates.

The solution came sooner than expected. Credit for this goes to the Szczecin branch of the Wroclaw inland navigation service on the Oder River and the Szczecin Municipal Office, which for many years have been interested in expanding the existing activities of the port in Stepnica.

9853/9435
CSO: 2600/118

PORTS READIED FOR WINTER

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] (Own information). If during the winter, a gale storm should begin to wreck havoc on the Baltic and the strong winds will immobilize cranes and the snow and freezing temperatures will paralyze land traffic, then nothing will help and the ports will have to come to a standstill for a brief period of time.

Fortunately, such an extreme set of circumstances occurs rarely. Usually, the longshoremen have the upper hand on winter.

This is so, among other reasons, because as opposed to many city snow removal enterprises, the longshoremen bear in mind that winter will come sooner or later. Routine preparations have been going on in ports for at least several months. By the end of October, everything should be ready down to the last detail.

This is how it usually is. However, this year things will be different. Two of our three largest seaports; i.e., Szczecin and Gdynia have been having unusual difficulties with the collection of fuel for several dozen local boiler rooms. In most cases, they heat social buildings which house cloakrooms, showers, cafeterias and sometimes storerooms and repair shops. Shortages of coal and coke are currently so severe that they are beginning to threaten the rhythm of port activity just as much as the snow and wind.

In Szczecin, Swinoujscie and Gdynia, power and supply services are trying to collect wood in storage yards in view of the lack of prospects for a rapid improvement in the situation. At best, this is only a makeshift measure. The collected wood is blocking the scant port grounds and certainly will not replace coal and coke.

The director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Commercial Port, Ryszard Szynkowski, assessed the current state of coke supplies as "catastrophic." The local supply center, however, must choose between supplies for the port and, for example, nurseries and kindergartens in the city. It is difficult to find a more emphatic commentary on the subject of the state of the Polish coke industry.

If it were not for the fuel problem, the preparations for winter in Szczecin and Swinoujscie could be considered as nearly completed. This is evidenced by the renovated cafeterias and boiler rooms, inspected road snow-removal equipment and the prepared appropriate supply of winter oil and lubricants for cargo handling equipment. Five thousand regenerating meals per 24-hour period are supposed to maintain the strength of the longshoremen in the cold. There is no shortage of sand. However, the supply of antifreeze agents is still not adequate.

Of utmost importance is the fact that a new defrosting railcar will begin operating this year in Swinoujscie. This will significantly increase the ability to reload coal. Up until now, during the most difficult months transshipments fell even as much as three-fourths in comparison with normal months. Currently, provided that the coal from the interior of the country will reach this seacoast area, work productivity in winter will not drop more than 25 percent.

In the port of Gdynia, the overhaul of most structures has also been completed. The installation of glass [windows] in rooms is being completed. There is no shortage of shovels or protective clothing; mechanical snow-removal equipment is ready. All that is needed is to mount it on carts and vehicles.

As opposed to the ports in Gdynia and Szczecin, fuel problems have not affected Gdansk. There is plenty of coal, coke and fuel for engines here. The supplies anticipated for the third quarter, have been fully implemented and continue to take place on time. Therefore, 19 local boiler rooms which primarily heat community buildings for the dock crew are not threatened with inactivity.

In the port of Gdansk, significant problems are also not expected with snow removal even with large accumulations. When the snow is falling intensely, the longshoremen cannot work, anyway. Therefore, they grab a hold of shovels and start up the plows and in this way help out the service that keeps the port in motion every day.

And here, they are also prepared with regenerating meals, warm clothing and lubricants and oil for machinery. However, there is a shortage of electric bulbs and fluorescent lamps for lighting the 450 hectares of the port. In this case, the allotments do not meet the needs.

When freezing temperaturs hit the roadstead and the waterways, nine towboats will clear them from ice and ice floats. All of them have been inspected and have undergone current repairs. Winter on the seacoast may be starting, though undoubtedly, no one longs for it.

9853/9435
CSO: 2600/118

MARITIME COMMISSION MEETS IN GDANSK

Financial Losses Due to Port Conditions

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Urszula Roznowska: "So That Zlotys Will Not Escape Through Ports"]

> [Text] (Own information). The commercial seaports as the country's important transport center--this is the subject of the session of the Central Maritime Commission which began deliberations on the 24th of this month in Gdansk. The deliberations are being presided over by Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member and Provincial Committee First Secretary in Gdansk. Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus, Provincial Committee secretaries from the maritime provinces and representatives of the central administration are also taking part in the deliberations.

In relation to exports and imports as a whole, approximately 50 percent of coal, 55 percent of sulfur, 20 percent of ore, 80 percent of grain and 100 percent of phosphate rock pass through Polish seaports. The significance of the expansion of contacts with socialist and developing countries, which to an increasingly greater extent must take place by sea route, is being emphasized in all the programs of the upcoming 5-year plan and also in the NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan]. Polish ports are also an important transport center which assures countries that do not have access to the sea, e.g., Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria that they can carry on international commodity trade and also enables the implementation of cargo handling services for the USSR and the GDR.

During the discussion, it was stressed that the rank and productivity of the ports is determined by the state of the port infrastructure, installed devices and equipment and organizational efficiency of all elements which have a share in port turnover and particularly, that of railroad transport which carries 80 percent of port cargo. Both the commission members and the invited guests spoke with concern about the poor state of wharfs, cargo loading piers and breakwaters, and about the widening technological gap between the worldwide level of transshipment and the level and time-intensiveness of the services rendered in our ports.

It was pointed out how much this is costing us. A 24-hour period of a ship's inactivity equals a loss of 1.3 million zlotys. However, this is not the only way that zlotys are lost. It follows from research conducted by the Maritime Institute that the fact that the ore base was not completed cost us $115 million during the last 5-year period. This is how much more we paid for the transport of ore by smaller ships.

During the 2-day deliberations, the Maritime Commission will specify the proposals and remarks intended to improve the efficiency of the servicing of the flow of Polish trade cargo and transit that is directed by sea route.

Recommendations Made to Improve Efficiency

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Uszula Roznowska: "Ports--An Important Transport Center for the Country"]

[Text] (Own information). The Maritime Commission, which has been deliberating in Gdansk since the 24th of this month, has taken a stand with regard to the important issue of the activity of commercial seaports which constitute the country's important commercial center.

Here are some of the postulates that were prepared during the session and that are considered indispensable for implementation in order to improve the efficiency of the servicing of the increasing cargo of Polish foreign trade and transit by way of the sea:

--Halting the processes of assets disinvestment and giving reconstruction-modernizing capital investments in ports and in the area of railroad and vehicle transport the rank of priority export investments;

--Giving consideration to the possibility of continuing the building of a specialistic transshipment-storage potential for iron ore in Swinoujscie and in Gdansk; including certain port investments in the system of government placed customer orders;

--Giving consideration to the possibility of assuring government assistance in the form of tax reductions and leaving depreciation allowances, credits and possibly, subsidies completely for the financing of the port infrastructure and the land transport infrastructure;

--Preserving the rank of the ports of the Central Seacoast [Srodkowe Wybrzeze] and assuring them indispensable means for modernization and repairs.

The commission also specified the tasks of party organization and echelons in the implementation of programs aimed at increasing the efficiency of port-maritime turnover.

On the 2d day of deliberations; i.e., on the 25th of this month, the members of the Central Committee Maritime Commission went to visit the ports. One group, headed by Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus, went to the commercial seaport in Gdansk.

A second group with Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Andrzej Dorosz and Gdynia Mayor Jan Krzeczkowski visited the port of Gdansk. In both ports, the commission members familiarized themselves with the current state, needs and growth prospects of the ports. They also met with the party, union and youth aktivs where during an open discussion they familiarized themselves more thoroughly with the problems discussed during a plenary discussion.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

FREIGHT CARS TO USSR--A significant export contract between a Zielona Gora plant and the Soviets has been finalized. Under its terms, the Soviets next year will receive equipment valued at 10 billion zloty. An additional 1600 freight cars will leave the ZASTAL plant via Soviet rail. Zielona Gora's ZASTAL plant, the country's leading manufacturer of specialized freight cars since 1947, has been chosen to deliver this type of rail transport car to the Soviet Union. This means that after today, the Soviet rail service will have purchased some 118,000 railroad cars from the Zielona Gora plant. Export between the Soviets and ZASTAL began with simple two-axle coal cars and has continued through a long series of covered freight cars. A delegation from Moscow's MASHINOIMPORT was present at a celebration marking ZASTAL'S 40th anniversary. Jurii M. Tersarnikov, representative from the Soviet delegation, made specific reference to the delivery in recent years of 150-ton automatic-dumping cars trade named "Dumpcar." [Article by tki] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 1] 13090/7051

INCREASED TRADE WITH USSR--Direct trade between Polish and Soviet trade organizations subordinate to the Domestic Trade Ministries of both countries is becoming more common. The trade being conducted assumes various forms. Department stores, domestic trade industries and neighboring trade organizations are trading surplus goods with their foreign counterparts. Such contacts are becoming ever more popular as a way to meet contracts negotiated within the framework of foreign trade agreements. In accordance with this year's agreement, trade in surplus goods was to amount to 9 million rubles in credits for each country. Contracts already negotiated have amounted to 11 million rubles. Trade between border regions alone has amounted to 1.3 million rubles, a figure 30 percent higher than originally expected. Through trade in surplus goods, Poland will receive delivery of Soviet refrigerators, aluminum utensils, buckets, canned fish, bicycles and champagne. The Soviet Union in turn will receive Polish slippers, leather shoes, furniture, typewriters, souvenir items and fruit preserves. By agreement, trade in surplus goods under next year's protocol will amount to 12.1 million rubles for each country. Trade between bordering regions will double. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 2] 13090/7051

CSO: 2600/106

MILITARY POLAND

EXPERIMENTS ON RABBITS WITH TOXIC WARFARE AGENTS

Warsaw LEKARZ WOJSKOWY in Polish No 5-6, May-Jun 85 pp 298-305

[Article by Lt Col Tadeusz Przystasz, MD and Leszek Gburzynski, physician: "Clinical Assessment of the Course of Musculocutaneous Wound Healing Contaminated with Certain Irritative Toxic Warfare Agents in Rabbits" (conducted by Clinic I of the Institute of Surgery at the B. Szarecki Military Medical Academy Center for Post-Diploma Training in Warsaw, clinic director: Col Prof Dr Habilitatus T. Orlowski; and by the Experimental Surgery Laboratory of the Pathomorphological Institute of the above named center with Col Prof Dr Habilitatus E. Waniewski as the institute director]

[Text] Despite the peace policies of many countries and negotiations which have been going on for a long time, total and conclusive disarmament still appears to be distant. In a situation where the complete and final elimination from arsenal of weapons which cause mass injury is impossible, effects of their action and working out of as effective as possible preventive and therapeutic measures.

Under modern warfare conditions with the possibility of the concurrent use of various forms of weapons; i.e., conventional, nuclear, chemical or biological, it should be expected that a considerable precentage of those detrimentally affected will be the injured suffering from compound (combined) injuries. This is the term we apply to injuries resulting from the concurrent action or that occurring during a brief interval of time of two or even more different irritative toxic agents on the body. All of the compound injuries, regardless of their nature, possess certain common traits which include, above all: a) the mutually damaging effect of the presence of one type of injury on the process of another type of injury, b) as a rule, worse results and greater complexity in the treatment of those injured including the frequent necessity of resorting to multispecialistic assistance and the use of procedures other than those usually adopted for specific, individual types of injuries and in particular, that which regards surgical procedures (Ref 8, 12, 13, 14).

From among many possible compound injuries, the interest of surgeons is aroused by those which are caused by, among other things, mechanical means; i.e., their clinical picture is made up of the presence of a wound or internal injuries. Some of them, e.g., mechanical-postradiation lesions have come to be understood more accurately mainly owing to experimental research. This made it possible to establish and adopt specific methods of action. However, little is known on the subject of other compound injuries including also mechanochemical lesions. Work and research of any kind on this subject is either unknown or unobtainable. Recommendations pertaining to the course of action to be taken with these types of injuries which are explained in texts or instructions are scant, broad and mainly based on theoretical premises and assumptions.

Own Studies

From a surgical point of view, such compound mechanochemical injuries in which a wound becomes contaminated with a toxic agent having direct damaging action, such as BST [Warfare Toxic Agents] with its burning and irritative action whereby it penetrates deeper tissues and body cavities, undoubtedly constitutes the greatest problem. It was decided to attempt a clinicial assessment of the healing process of a musculocutaneous wound contaminated with selected BST from a group of irritative agents; i.e., chloracetophenone and a CS preparation by means of experimental studies on animals.

Material and Methodology

Experimental studies were conducted on 35 white rabbits of both sexes, weighing from 2.5 to 3.5 kg and fed in an identical manner. The animals were divided into three groups: the control group was made up of 7 animals and two experimental groups A and B with 14 animals in each. Following intramuscular premedication with 4-5 mg of phenacetyl with 0.2-0.3 mg/kg of atropine, the animals were shaved on the right side of the back and anesthetized with 25 mg/kg of thiopental administered intravenously. After disinfecting the skin with a 70 percent solution of alcohol and under sterile conditions, a 6 cm section of skin, subcutaneous tissue and muscle were cut 0.5 cm deep parallel to the spinal column and at a distance of several cm from it. The wound was swabbed for 2 to 3 minutes to stop the bleeding. Next, CS was introduced into the wounds of group A animals and chloracetophenone in substantia into the animals of group B in 10 mg/kg amounts. Efforts were made to distribute the substances evenly throughout the entire wound. After 2 minutes, the wounds were wiped with a tampon moistened with a 0.9 solution of NaCl (also in the animals of the control group) whereupon the skin was sutured with single nonabsorbent stitches. As a protective measure during the postoperative period, all the rabbits were given 300,000 units of penicillin and 0.1 g of streptomycin intramuscularly for a period of 3 days and 300,000 units of debecilin during the 4th day. After 6 hours and subsequently during the 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 14th and 21 days following the procedure, segments were taken from the wounds for microscopic study from one rabbit belonging to the control group and from two rabbits from both experimental groups. This made it possible to evaluate the interior of the wound and the state of tissue deep inside the wound. Moreover, the general and localized state of all the animals was evaluated daily along with their decreasing number. During the 3d, 7th, and 14th days following the procedure, basic parameters of blood morphology were determined for all the animals (Hb level, number of red and white blood cells and platelets) aminotransferase activity and the level of albumin and bilirubin in the blood serum. During the 3d, 5th and 7th days following the procedure, bacteriological cultures of swabs taken from the wounds were carried out for all animals.

Results

General State of the Animals

After 3 to 4 hours following the procedure, the animals were fully awake and there were no differences observed in this regard between the particular groups. Also, during a later period, all the animals exhibited full vitality, good appetite and did not lose weight. During the course of the observation, four rabbits died directly following the collection of blood from the heart: two rabbits from group B and one each from group A and from the control group.

Macroscopic Assessment of the Wounds

Group A constituted wounds contaminated with CS. After 6 hours following the procedure, the edges of the wounds adhered to each other closely and well. The same was true for animals of the control group, although, it was easy to separate the wound edges. No reddening or swelling was found on the skin surface. The wound interior contained a moderate amount of serous-sanguineous exudate. On the other hand, in the noncontaminated wounds, there was only a trace amount of serous exudate. The tissue inside the wounds, the inner layers of skin, the subcultaneous tissue and particularly the muscles were smooth, glossy, and exhibited a normal coloring. However, in the contaminated wounds, they were fuller and congested with hemorrhaging under the perimysium and small clots were observable on the cut surface of the muscle. (Figure 1).

After 24-hours, the interior and exterior of the wounds appeared as above with the exception that the exudate took on a semi-liquid form, whereas in the contaminated wounds, it was more sanguineous and cloudy.

On the 3d day, the edges of the control and contaminated wounds adhered to each other tightly and firmly. However, in the contaminated wounds the edges of the skin were slightly reddened. The content of all the wounds included a formless, grey mass which also covered the cut inner tissues, with fibrin concretions being markedly larger in the contaminated wounds. After the removal of this mass, it was possible to determine in the contaminated wounds, greater muscle softening, their [muscle] slightly greyish color and more numerous centers of fresh, readily bleeding granulation (Figure 2).

On the 5th day, the appearance of the wounds closely resembled that which is presented above.

On the 7th day, the exterior of the wounds could be considered as healed both in the control group and in group A. In all the wounds, the edges adhered to each other tightly and firmly and were covered with small scabs; no inflamed reaction was observed (Figure 3). The inner surface of the skin adhered to deeper tissues. The wound was filled with solidified masses of fibrin and granulation. The muscles in the contaminated wounds were of a greyish color where the cut occurred. Otherwise, they had a normal appearance. However, hemorrhaging persisted only under the perimysium.

During subsequent days, the wounds changed in a typical and identical manner; i.e., they strengthened, shrunk and the scabs fell off. During the 14th and 21 days, the tissues inside the wounds had a practically identical appearance in both groups and losses were filled in with connective tissue which transformed itself into a scar.

Group B--wounds contaminated with chloracetophenone. Six hours following the procedure, the external appearance of the wounds did not differ in any way from the wounds of the animals in the control groups and in group A. The exudate inside the wounds was as profuse as in the wounds contaminated with CS but less sanguineous. The tissues within the wounds were softened. However, as opposed to the wounds of animals in the other groups the tissues were less congested [with blood] and glossy and of a greyish color. Hemorrhaging was not observed and clots were few and small (Figure 4).

After 24 hours, the wounds had a appearance similar to that after 6 hours. However, the internal exudate was more profuse and more cloudy.

On the 3d day following the procedure, the edges of the wounds adhered to each other as firmly as in the animals of the other groups. An inflamed reaction of the skin was not found. The content of the wound was made up of shapeless greyish-white masses with a large amount of fibrin. The tissues within the wounds were not very cohesive and were glossy and softened. Within the area of the muscle, particularly on the cut surface, foci of a greyish-brown color were observed which corresponded to necrotic changes. There were no distant concentrations of granulation (Figure 5).

On the 5th day, irregularities and losses were visible at the point of skin contact and were covered with a larger scab than in the wounds of the control animals and those contaminated with CS (Figure 6). Despite this, the edges of the wound adhered to each other tightly and firmly. The external appearance of the wound as similar to that 48 hours earlier.

On the 7th day, the wounds could in practice be considered as healed. Only small segments still remained unhealed under the scab. The interior of the wounds was filled in with a fibrin mass and granulation tissue. However, the tissues, primarily the muscles were still brownish-grey as well as not very cohesive. It was also possible to observe that the foci of necrosis were superficial and separated themselves from living tissue.

During the subsequent days, the wounds underwent changes similar to those in animals of the other groups with the exception that the scabs remained rather long. On the 14th and also 21 days, the tissues inside the wounds were already normal in appearance and losses were filled in by scar connective tissue. On the 14 day, it was still possible to find a trace of cloudy exudate in the wound.

Results of Laboratory Tests

The results of laboratory tests were treated as orientational without the use of their more exact comparisons and arrangements.

The level of hemoglobin, the number of red blood cells and platelets in all the animals and during all the periods remained within the norm. However, the number of white blood cells remained within the norm; i.e., from 6,500 to 10,000 in the mm^3 of blood, only in the control group. All of the animals in the experimental groups exhibited an increased number of white blood cells from 11,000 to 13,900 on the 3d day of testing. On the 7th day, the white blood cell count was over 10,000 in 60 percent of the animals from group A and in 50 percent in group B. On the 14th day, the number of white blood cells in all of the animals of the experimental groups was less than 10,000.

The bilirubin level in blood serum amounted to 0.1 to 0.4 mg/percent in animals of all the groups whereas the albumin level was always more than 6g/percent, averaging 6.4g/percent.

The behavior of transaminase levels was more varied and it is possible that it will be presented in a separate report. In general, it may be stated that in the control group, the levels of AspAT and AlAT during the 3d and 7th days vacillated between 45 to 60 U/L. IN group A during this same period, the level of AspAT rose to 70 U/L and that of AlAT to 100 U/L. Also during this same period, in animals of group B, the levels of both enzymes rose more or less equally; however, without surpassing 80 U/L. On the 14th day, the levels of the enzymes in all the groups were between 30 to 45 U/L

Results of Bacteriological Tests

Small numbers of E.coli bacteria were cultivated in all the cultures from the wounds of animals in the control group.

In tests conducted during the 3d and 5th days, besides a few colon baccili, some Steptococcus viridans, Streptococccus faecalis and more infrequently, Staphylococcus epidermidis were also cultivated from the wounds of animals of both experimental groups. On the 7th day,the aforementioned bacteria were cultivated from one-third of the animals, in one-third only a very few E. coli and for one-third of the animals, the cultures were sterile.

Discussion

Choloracetophenone is at typical irritative agent that has been known for a long time. As a toxic gas used in warfare, it was used during World War I and also by the Americans in Vietnam. CS (ochlorobenzylidenomalanic nitrile) has been known for only a dozen or so years. It is more irritative and generally toxic. It was also used in Vietnam and currently, it is often used as a riot control agent (References 1, 2, 5, 9, and 14). To date, a series of studies have been conducted pertaining to the irritative effect of the above BST, particularly CS, on the skin, conjuctivae, the respiratory system and on the internal organs of animals and even humans. Toxicological and toxikinetic as well as clinical, functional and histological tests regarding the effect primarily of CS and its substrata on animals, with various methods of application and with accompanying hemorrhagic shock, have also been conducted on a broad scale at the Institute of Radiological Protection and Toxicology of the Military Medical Academy (Ref 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11). However, studies on the subject of wounds contaminated with the above mentioned BST have not been found in the available reference material.

The introduction of BST into wounds caused the concurrent poisoning of the organism and contamination of the wound with these agents. Their [BST] use in a stable, crystalline form departs from the expected, typical methods of their military application. However, this enabled their precise dosage in a high, nearly 100 percent concentration and guaranteed that they would be absorbed into the wound. By way of comparison with the reference material, it may be assumed that doses close to one-fourth of DL 50/kg were used (Ref 1, 5-7, 10).

By assessing for a number of days the external and internal appearance of the wounds and by comparing them with the wounds of the control group animals, it was possible to confirm that the introduction of BST into wounds has a particular effect on their healing process. The introduction of CS into the wounds caused the marked intensification of an inflammatory reaction; i.e., increased the amount of exudate from the wounds, softening of tissues deep within the wounds especially that of the damaged muscles and congestion. The aforementinoned changes subsided after approximately 7 days.

Chloracetophenone also causes the instensification of the inflammatory reaction in wounds (less than CS). Moreover, it has a destructive effect of tissues that are the least resistant; i.e., muscles and edges of skin where small and superficial foci of necrosis were confirmed. On the 14th day, these changes were nearly nonexistent.

The above changes correspond to the effects of the action of CS and chloracetophenone on tissue when other methods of application presented in various studies are used from which it similarily follows that CS has a strong irritative effect locally whereas chloracetophenone exhibits necrogenic properties with lesser irritative action (Ref 1, 5, and 11). A moreprecise qualitative and quantitative assessment of these changes will be made possible by microscopic study which will be presented in later reports.

The increase number of white blood cells which was observed in laboratory tests of animals with contaminated wounds is most likely a reflection and confirmation of the intensified inflamatory process in these wounds. On the other hand, the initially increased levels of AspAt and AlAT could be suggestive of temporary, slight damage to liver cells. Such a possibility is mentioned by some authors (Ref 2, 7). However, the studies which have been carried out do not suffice to confirm this fully.

Furthermore, the conducted bacteriological tests would appear to indicate that E. coli bacteria are often found on the skin of rabbits and that their penetration into the wound in small amounts does not cause a pronounced infection. The contamination of wounds with the irritative BST changes the biological conditions in them causes the appearance of other types of bacteria. However, they are small in number and disappear after several days and they also do not cause infection.

In summation, it may be stated that according to clinical assessment, BST from the group of irritants such as CS and chloracetophenone, have a certain negative effect on the healing process of musulocutaneous wounds upon their penetration into them. However, the arising disorders are relatively small and practically do not hinder the healing process. Of course, it should be realized that the assumed and implemented experimental model captures and partially explains only a narrow segment of the entire problem. Furthermore, due caution is always necessary when carrying over conclusions from experimental studies to clinical practice. If, however, on the basis of the above studies and their results, recommendations were to be made to surgeons as to the proper procedures to be taken with integument wounds contaminated with CS or with chloracetophenone, particularly in the case of mass injuries, these recommendations would be as follows: the above presented injuries do not require any special kind of surgical or any other kind of special procedures. If there are no other indications in this regard, there is no need for the excision of tissues which have come in contact with BST (at the most, the superficial excision of the injured muscle) or for employing special sanitary measures or draining the wound. The wounds may be sutured with primary, temporary stitches and there is no need for keeping the stitches too long. It is recommended that antibiotics and tetanous anatoxin be administered. The healing of wounds will be accompanied by an intensified inflammatory reaction. However, the wounds do not have any kind of great tendency toward infections. Contamination of a wound, especially with CS, may increase the pain of the injured whereas contamination with chloracetophenone, may cause a worse cosmetic effect of healing as compared with the noncontaminated wound.

Conclusions

1. Contamination of musculocutaneous wounds in rabbits with such irritative BST as CS and chloracetophenone in doses of 10 mg/kg distrubed, according to macroscopic clinical assessment, their healing process. CS increased markedly the inflammatory reaction in wounds whereas chloracetophenone exhibited weaker irritative action and to a small degree caused tissue necrosis, particularly that of muscles.

2. The changes caused by the contamination of the wounds with the above BST, although marked, did not in practice cause substantial hampering or delay of the healing process of these wounds.

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Received: 21 February 1985

9853/13068
CSO: 2600/95

CONTRADICTIONS AS PART OF SOCIALIST DIALECTICS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Michal Suchy, lector of the Central Committee CPSL: "The Dialectical Method of Thinking and Human Activities"]

[Excerpts] The idea that dialectical contradictions are part of each level of development of the human society is today taken as obvious in Marxist literature and from that standpoint the nature of contradictions under socialism is discussed. From the standpoint of Marxist dialectics, one cannot pose the question whether contradictions exist under socialism, but rather in what form they occur and how their individual forms appear.

The forms of contradiction under socialism need specific study. From the general philosophical standpoint, we can clearly state that dialectical contradictions occur in the socialist system and will also occur in the communist system, but their concrete forms and appearances cannot be deduced from their general validity. At a general level, one can, for example, say that even under socialism there exists a contradiction between those dying and those being born, between the old and the new (which is often emphasized by us), etc. but this is in itself not enough for a concrete understanding of these contradictions and being able to direct and overcome them. In order for us to direct them and thus also speed up overcoming the old and strengthening the new in our society, we must know what is new and what is old in this or that specific area or situation. Since we do not always consider something which is objectively outdated to be so and, on the contrary, something which is objectively new, which has a future, and which could accelerate advancements in individual areas of our lives may be considered something undesirable, something to be avoided. Such cases exist, both in theory and in practice. On the other hand, what is outdated in our society is hard to get rid of, among other reasons because it often is not considered as such. To determine what is new and has a future and what is outdated is not even a matter of desirability or undesirability, even though this factor also plays a very important role, but is mainly a matter of knowledge. How then can we understand the nature of individual contradictions and antitheses if we cannot verify their basic characteristics or rely on common experience, which is a very frequent phenomenon. We cannot get along without concrete scientific study of the individual areas of our social conditions.

Today there is general acceptance of the idea that even under socialism there occur contradictions between production forces and production relations. But which aspects in the field of production relations become a drag on the more rapid development of production forces can be determined only by specific study of the production relations.

Just as on the one hand there is a justifiable demand for concrete study of the individual forms and occurrences of contradictions in this or that area of our activities, on the other hand in no case can we neglect the theoretical principles of dialectical materialism. It is just this dialectic which makes it possible for us to understand our actions in terms of historic development, the future, and the broader social context.

A very frequent shortcoming of our way of thinking, and thus also of making decisions in various areas of life, is that we sometimes long too much for only the positive aspects of the results of our activities and we overlook the other antithesis, the negative aspects. We are then inclined to consider them not as the consequences of our actions, but as coming from somewhere else.

Here we can bring up the known fact that up until recently the reshaping and exploitation of nature for man's benefit was understood only as a positive phenomenon. The thick clouds of smoke from factory chimneys was considered to be a symbol of technological advancement. But current knowledge of the econology shows that man's actions in reshaping and exploiting nature has negative consequences along with the positive results. The prosperity which man creates by his actions is also threatened by them. Today this process has already reached a level where the ecological problem is included among the global problems of humanity. It is a problem which urgently forces us to understand processes, including our actions, as dialectical contradictions, that is, to think in the dialectic. Our actions are dialectically contradicted, but the opposing theses, and we must emphasize this, in the contradiction are not the same and are not equivalent. One thesis always has more or less predominance over the other thesis. Therefore, when we say that the results of our actions are dialectically contradicted, and thus are for us not only positive, but at the same time negative, we must keep in mind, and this is very important, the possibility of their varying degrees. One consequence can be so positive for us that its negative aspect can be ignored. But it can also be the other way around. Something is so negative for us that we lose sight of the positive aspect. From an everyday practical standpoint, most of us understand this. We only consider something as positive or negative and the complexities are lost to us, along with the contradictory nature of the matter.

If the dominant thesis in the contradiction is carried to an absolute degree, that is, if just one thesis is taken into account and the other is ignored, we get a one-sided and even a metaphysical view of the matter. The consequence of this is that the understanding of the matter, and thus also of matters in our social life, takes on a sone-sided, predictable nature which makes it impossible for us to get to the actual basis of problems in individual areas of our lives. Understandably, to a greater or lesser degree this then also results in imparting a direction to our further actions.

Because our actions are taken with goals in mind, the nature of their contradictions and consequences is conditioned also by the level of knowledge and the method of proceeding. For example, today we know that many negative phenomena occurred as we transformed and exploited nature because we did not know how to foresee the consequences of our actions. But this does not mean, and we must emphasize this, that the current ecological situation, for example, is a result just of insufficient information, errors, or utilitarianism, as it is often understood and explained. Utilitarianism certainly plays a very negative role here and can be clearly seen in capitalist countries, where even the utilization of natural resources is subordinated to the main interest of the capitalists--profit. The socialist society has the capability of eliminating the utilitarian approach to a great degree.

It is also true that we can direct our actions on the basis of knowledge of the laws of nature and society so that the negative aspects of their consequences can be reduced to a minimum, but it is not possible to do away with them entirely. This is a given of the objective antithesis of the process itself. In other words, these negative aspects are an essential phenomenon of the contradictory basis of our actions in transforming and exploiting nature. We must reckon with this fact in our many-faceted actions even in a classless society and direct our actions in accordance with this and on the basis of the level of knowledge and actual capabilities achieved. Not understanding or not being aware of this fact results in inadequate and distorted ideas and evaluations of many consequences of our actions.

In the global ecological situation, the contradictions take on a distinct and focused form. Here is where the negative aspects of our actions are clearly to be seen, although they were never part of our intentions. We are aware today of this situation as never before in the past and we are beginning to study it and resolve it from the aspects of individual fields of science.

But there need to be basic changes in our understanding of the global ecological situation and thus also a change in our actions in this area. It can be seen that the point of departure for a solution to the global ecological problems must be a dialectical understanding of the facts, a dialectical way of thinking. It is this dialectic that shows us that we cannot expect only positive results when transforming and exploiting nature and that we must also reckon with negative consequences. Our educational and training activities should also operate in this spirit. People must be aware of and understand the overall complexity of the man-nature interaction for the further development and existence of human society. Being aware of the contradictory nature of the consequences of human actions can help us to orient ourselves in solving ecological problems and warn us that knowing how to plan and manage must also mean knowing how to minimize the negative consequences of our actions. In solving global ecological problems, however, it is not enough to know theoretically how it is possible to get rid of them. Suitable social conditions are equally necessary. Knowledge of the reasons for these problems permits us to say clearly that not only the ecological, but also the rest of the global problems of humanity can be solved, with the exception of nuclear war. Nuclear war itself would be a terrible ecological catastrophe. If this war cannot be avoided, all human actions will result in self-destruction. What humanity as a whole never wanted will have happened.

6285/9435
CSO: 2400/73

PROPAGANDA'S MANIPULATION OF EMOTIONS OUTLINED

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 4, 1985 pp 157-165

[Article by Ilona Takacs: "Emotions and Propaganda"]

> [Text] Lenin: "Without human emotions there was not, is not, and cannot be a human search for truth."

The goal of our agitprop is always to persuade somebody about something. It is characteristic of the process of persuasion that an opinion either changes or becomes more entrenched through understanding: the individual adopts a new opinion to replace the one he has held up until now, or else his opinion is reinforced. Every adult has a more or less fixed opinion--one which actually contains a value judgment--about the people, incidents, objects, reality, etc, around him. That is why we can speak about a so-called fixed opinion which has a relatively stable nature, and if it receives reinforcement, it becomes more deeply entrenched. We are familiar with the formulated opinion, one which we put into words if we are asked our opinion or if a difference of opinion presents itself. We call this an internal opinion, one which we do not express either because no one asks us for it or because for some reason or another we keep it to ourselves. For a significant portion of human beings, there is usually no substantial difference between the internal and the formulated opinion. On the other hand, he who habitually expresses something other than his true opinion not only has a problem with sincerity but sooner or later comes into conflict with himself, which may become the source of inner tensions.

The essential element in the process of persuasion is that the opinion changes or becomes more entrenched through understanding. So persuasion is not inducement or manipulation. Sometimes these concepts are used interchangeably, even though they are not identical. Inducement means the imposition of an opinion on another person by force; manipulation means the uncritical acceptance of someone else's opinion. If the propagandist wants to persuade, then he cannot choose these paths, since his goal is to achieve a qualitatively higher-level effect through understanding.

The result of persuasion can be measured in evolution of opinion and in change of attitude but mainly in activity, in deeds, in the truth of "actions speak louder than words." The success of the propagandist's work depends on a great many things: playing a role in it are his own personality, appearance, conduct, pleasant or unpleasant attitude and--last but not least--his principles and the emotional content of his words. What he says must be true, however, and he himself must be convinced of it. He can present authentic arguments only if his words are suffused with personal conviction.

Conviction is emotional and intellectual identification with a concept or with a viewpoint which governs our activity and our attitude; it expresses a personal standpoint and relation to the world. The factual content of our world view plays a role in our conviction, and since the world view reflects class interest, it is at the same time a recognized class interest.

About Emotions

The propagandist generally takes into account what the training and interests are of the individuals in the community where he performs his task. He is usually less concerned with what sort of emotional traits the individuals and the groups possess and with the fact that a community is deeply divided from an emotional standpoint. Even though we know that emotions are very important in the lives of human beings, we nevertheless do not make adequate allowance for them in political work. In order for us to control emotions as factors which increase or decrease the success of our work, it is useful for us to linger a while on the fundamental psychological questions of emotions.

Emotions are the individual's subjective relationship to the surrounding reality, people, events, objects, etc. Although this relationship is subjective, it is nonetheless closely linked--like mental phenomena in general--to activity and to knowledge of the world. Emotions affect knowledge and influence, stimulate, or inhibit activity. The body of knowledge with which we emotionally identify is much more likely to stimulate activity than that to which we are indifferent or emotionally opposed. The activity-stimulation function of the emotions is reflected in the Latin meaning of the word emotion ("to move out, disturb").

Since emotions are subjective, it also means that each human being relates differently to one and the same individual, object, or phenomenon, i.e., we do not view the world passively but rather experience it subjectively, and indeed our attitude toward what happens in the world is revealed in our emotions. Our world view thereby obtains an emotional charge. Our entire personality is expressed in our emotions: our life, our work, our destiny, society's educational and spontaneous effects. Emotions are not static conditions. They change constantly in the course of life: new ones emerge, old ones fade away. Emotions undergo social and historical changes. In the course of societal development, new emotions appear, for example, working-class consciousness or enthusiasm for revolutionary concepts. But other emotions vanish. Nowadays, for instance, loyalty to a king is an anachronistic emotion.

Human Emotions of High Quality

Intellectual emotions are linked to the reflection of objective reality and truth, personal experiences which accompany the process of cognition. We feel that persuasion--which has already been discussed--and concept belong here. The latter is an intellectual experience of great emotional content and a source of emotional energy which at the same time moves us to act.

The experiential material of moral emotions finds expression in ethical standards and in individual relationships to society, work, and other human beings. These standards and relationships are influenced, determined, and colored by moral emotions. Moral judgments are coupled with moral emotions and thus govern a human being's conduct, impel him to act or--just the opposite--prevent him from doing those things which he rejects not only on an intellectual but also an emotional basis. We know very well from experience that it is not enough merely to be familiar with moral standards--though this is indispensable--but we must work and act in accordance with them. Nevertheless, in order for conduct and action compliant with ethical norms to issue from principles and standards, there must be moral identification which motivates the appropriate act.

Esthetic emotions are produced as a consequence of the complex true-to-life effects of nature and art. They are associated with our moral value judgments, they are socially determined, and they prompt us to act, in many instances, in the service of great ideas. It is common knowledge, for example, that revolutionary works of art, songs, etc, can provide a powerful emotional stimulus for the struggles of revolutionaries. To this very day, the stirring music of the Marseillaise awakens a feeling of freedom and revolution. Sandor Petofi's national anthem on 15 March 1848 inspired the March youths to perform revolutionary feats. Works of art which contribute to insight and lifelikeness may be effective elements of education and agitprop.

Mood, Anger, Passion

Mood is a relatively stable emotional condition which radiates, as it were, and affects a human being's entire conduct and activity. It is closely related to our general state of health and the characteristics of the nervous system. In many instances we do not know the reason for our mood. At other times, however, a certain pleasant or unpleasant force comes to roost on our frame of mind. If we know the cause of our mood, we can influence it to some degree. Those who immoderately give in to their moods and cannot keep them under suitable control are similar to small children in whom every emotional impression radiates in a scattered and unhindered way, i.e., they are still unable by force of will to regulate their emotions. This is why capricious changes are completely normal and understandable for them, while it is difficult for both the environment and the individual to tolerate so-called moody behavior in the adult.

Moods are also important in political life, since they affect the conduct and activity of individuals. It is essential to take the elements of mood into account, although they should not be overrated.

Anger is a brief and explosive emotional manifestation of rapid impact which for that very reason becomes the source of sweeping acts. The individual has no control over his deeds at such times. Persons in an agitated state lose their head and act irresponsibly, i.e., they concentrate only on what has made them angry and make no allowance for the consequences of their deeds. The person is possessed by anger, and the action thereby takes place without curbs or control. We can protect against this only by not letting anger invade our activity, because in that case we are less able to make the curbs work.

Passions are powerful, fervid, and long-lasting emotions which "strike deep roots" in a human being, seize and possess him, condition his thoughts, influence his acts. They represent a powerful force, and what they take aim at is therefore significant: splendid, useful, authentic issues or--just the opposite--pernicious and unwholesome goals which consume the personality.

The more exalted emotions can turn into the nutrients of passion: they can move the individual to self-sacrifice, heroic deeds, extraordinary works. "No great thing happens in the world without a great passion," declares Rubinstein. His assertion is substantiated by many examples from history, science, and the arts.

Emotional and Physiological Functions

For a long time, the seat of emotions was thought to be in the heart. This concept is preserved by our language: "he died of a broken heart," we say of someone whom grief led to his grave, a cruel and selfish person is called heartless, and a speech which affects our emotions is said to be heart-stirring.

Today everyone knows that the nervous system is "responsible" for the emotions as well as for other mental manifestations. Emotions are also accompanied by various physiological reactions. They influence blood circulation (we blush, we turn pale), respiration (we catch our breath), glandular function (we perspire), cardiac activity (our heart beats rapidly), digestive organs (our stomach gets tied up in knots), and muscle tone (we clench our fists). The stronger the emotion, the greater the physiological changes.

The emotions radiate to everything which we have experienced concurrently, and this is more powerful, the more vigorous the emotional impact. He who was at Heroes' Square on the occasion of the initial free May first in 1945 and again at the same place in 1957 after the squelching of the counterrevolution experienced the unforgettable fervent mood of festivity; the old emotions involuntarily flare up if he walks there again. People generally prefer to remember happy, pleasant experiences. Painful experiences grow dim. That is why the past becomes more attractive in the memories of individuals. Childhood and youth thereby acquire a positive emotional hue.

Individual Differences in Emotional Life

There are considerable differences in the emotions, since the latter are subjective mental processes. These differences can occur in profundity, intensity, focus, and durability.

From time immemorial, man has sought those general features by which he can get his bearings among the disparate emotional manifestations of individuals.

Linked to the name of Hippocrates is the 2,400-year-old typology which distinguishes its types on the basis of temperament. As everyone knows, temperament is the particular disposition of an individual's emotional life. It finds expression in the strength or feebleness, the swiftness or slowness, the permanence or fugacity of emotional reactions.

Temperament Types of Hippocrates

(1) The sanguine type: the emotions break out quickly, they are fervid but changeable and transitory. The individual expresses his emotions, but he has less energy for action.

(2) A strong, fervid, and steady emotional reaction is characteristic of the choleric type. He does not just talk about his emotions: the latter govern his deeds.

(3) The melancholy type is characterized by stable emotions which are less often outwardly expressed. They do not find expression in action. Feelings of sadness, for the most part, resound in his inner life.

(4) The emotions of the phlegmatic type emerge slowly and are not especially strong. Emotional motivation scarcely plays a role in his actions.

Most people cannot be placed in any one temperament type; they combine in themselves the peculiarities of different types. Nor is this meant to be a scale of values. Temperament is only one of the personality traits: intelligent, upright, virtuous individuals--and vice versa--can be found in each type.

Modern typological studies began in the wake of Pavlov. H.J. Eysenck created his multidimensional typology with its modern approach in the 1950s, building on Pavlov's neurophysiological studies but also on other sources, mainly the theories of C.G. Jung, who described his types on the basis of the relation between the individual and the external world: the extrovert (outward turning) and the introvert (inward turning).

The extrovert is cheerful, friendly, sociable: he makes contacts easily, reacts quickly, and often acts in the heat of the moment. The introvert is difficult to loosen up emotionally; he is reticent, inclined to worry and brood, thoughtful in his acts. He keeps his emotions under control and likes a well-organized lifestyle.

Exploring the emotions of individuals is no easy task. If we also take into account that emotions cannot be "made" arbitrarily and generated on demand either in ourselves or in others, then it may seem as if emotions cannot be penetrated by propaganda. It is true that emotions are "nature's stubborn children," but they are nevertheless accessible in indirect ways, through the activities in which they express themselves. Personal experiences we have undergone provide the greatest emotional effect.

Psychological Laws of Persuasion

Persuasion and agitprop activity have certain psychological laws.

The law of exchange: when we want to convince others of something, it is necessary to put ourselves in their shoes. This requires a special talent, empathy, on the basis of which another person's motives and emotional state can be understood. This capacity to put oneself in another person's place is an important personality trait, indispensable for propaganda work.

The law of approval: persuasion is more successful, the more it coincides with the approval and the emotional attunement of the person to be persuaded. The propagandist must therefore find a surface of contact on which this can be created.

The law of visualization: emotions are aroused under the impact of personal experiences, and vividness, lifelikeness, and animation play a major role in the creation of emotions.

The law of identification: this manifests itself in the fact that emotional contact arises as a result of the persuading influence. This provides a basis for the combination of intellectual and emotional factors in activity.

It follows from all this that the success of propaganda largely depends on our reckoning at all times as emotional influences those which are present in every manifestation of human life. For persuasion there is a need for people who have those personal skills which I have already mentioned. The great majority of these skills can be suitably developed by conscious self-education and practice. Developing the ability to empathize is particularly important.

Mass communication forms have made headway in our era, and many people may think that the time is past for person-to-person agitprop work. But human contact cannot be replaced by technical equipment, and to this very day the most efficient means of persuasion are the true word, sincere and human emotional influence, the exchange of views, and mutual human contact.

12327
CSO: 2500/66

'CONTRIBUTIONS' TO COUNCIL DEVELOPMENTS CONTROVERSIAL

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 38, 22 Sep 85 p 57

[Article by Endre Varkonyi: "Must or May? Debates on the Contribution; Fifty Percent Plus One"]

[Text] The law had not even gone into effect and already it stirred such debate and evoked such intense emotional outbreaks from many citizens that the likes have hardly been seen--except at the time of the price hikes--during the past 40 years. Perhaps it is sufficient to quote the most extreme opinion: according to one of our readers, it could only be compared to the "smoke tax" of Joseph II.

Even if we were not to mention it by name, our readers would know that the topic discussed below concerns the contributions to development--those payments which will burden residents, that is, property owners, of most cities, towns and villages, starting 1 Jan 1986.

Remains in Place

It is not a distortion of the paragraph if we make note in the introduction that the verbs in a few important points of the Presidential Council's twelfth legally binding decree of 1984 are in the conditional tense--this was not noticed by all the local councils. For example: "The local council within its jurisdiction...i.e., within its determined limits, could establish by decree a development contribution--with the previous consent of the majority of those who would be liable for payment" (2 P. [1]).

Elsewhere, however, the legislature uses the declarative mode in an imperative sense: "The residents' opinions regarding the choice of goals to be funded by the contributions and the determination of the duration and size of the contributions must be sought out" (second subheading of the same paragraph).

Thus, it is mandatory to seek out the opinions of the residents if the local council intends to establish development contributions. This is contrary to the procedure presently in effect. That is, at present, communal development contributions must be paid primarily by those living in the communities. Here emphasis is on the word "must"; that is, no one was consulted with regard to communal development contributions. The communal development contribution was also imposed on whoever paid general income tax or house tax and five years worth was collected in advance.

Now there will be a larger pool of those who are liable for payment. This includes everyone who has a rented or privately owned apartment or other property --vacation home, workshop in a separate building, store, studio, or a lot for either a residential or vacation home--in the locality. In simple terms: for example, if someone lives in a city and buys or uses a plot of land on a long-term basis in another locality, he may be liable to pay development contributions in both places.

If...

This "if" is a very important part of the decree. (In conjunction with the above-mentioned legally binding decree, the Minister of Finance issued a decree and the president of the Council Office of the Council of Ministers issued a directive.) All the decrees emphasize voluntarism and democratic methods and this is the point! Even the amount that may be levied was determined on a "from-to" basis--it may range from a minimum of 300 forints to a maximum of 2000 forints per property per year.

Again: if. Because the imposition of the development contribution is not at all mandatory. We add: not even if a few local councils were to interpret it that way. The interpretation of the councils that are always strapped for cash is understandable--many problems could be solved with the money obtained from the residents in this manner. Because the total amount of the development contribution--and this is stated in the legally binding decree--is in the council's domain; not a single cent of the money may be diverted to any higher organ for any reason.

The authors of the decree allowed sufficient time for the council leaders and the workers of the special administrative apparatus to determine how the residents would like to improve their village, district or city in the coming years. It was hardly an accident that the decrees were issued last October, well before the council elections. The legislators thereby also wished to provide an opportunity for the local leaders to become acquainted in advance with the desires of the residents (not at the last moment at the nominating and electoral meetings and during the course of the house-to-house canvassing).

Everyone Should Vote!

In places where this was not yet done, it must be done in the months remaining before January. Moreover, this must be done in such a way that everyone who is affected may express his opinion and vote. Naturally, for this it is not at all necessary to initiate never-ending discussions during the course of which everyone presents different proposals. In general, the district council members know whether their constituents would like to have concrete sidewalks constructed in the next few years or whether they would rather contribute towards street lighting, or what other ideas they have for the further development of their "most immediate surroundings."

It is also certain that--at least in most places--the pool of individuals who could be liable for payments in the future will not be of one opinion; each will feel that something else is more pressing. Naturally the council leaders (the president, the members of the executive committee) and those handling financial matters in the administrative apparatus must be most knowledgeable about the financial possibilities. However, in contrast to past practices, they must acquaint the residents with the costs of things and the corresponding sum of money which must flow into the local council's treasury from the development contributions.

All this must be done with the knowledge that later they must account for how the money was spent. The contributions that were voted on must be spent on what they were earmarked for. The goal must not be tailored to the prospective sums on the "cart before the horse" principle; instead, the contributions may only be allocated to goals that were ratified by the residents and those affected, and which were thought out well in advance.

The local councils--whether they be village, town, city or, by happenstance, that of the Budapest district--may levy development contributions on the residents of only a part of the territory under their jurisdiction. If, for example, a vacation community desired to develop the Balaton lakefront area, it would be only fair if the owners of the vacation homes and the weekend bungalows were to contribute toward this; however, at the same time, it would be unfair to levy the contribution on the owners of remote, peripheral homes (possibly some without amenities). And naturally, the converse is also true: if the permanent residents of the community desire to develop their area, it would be unfair to levy a contribution on the owners of the vacation homes.

Exemptions and Proportions

According to the experiences to date, the preparations for the payment of the following and future years' development contributions are, in general, proceeding better in rural areas than in the cities, especially in certain districts in Budapest. The reason for this is that in rural areas it quickly becomes known that a public matter is at issue, and the concerned parties go to the village meetings or other events organized for dealing with this purpose.

In Budapest--even if this is not the case in every district--the goals are also harder to set, all the more so because larger sums for the development of the capital are allocated from the budget of the Council of the Capital. In addition, the projects and immediate goals of the districts have not yet been successfully defined everywhere. Consequently, if there is no plan, there is no development contribution!

It is common knowledge that individuals who belong to families where the income per capita is less than 2500 forints are exempted from the contribution. The local council may also exempt others (young married couples, families with many children, etc.), depending on their social situation.

One could hardly disagree with this. However, there is far less unanimity when one or another council (or its special administrative committee) invites pensioners to the residents' meetings to discuss the development contribution, in the hope that the exempt, elderly citizens will without objection approve the proposal presented to them--every facet of its goals, as well as its amount and duration. After all, it is of no consequence to them.

This, however, can only be termed manipulation and circumvention of the decrees; moreover, it could be considered unlawful conduct. It explains but does not excuse that this is an old habit, from the time when no one consulted the citizens on issues which affected them personally.

Many have already raised the question of how it would even be possible to have everyone vote and to verify the voting results. However, this is precisely the point. Everyone who will be liable to pay development contributions starting in the new year should know--in the words of the legally binding decree--what the targeted goals are and what the extent and duration of the contribution is. In addition, they should know what proportion of those concerned voted for the contribution and which individuals voted for or against it.

The councils have the capability--in the villages as well as in the cities--to notify every citizen; this could, for example, be done on the basis of the current voter registration lists or the real estate office's list of property holders and the residents register. It is already certain that when it comes time to pay, i.e., at the time the contributions are levied, those concerned will be notified--they will also have to be notified prior to this.

Nor is it very difficult to publicize the list of those voting for and against the contribution. Very simply, it should be posted in the municipal building. (The decree states that only a simple majority is needed for ratification, thus only 50 percent of the eligible voters plus one vote is needed.)

It is true that this will not make it any easier to pay the development contribution. (It would be worth considering the degree to which differentiation within the community could be possible, i.e., a greater contribution could be levied on the owners of multistoried "fairy-tale castles" than on owners of modest family homes or clapboard weekend houses.)

This is also an issue which could (or must?) be brought up at the resident-, village- or other meetings which are called to discuss the development contribution.

9956

CSO: 2500/24

COMMENTARY ON CPSU LEADING ROLE; NEW STATUTE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Nov 85 p 7

[Article by Marek Pogodowski: "Increase in the Leading Role of the Party"]

[Text] A very important moment in the preparatory campaign for the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the publication of the plans for the new party statute (together with changes), which was accepted earlier by the October plenum of the Central Committee.

After the publication of the plans for the new wording of the party program, a new and important document will have been submitted for discussion by the 18-million-strong mass of Soviet communists. The statute is closely and inseparably connected with the party program. Through the decisions included in it, the party of Soviet communists will realize basic assumptions accepted in the program.

Thus, the changes in the party statute proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union plenum reflect all those elements of the development of Soviet society which were proposed in the new wording of the program.

Without going into a detailed comparison of the old statute and the plans, it is necessary to state that generally the sense of the new proposals reflects an increase in the leading role of the party in the life of Soviet society. It is stressed in the plans that the party is the center of the political system and the leading force of the society. It traces a road of development and perspective, and it formulates scientific directions for social development.

The widening of tasks and thus also problems in building communism, together with the simultaneous sharpening of the international situation, are the factors which place before the party new tasks, new elevated requirements, and which dictate the necessity of the new approach to all sides of party work.

The fundamental goal of the proposition for changes in party statutes can be summed up on one hand to a further widening of inner-party democracy, the development of initiative and activity of party members, of all its organs;

and on the other hand, an enlarging of their responsibility for the fate of shared matters. "The more diversified and saturated with many trends is inner-party life," writes the commentator for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organ PRAVDA, "and the deeper is the democracy when solving key problems--from the admitting of members into party ranks to the entirety of staff policy--the stronger and more effective is the influence of the party on the development of all social processes."

Without discussing all changes proposed in the statute, it is necessary to draw attention to the considerable widening of the rights of basic party organizations. This basic unit is to decide about all matters both organizational and educational and ideological. The strength of the party lies in the strength of its people, the members of its organization.

The plans introduce to the statute a new chapter: "Party, State, and Social Organizations." In this chapter, the rules for the leading role of the party in relation to other organizations of the Soviet political system are explained. Each of these state and social organizations was created in order to best fulfill its tasks. The plans stress that it is intolerable to duplicate by the party the activities of those organizations. It concerns rather the support and control of their activities, the uprooting and condemnation of unfavorable phenomena, which are harmful to social development.

The plans for the new party statute met with great interest and not only by members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The discussion of the new plans, which has begun, will favor the strengthening of the leading role of the party in the life of Soviet society.

12432/13046
CSO: 2600/126

GLEMP DISCUSSES POPIELUSZKO, POLISH BISHOPS

AU111205 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Dec 85 p 2

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Rome FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA published an interview given by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland [date of journal and identity of interviewer not given]. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Question] What were Your Eminence's relations with Father Popieluszko like? I am asking because one "daily" surreptitiously circulating Poland and attributed to this priest writes about sharp criticism which Your Eminence made of Father Popieluszko during your meeting with him in December 1983.

[Glemp] I know about these rumors. The publication carrying them says that this meeting was supposed to have taken place in Warsaw on 18 December. I looked at my diary from last year; I was in Torun then and away from Warsaw for the entire week. Regardless of this, I must say that I held many talks with Father Popieluszko. One must remember the situation he was in. I suggested to the unfortunate priest that he take care not to get involved with people with primarily political goals. After all, it is quite normal for a bishop to converse with his priest in various tones, including fatherly admonishments. He was not always happy with this. But it was my duty. Let me add that nothing has been said about our last talks, when we considered together how to protect him because he was in danger.

[Question] Is it true that Your Eminence wanted to send him to Rome?

[Glemp] No, it was not I who came out with such a suggestion. Certain friends of his who feared for him came to me and told me that a good way of saving the priest would be to send him to Rome and make him stay there for some time. They asked me to pass this suggestion on to him. I did so, but gave him the freedom to decide. Father Popieluszko replied that he would only leave Poland if ordered to by the bishop. This I could not do because it would have created an absurd impression of trying to isolate him from Polish citizens. Those who manipulated Father Popieluszko were not of the Church. They turned him into a chaplain of opposition groups, to whom he felt very attached. He was a victim in the full sense of the word.

[Question] Your Eminence is a man of dialogue, and some people think you are too eager for dialogue with the regime. Do other bishops and clergymen always share Your Eminence's view?

[Glemp] This is not something I should discuss. Of course I am always in agreement with the bishop and never do anything alone. We work as a team in the Episcopal Conference. Neither do I have any difficulties with the clergy in both my dioceses. Presenting an image of a primate too eager for dialogue is part of the political program.

/9599
CSO: 2600/165

POLITICS POLAND

PUPILS BERATE SCHOOL, POLITICS, HAIL RELIGION

AU111406 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 1 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Anna Drobinska: "Opinion Poll Report--Anxieties"]

[Excerpts] "Tell us all about your most important problem." This is what we asked a large group of youngsters between 16 and 18 who are second- and third-grade pupils in various secondary schools. We have received 543 replies from young people on the "blackest aspects of life."

School

In the eyes of pupils the school is not what it ought to be. For a large section of those who replied "school" problems are more important than their personal and family problems. Pupils in vocational schools have fewer such problems than any other pupils, probably due in part to the character of the school and its relationship to the students, and because they are socially mature since they come from families that are on the whole badly off.

Pupils think that their schooling and upbringing are bad and that they have been ensnared by an inefficient institution that is staffed by incompetent people and that tries to make up for its defects by thoughtless rigors and sham discipline.

"We are treated like a band of stupid children who have to be trained like circus animals in line with the so-called instruction program and in line with military rigors." (From a pupil in a technical school.)

Many pupils complain about the repressive character of school and of the cold, formal, and even hostile attitude of teachers toward pupils. "School is no second home for me. I regard it as an institution that is hostile to pupils." (From a pupil in a secondary school.)

Many replies to the poll suggest that pupils greatly yearn for teachers who are friendly and who are also masters in their professions so that they could be liked, respected, and admired. The facts cited by those who replied show that teachers often regard themselves as "clerks in school" who have to notch up so many hours of instruction. Striking fear in pupils is a generally used method of encouraging pupils to study.

Reconciling school instruction with the development of one's own personality is a serious problem for talented pupils with intellectual, creative, or sporting interests.

It is not only lack of time, but also the demanding teachers of the type who say: "Do not think; do things" that are the enemies of independent individuals with creative aspirations. Such teachers compel pupils to stick to the official program and to think in line with the textbook. Pupils have cited cases that showing that assignment in the Polish language that have been literally copied from a textbook are graded higher than original elaborations and that original statements made during lessons are treated as "playing the wise guy."

"The school does not let us think. Every original thought is at once trampled on and smothered and whoever comes up with such a thought has to take the consequences." (From a pupil in a secondary school.)

From time to time, which is very seldom, pupils speak of good teachers--of "true friends of young people." Some youngsters regard school as a necessary evil and do not care about it. However, it is sad that so many pupils see school as a source of their most serious problems in life. It is also depressing to read about teachers' specific behavior that shows that they lack teaching qualifications, are averse to their profession, take negative attitudes toward their pupils, and display disturbing moral features such as hypocrisy, cowardice, stupidity, and common churlishness that stoops to insults and blows.

Summing up, it can be said that secondary school leavers are tired, bitter, nervous, mistrustful, and unadapted to and untrained for life, and that they take all these shortcomings with them to their universities or to their jobs.

Politics

Cosmopolitan attitudes caused by doubts in the political system and in one's own nation are rare.

"I do not know what my future will be like. Perhaps I will get over the heat of my young years and grow up to be a patriot or, which is more probable, I will leave the country in search of countries that are more favorable. After all, all nations, people, and races are equal. The world is my fatherland." (From a pupil in a secondary school.)

It is distrubing that the replies of these young people are devoid of any doubts: They will find the absolute truth, they know what is black and what is white, no one will be able to change their convictions, and they do not want to talk to anyone. It is certain that these pupils create problems for their colleagues holding different views, and continue to annoy them by every means.

"I have been brought up to respect the existing political system and government. When my colleagues at school wanted to harass me for this they refused to talk to me and gave me a wide berth in the street. Now they talk to me but only about political subjects. All of them hate our state system above all. Of course, they call me various names such as the rag, the red one, the communist, the informer. I [a girl] have no girlfriends at school. I sit alone at my desk. From time to time someone will say something to me. They throw various drawings onto my desk. (From a schoolgirl called "Natalie.")

The young people who want to implement the principles of the PPR's political system are truly in a very difficult situation, all the more so since the Union of the Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] does not come to their aid. Despite their enormous good will and enthusiasm for work, young people are often unable to fit themselves in with the ZSMP because they view its role in their own way and are incapable of adapting themselves to rigid action programs.

"Is it the role of the ZSMP to be a nursery for the PZPR? I think not; but what does this youth organization do? It continues to agitate, to be proud of its pretty name as the ZSMP, and to issue statistical data. Where are the people who want to achieve something? They do exist, but they have been thrown to the dogs. Why do they have to fight for the organization to which they belong? Very soon they will begin to suspect that red tape, statistical reports, and programs that exist only on paper are in the interest of young people. And yet there are so many problems that continue to rivet our attention, but that are being ignored on the whole. When we tell the union that no one is ready to stand up in our defense, the union authorities tell us: "Stand up yourselves." (From a youth camp in Sobieszowo.)

Many bitter charges continue to be leveled at the ZSMP: That it is a bureaucratic and inefficient organization; that those who want to promote social activities are sent to youth camps and discotheques; that those who want to wage a political struggle of their convictions are invited to attend boring training courses; that new members be recruited by force and bribes and not by arguments; and that the ZSMP authorities are composed of people over 30 who no longer understand the problems of pupils and who care only about their own careers.

Charges have been made by those who replied that the ZSMP ignores the interests of young people at school. "What pupils need is trade unions," wrote those who replied. It seems that the ZSMP authorities should realize that, because of them, pupils with leftist views have great moral difficulties, and that the union does not offer them the necessary support and, what is worse, scope for action.

Religion

Responses concerning religion and the Catholic Church have been surprisingly numerous, but they often regard faith and religion as a means of solving problems. According to the responses from boys and girls, religion is the road to solving all kinds of problems and relieves one of responsibility for one's own fate.

Religion is a release from loneliness and a substitute for friendly and cordial people-to-people relations. God is a substitute for the family, colleagues, and friends, makes love possible, and gives one love.

Religion also helps one to shake off a sense of being lost in a meaningless world and to formulate a definite system of values and vital aims that are abstract and ideal in character.

"My problem is that there is a frightening disappearance of values in Poland and in the world. Money, easy living, and selfish interests have become the most important things for people. I know that faith and God, who is love itself, are the only defense against these things." (From a pupil in a secondary school.)

For young people faith is becoming a refuge from life and from the problems produced by the wish to realize those contemptible "selfish interests"; for those who are lonely it supplies a sense of community with other people; and it provides opportunities for action for those who want to use up their social energy in some field or other. Religion also makes everything clear and simple and frees one from anxiety.

The relatively few critical responses level their criticism against the Catholic Church as an institution, against the activities of priests, and against the double morality of believers. Some of the authors of these responses even claim that they are more religious than the official representatives of God on this earth.

Summing Up

The young people's anchorage is the home, school, and their group of colleagues. The problems they have in this connection can be summed up as a more or less intensive crisis of relations at home, at school, and in the group. Other general problems are the breakdown of the systems of values and universal moral and philosophical bankruptcy. The pupils' responses clearly show that neither school nor the youth organization are able to exploit the enormous opportunities created by young people's hunger for a sense of community and ideals and for something that would impart a meaning to life.

Bitterness and emptiness, which are based on enormous resources of energy, can be turned into a constructive or a destructive force. Failing to launch activities consistent with the current state of affairs, school and the youth organization actually continued to turn young people's energy into a destructive force. It seems that the basic error is the fact that bureaucratic structures are in charge of discontented young people, who are such a stormy element. The pupils who have set down their responses to our poll think that school and the ZSMP are becoming state offices in charge of youth affairs, and teachers and activists are becoming state clerks. But what young people really need is guides, friends, and masters in their professions. The Catholic Church continues to exploit this situation to an ever increasing extent.

It is obvious that this situation will not change for the better without large-scale structural changes in the educational system and in the style of work with young people.

/9599
CSO: 2600/165

NEW MINERS UNION FEDERATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by PAP: "Integration of Labor Movement"]

[Text] On the 6th of this month, the Voivodship Court in Warsaw issued a statement concerning the creation of a United Miners Trade Union Federation with a seat in Katowice. At the same time, three of the five union federations acting in the mining industries were eliminated. These were the Mineral Coal Federation, the Shaft Construction Enterprise, and the Mine Works Enterprise; the Miners Trade Union Federation; and Trade Union Federation of Mining. The organization will unite close to a half-million trade unionists.

In statements to the Polish Press Agency, Stefan Koziaczy, vice chairman of the OPZZ and chief of one of the dissolved federations, stated, among other things: "The breaking up of the union movement would not work out in the long run. Broken-up unions were weak partners for the administration. I am convinced," added S. Koziaczy, "that others will also follow our example. By this we do not mean to simply demonstrate power, but to improve and coordinate our activities and also to diminish the bureaucratic apparatus, which is not an unimportant goal."

The statement will be legally valid after the passing of two weeks.

12432/13046
CSO: 2600/126

BRIEFS

CONFIDENCE NECESSARY, SAYS ECONOMIST--Our crisis is not so much and not mainly a material, physical ailment. It is our people's loss of trust in themselves, in their ability of solving problems, it is frustration. The situation in Africa or Latin America is obviously not comparable with ours, but the confidence in coming out of the crisis is often stronger there than here. Is Poland facing the worst crisis in the world? No. The characteristics of our economy are not different from the norm. But if we talk ourselves into believing that we do not have the ability of solving big problems, then we shall sink deeper in the crisis. The Holy Scripture says: "And if salt becomes tasteless, how is its saltiness to be restored?" This salt cannot become tasteless. [Jozef Pajestka, professor of economics] [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 5] 12470/13046

EDUCATION LACKS CHALLENGES--Education has to be in opposition to the present endangered world, but as it is now, it is an acceptance of this world, because this is how the people are educated. In education there have always been elements of certainty and uncertainty. Traditional ways provide the first: diploma, a store of concrete knowledge, qualifications. Let the uncertain elements prevail - alternative thinking, effective acting in unexpected circumstances and conditions, imagining the impossible! We are teaching the old way, because of lack of realization that there is a different way of teaching and a lack of demand for new methods. [Ryszard Lukaszewics, pedagogics professor at the Wroclaw University] [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 5] 12470/13046

WORKERS FAVOR GOVERNMENT TRUTHFULNESS--Czeslawa Burcon - mechanic, brigadier in "Elwro" in Wroclaw. Reality should not be masked. Evil should be called by its name. In Poland, we are constantly inclined to cover up difficult problems. We are creating our own taboos. I believe that even when a problem is difficult, it should be presented to the people, put under discussion, attention should be paid to what the workers have to say on the subject. I have here in mind in general social problems, economic, and political. Truth which is concealed will come out anyhow and will hit us with all its force. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 5] 12470/13046

PARTY POPULAR IMAGE--Members of the party, the same party but not like the one from before August 1940 and July 1981, most often return in their thoughts to the bitter, critical, severe evaluation of that period of time of the seventies and often anxiously pose the question: Aren't we threatened in some measure with return to that situation in which the word "party" constituted sometimes just a facade for voluntarism and arbitrariness of the team, which the IX Congress so severely and justly eliminated? Therefore, the question constantly returns: How can we act better and more efficiently to prevent those old methods of acting, leading members of the party and party organizations to inertia and impotence? That was the slogan of the whole report campaign of the party in the beginning of this year. Worry about return to the old and bad style of work appears especially in the lowest elements of the party. This constitutes the guaranty that the "new" has a real chance, and a steady pressure by regular members of the party will not allow any dangerous repetitions. Also, the popular knowledge by the whole party membership of the document inspired by the IX Congress and accepted by the KC PZPR about the reasons of political crises in socialist Poland had its influence on the increase of activity in every area of life and not allowing one to close his eyes to the defects and wrongdoings wherever they appear. [Text] [Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish 25 Aug 85 p 15] 12470/13046

UNION 'BUSINESS' EARNS PROFITS--On 14 Oct a new enterprise was formed by the union members of Krakow steelworks in the Lenin steelworks combine in Krakow: a plant for recovering and recasting of recycled raw materials and delivery of services, which with general expenses of about 5 million zlotys will earn 1 million monthly. These profits will be designated exclusively for statutory and social services of the trade unions. Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, who participated in the opening of this union-enterprise in Poland, the largest of its kind, declared that it is a sign of growing strength of the union movement in our country when the activity of labor workers takes on some concrete shapes like the organizing of totally new forms of production. Two hundred and fifty steel workers are employed in this plant. They do their work when they are free from their regular job and are paid by the piece. They are using up the piles of the combine. For the beginning they are reclaiming exclusively the scrap iron. With time, they foresee also utilization of slag and a large-scale production of building materials. The liquidation of the heaps of refuse in the foundry will also be beneficial to the protection of the environment in the Krakow region. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Oct 85 p 27] 12470/13046

KISZCZAK SUPPORTS VICTIMS AID FUND--"As a chairman of the committee of the council of ministers for preservation of law, public order, and social discipline, I am in favor of initiating a special fund for financial aid to the victims of physical injury or material loss suffered as a result of a crime perpetrated by criminals. Means to support this fund should come mainly from fines paid by the criminals. This fund would be a great help to those people whose difficult situation resulted from becoming crime victims and who have no other source of compensation." [General Czeslaw Kiszczk, Minister of Internal Affairs] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Oct 85 p 2] 12470/13046

OPZZ'S SEJM ROLE IMPORTANT--Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ Chairman: "I would like to state that I am not the only one to run for the office of deputy to the Sejm. At least a few dozen other union officials have the same opportunity. And what is there in it for the trade union movement? A lot. It will strengthen our position. Having representatives in the Sejm will give us a chance of gaining influence through the Sejm. Through our representatives who act mostly in the clubs and within the union parliamentary group, we may get an opportunity for legislative initiative. This is our new proposal. We shall try to convince each one of the deputy clubs about the necessity of forming a parliamentary trade union group. I expect to succeed." [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Oct 85 p 2] 12470/13046

OCHAB TRUE TO OLD LINE POLITICS--Edward Ochab, former first secretary KC PZPR: "In connection with your letter from the first of this month, I like to let you know that I will not be able to participate in the discussion you have arranged on the subject of the so-called turning point in the PPR line in the year 1948. I like to state that I am still in agreement with the KC PPR of that time and especially with the actions of the outstanding KPP workers who under the leadership of Boleslaw Bierut, Aleksander Zawadzki, Pawel Wojas, Franciszek Jozwiak justifiably opposed the numerous wrong ideas of comrade Gomulka. Thanks to the rightful policy of the renewed leadership of the PPR, the Polish workers' movement got consolidated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We have reduced considerable the pressure of nationalistic myths, especially of the followers of the arch-traitor Pilsnolski, which so persistently weighed heavily as the unfortunately still do on the minds of the masses, in particular the petit bourgeoisie. With a communist greeting." [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Oct 85 p 2] 12470/13046

HUNGARIAN AUDIT OFFICIAL VISITS--On 31 October Kazimierz Secomski, assistant chairman of the State Council, received in Belweder Jozef Szakali, chairman of the Central Control Committee of the Hungarian People's Republic, who was visiting Poland. General Tadeusz Hupalowski, president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, took part in the discussion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 85 p 5] 12432/13046

GDR INSPECTORS DELEGATION--At the invitation of General Tadeusz Hupalowski, president of the supreme Chamber of Control, a delegation of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate Committee of the German Democratic Republic, with the minister and the chairman of the committee, Dr Albert Stief, visited Poland on the 4th of this month. The guests will become acquainted with the functioning of the Supreme Chamber of Control and with the activity of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate, both in the central and regional systems. [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

GORNICKI VISITS CHINA--At the invitation of Prof Huan Xiang, director of the International Relations Research Center of the State Council, Major Wieslaw Gornicki, advisor for the president of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, visited the Chinese People's Republic. In Peking and Shanghai, he gave talks on the subject of the current problems of Polish internal and international policies. Major W. Gornicki was received by the vice chairmen of the state committees for education, scientific, and technical matters, and by the vice minister of foreign affairs of the Chinese People's Republic, Zhou Nan. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 9] 12432/13046

CZECH-POLISH STATISTICAL TALKS--On the 5th of this month, Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski spoke with Vladimir Micka, president of the Czechoslovakian Federal Statistics Office, and with Iri Antos, president of the Czechoslovakian Statistics Office, on the topic of defining the directions of cooperation and the exchange of experiences of the Polish and Czechoslovakian statistical offices for the next few years. Wieslaw Sadowski, president of the Central Office of Statistics, participated in the discussion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

NATIONAL TRADE UNION SEMINAR--The national trade union seminar on the subject of the protection of labor has been completed in Wroclaw. Directions for amendments to the Labor Code, among other things, were discussed. Problems of labor supervision over the activities of social inspectorates of labor and issues of trade union cooperation with the State Labor Inspectorate were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

CZYREK RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEW--The organ of the central committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, RUDE PRAVO, published under the title "Facing the Future of Poland," an extensive interview with a member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party, Jozef Czyrek. He answered questions on the evaluation of the situation in the country after elections to the Sejm in the context of the gradual overcoming of the crisis. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 p 7] 12432/13046

RAKOWSKI AT REGIONAL MEETING--Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the political-administrative director of the Piotrkow voivodship, discussing the most important current social-economic problems of the region. Next, he visited the Belchatow industrial region, becoming acquainted with the activity of its most important enterprises. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

KOSZALIN PRIEST DECORATED--Today, at the Voivodship Office in Koszalin, the solemn decoration took place of Jan Krzeminski, priest of the orthodox parish and chairman of the Koszalin branch of the Polish Ecumenical Council, with the Officer's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order. Besides his 66-year-long pastoral activity, Father Krzeminski also has much to his credit in the social and political life of our country. At present he fulfills the function of councillor at the Voivodship People's Council, and is a member of the Voivodship Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). Among the orthodox clergy, a medal of merit for services to Koszalin Voivodship was also awarded to bishop of the Wroclaw-Szczecin Diocese, Dozent Dr of Theology Jan Auchimiuk-Jeremiasz. The act of decoration was performed by Koszalin voivoda, Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz. [Text] [Koszalin Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 21 Nov 85 LD] /9599

CSO: 2600/165

SOCIOLOGY BULGARIA

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF CONSTRUCTION POLICY DISCUSSED

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Emi Barukh: "You and I and Those People Who Think for Us"]

[Text] Here's the city that we'll settle together. You and I. She and he. We. By the luck of the draw. On a long-awaited list. Here we are with the order for settlement in our hands. You and I. She and he. We. Freed from rent, we feel even less free. Constraints leave us with no possibility of choice. The distance disturbs our stereotypical, at least for some thirty odd years, lifestyle up to now. Irregular transport services leave us with unclear variants for meeting relatives and their families (they are far away, on the edges of old Sofia). The lack of stores, a clinic, and children's institutions promises us that we will have a lack of free time, as well as overflowing buses and packed bags when returning from shopping. The absence of a telephone system forces us to experience hidden fear and uncertainty, and we are young families with little, sickly children, who are having either their third bout of tonsillitis or some undefined allergy. We are the young families with out vital juices flowing.

It is autumn now. Several winters will be spent plodding in the muck. In this bedroom community, to which we return each evening, the daily foul-ups make everyone tired and give us only one choice: to stare at the television, so that we do not accuse each other of having made this poor choice and about our parents' insufficient economic potential, because they had not managed to get their children set up. Gradually we stop planning general measures: it is practically impossible after work to make it home and then leave again, it is difficult for grandmothers to travel out in the evening to look after the grandchildren, there is no way of telling them we will be late... And our family life turns into cohabitation, into unhappy neighborliness, which gathers the remnants of its roots around the white tablecloth only on the children's birthdays (and only when they are small).

And on weekdays? Fried eggs, a shared bed and common phrases turn into an especially modern type of neighbor unit, which formerly used to share dreams about the family nest, and now shares a common key to 60 to 70 square meters, which determine the living standard of several generations of new residents.

A "neighbor unit." Three per floor, eight floors, four entrances. Obelya 2... Many units, a multitude.

A multitude of people seeking a place to live NOW, not 5 years in the future, because they doubt that they will emerge unscathed from such an interminably long postponement of their youth.

Neighbor units in blocks without streets, without a shopping center, without shape. Where sociologists and psychologists begin to look into things, to seek the influence of these bedroom communities on the psychology of children (Our children!). And to formulate joyless statistics against the background of anonymous city building spots. But we are not interested in statistics, rather the units that make up the multitude, the human scale in a process that existence does not submit to. That is why discussions about aesthetization of the living space, quality of architectural production, and the appearance of populated areas fade away like the echo of a superfluous bell. We want a change in the point of view. The social consequences of a construction policy interests us, for this policy does not serve the future but organizes people's lives according to norms that satisfy no one, least of all those who put their names to the architectural plans!

I state this because, due to a confluence of circumstances, I know well the ambitions inherent in designs made by students who are twenty odd years old. I have learned to sign in a routine way masked boxes and to respect any attempt to flee from models, for I have often been a witness late at night to designs submitted to a contest. Perhaps I am biased. And perhaps precisely because of this I ask: by what logic are people who have the only oversight in regard to the social consequences of construction policy placed in a subservient position, in last place among an unequal quartet of investors, producers of the construction, and builders? But let us begin from another place. With a number of paradoxes, a multitude of paradoxes.

The design's creator has no rights at all at the site. The legal power lies with the investor, and actually with the builder. Designer's oversight is not regulated, nor are there any means for doing this. Often, if the executors make a mistake, the architect is not in a position even to whisper in a frightened prompter's voice from behind the scenes, because he has the production plan hanging over him, and even if he wants to, he is rarely given the time to check on his own "spectacle."

Is it not time to apply the designer's control not to a symbolic sum but to the position of a real task among the design organization?

There is no precedent in world practice for an architect to obtain preliminary approval from the construction organization in terms of what is possible and what is not. (This is like the surgeon's sister dictating what kind of scalpel to use and what incision to make). Here, instead of architectural practice being dragged ahead of the production, the designer is forced to work according to the dictates of existing construction capacities. More precisely, incapacities. Precisely this slavery to large-panel technology (created in the fourth century!) is one of the basic principles of high rise construction of apartment blocks. Despite the fact that the whole world has rejected tall buildings for mass construction, because they are more expensive, need additional ventilation, elevators, and complex installations; despite the fact that in Bulgaria water does not run above the 5th floor for 6 months of the year, multi-story blocks continue to emerge as regular evidence of a construction policy that does not fit with humans and is uneconomical. Serious attempts have not been made to construct so-called "carpeted" living spaces, elevatorless houses, which resemble a 12-story building in density, that can be carried out with little mechanization, are cheap, and can return to the people that inimitability of living, which new residents in satellite blocks have long forgotten... Despite the desire of the designers, because of the builders' debility.

The norms that dictate architectural work are strange. In practice they deprive it of the creative element, because only trade skills are taken into account. A certain honorarium is set for the architect for a given task; it does not depend on the complexity of the quality of fulfillment. And this value, which measures highly trained work, determines the time for carrying out the design; for a house only 2 days are allocated! This is an absurdity.

Even greater absurdities exist: at Sofproekt I learned about an order of the Sofia People's Council, according to which 3 blocks have to be designed in just 45 days! and without sufficient data about vertical planning. One asks oneself whether these orders contain, in a concealed form, the social evaluation of an architect's work?

The attitude toward an architect's work is broadcast in the following fact: the investor's practice is to toss the assignment on his table without the output facts, and then determine the deadline and require that it be maintained! And the designer studies, puts things together, does blueprints, and presents the architectural design... All the technical tasks which impermissibly shorten one stage in the creation of a building. And only his membership in the creative union, as a luxurious flower, remains to remind him of another hairstyle that is meant for a holiday, and not for a workday...

We are speaking about hidden forms of social evaluations of the architect's work. This is one of the manifestations: according to the existing price regulations, 30 percent of the honoraria are paid for designs involving ideas, but 50 percent goes to work designs, which again stimulates drafting and affects thinking in architecture.

Is it accidental then that so much designing here is done so quickly. That intellectual work is wasted with such ease on petty, endless, and senselessness maneuvering on paper? That the feeling of being interested in what one is doing vanishes or pales? The architect remains anonymous, without a personality among the facades of his own featureless blocks, because of all kinds of constraints, to which he is forced to submit. The least pleasant of these is the construction constraint:

Twenty-eight brigades have shown their know-how at appropriate times, so that they could receive the task of executing the Palace of Justice. There are no builders now. Thus their price is high and the dictates are strong. The designers submit to their lowest capabilities and their great pretensions. They refuse to join two walls at any angle other than a 90 degree one, they cannot do visible concrete, they set their own pace of work... The construction industry is even more helpless: the quality of the materials is miserable. It is no accident that the price of one old tile on the black market is one lev. And no one wants to buy the new ones. The wooden materials are not good; the factories which produce the facing bricks work with low quality clay; we cannot produce in sufficient quantities strong types of concrete (the kind that is water resistant). The negative factors seem to multiply in an enchanted circle.

Mass construction is not ordered in a monolithic way, such as with bricks (despite the fact that this is cheapest!) because there is a shortage of labor; dual-rolled woodwork cannot be used (despite the energy crisis!): nor can wooded materials, aluminum, non-ferrous metals, to make stone facing, or to construction dual-pitched roofs. All of this requires special permission. There are enough loopholes that can be used, but again at the cost of dozens of hours lost going from place to place.

The architect also loses time because of something else: he is forced to visit the factories, to find plates, plywood, clean rods, paints, facing materials, woodwork... because (a regular paradox!) we have no catalogues. And even if they have them somewhere, that is no guarantee that the samples shown in them are produced at the moment when they are needed. Perhaps someone could count the wasted weeks the architect spends looking for light fixtures, carpeting, furniture. And despite his efforts he finds only one type, at the most two. That is how we get those ugly, joyless apartments with identical colors and the same smells, in which, as soon as the new resident gets the key, he begins to rip off the wall paper and fix the toilets.

Because we feel that it is more expensive to live better for more years, to create a high standard of living, and labor and rest are the indicators which will characterize the following century? Is it not really simple reckoning that such designing should be accompanied by fewer thefts and with more human joy, with more energy for life? Is it not time to think about how staunch the rising feeling of fatal doom (after so many years of hope!) by receiving a settlement order in a distant residential district? About how we slowly turn a family into a sad "neighbor unit?"

A neighbor unit. The French give this concept another meaning: this is what they call residential microdistricts in new satellite cities, where there is an administrative, cultural, trade and sports center, where the social service network begins working months before the first family moves in! But who needs to compare Ivry with Obelya? It is only an example.

There have been many reports about the mistaken sequence of first building living quarters and then later the social buildings and shopping centers. But until the hierarchy in the dialogue between the creators and executors of construction policy is broken, we will stop here: before conclusions are made. We will register our confustion about the bedroom communities, the social neuroses and the breaking of habits and traditions, which support the *family community*. We will register new "neighbor units" with the uneasy hope that they will be the exceptions. And in the inertia of our tiredness and dissatisfaction, we will continue to seek, to accuse, and to wait for some architectural changes:

For me and you, for him and her, for all of us.

12334/9435
CSO: 2200/43

SOCIOLOGY CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PLACEMENT OF GRADUATES STILL UNSATISFACTORY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Nov 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Let's Take a Full Advantage of Growing Education"]

[Text] In past years our society has dedicated a great care to education and learning, to the development of sciences, culture and the arts. In the school system meaningful conceptual and organizational changes are gradually being implemented. Their target is to bring the young generation's education and learning into accord with both the present and future needs of the national economy, research and development progress, and social well-being.

As pointed out at the 15th Central Committee of KSC session, it is our full responsibility to take care that "the steadily growing education of people be fully utilized."

Enforcing the accord between possibilities and needs does not concern only the school system personnel, it is a matter of all sections of social activities, especially that of senior officials and party organizations. Primarily at stake is the necessity of fully utilizing the growing education of people for the benefit of the society. This applies especially to the young generation, but it holds also generally, for all people.

As stated in the statistics, during the 1970 to 1980 decade the education of economically active population in this country has improved for the better. The ratio of university/college graduates, high-school graduates and that of trained apprentices has increased from 5 to 7.2 percent, from 13.4 to 17.5 percent and from 27.9 to 32.1 percent, respectively. On the other hand, the ratio of workers with basic education has decreased from 41.6 to 33.2 percent. In the last 5 years this positive development has been continuing, and new conceptual changes in the school syllabi, especially those for the young workers' generation, will lead to a further increase in education.

The young workers' generation, which gets a higher-level preparation for a vocation, evidently will not present any problems in placement and application in appropriate jobs. Quite another kind of situation will arise, however, with university ahd high school graduates, especially engineers and technicians, whose preparation of several years costs the society considerably. We cannot afford to waste money by not consistently and effectively utilizing the education of these people. Education and professional qualification pertain to the inexhaustible sources which can be further increased. However, it can be done only then, if the engineer or technologist is placed in an appropriate position where he can apply his know-how.

We have to bear in mind that most of the graduates, either of technical colleges, universities or middle vocational schools, have made up their minds to study a certain field as soon as they reach fifteen years of age, joining their education and know-how with their dreams and images of their whole lives in the future.

That is why they usually find the closest rapport with ever so complex assignments when their places of work correspond to their conceptions, and then in solving rising problems they increase their own education and broaden their know-how in the field. However, not only placement is at stake here, but also the arrangement of conditions which would enable these people to apply their acquired knowledge. It is known that many positions whose placement calls for college/university or complete high-school education, are filled with staff with lower education. This does not mean, naturally, that these people will be simply and immediately replaced by those who do have the appropriate education. It cannot be said that acquired education is the only criterion for filling especially managerial positions. Much more will have to be done before the problem of placing graduates of different types of schools is fully resolved. First of all, it is necessary to improve markedly the planning of the need of qualified personnel, to conduct a timely search for job opportunities for these people. Also, a close coordination with colleges, universities and high-schools has to be established, necessary contacts with future graduates have to be made during their studies, and further graduates have to be made during their studies, and further developmental perspectives of all workers with higher education have to be born in mind.

Nowadays, however, there are many work sites, enterprises or other organizations where an engineer or technologist is considered by the economic manager to be just one of the manpower able to cover any part of work needed to be done for fulfilling the plan. Managers do not try to implement the social value of the education of such people. That is why it can happen that toward the end of the month, when catching up with the plan, there are places where designers, technologists and other personnel of the pre-manufacturing sections crash work in workshops together with workers.

These setbacks in management mean wasting the values represented by education. They are harmful also in a different way, especially if occurring on a regular basis, namely in the eyes of the very engineers and technologists they disparage the importance and need of their work in their own places, which frequently results in labor turnover. It can even happen that people staffing such units prefer to leave for working sites farther from the field for which they have been preparing for years. Thus it may occur that an engineer, specializing, e.g., in oil engines, works as an operations engineer in food industry.

The job turnover of college/university and high-school graduated professionals is caused also by many other setbacks, such as unkept promises of apartment allotment, financial underestimation, etc. Naturally, many times also the graduate himself overestimates his knowledge, feeling disparaged without proving how he can apply his acquired qualification. These problems can and have to be resolved.

The application of the young technical intelligentsia for pursuing progress in research and development is connected with broader aspects of education as well. Setbacks in finding correct and appropriate placement for these young engineers and technolcgists, as well as frequent underestimation of their work is only one side of the matter. The other extreme is the fact that young and still unexperienced professionals are entrusted with jobs and assignments which are beyond their abilities. At school they have acquired primarily broader and more profound knowledge, however, it is not possible to learn only in theory how to manage a team and be responsible for others, one's subordinates. These matters have to be learnt in real life. The thing to be done, then, is to create a climate in every work site such that people given appropriate education by the socity gradually get to know the place and ways to cooperate with the team. In this atmosphere they can join the team as its inseparable part, and at the same time feel the responsibility for the rate of development of our society.

Intensive development of the national economy, and achievement of progress in science and technology will increasingly require reduction in numbers of unskilled and less skilled jobs, with a need, on the other hand, for positions demanding a high level of education. We cannot allow that the education level which has been already achieved in our society, and which we want to further increase and broaden, be wasted by irresponsible management of personnel.

9910/9435
CSO: 2400/60

STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT LAWS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish 15 Oct 85, Item No 230 p 619

["Order of the Minister of Science and College Education of 1 November 1985 on the Guidelines for the Organization and Activities of Student Self-Government Organs"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 120, Paragraph 3 of the Law of 4 May 1982 on college education (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1985, No 42, Item 201) the following is decreed:

Paragraph 1.1. College students create student self-government regardless of their organization affiliation.

2. College campus, dormitories, and college housing fall within the jurisdiction of student self-government.

3. Student self-government operates through its elected organs.

Paragraph 2.1. The following are the organs of student self-government:

(1) representative of a student group;
(2) representative of a class;
(3) departmental council of student self-government and its chairman;
(4) college council of student self-government and its chairman;
(5) council of dormitory residents and its presidium;
(6) council of college housing and its presidium.

2. Student group representative organizes the group and represents its views.

3. Class representative coordinates the activities of group representatives.

4. Departmental and college councils of student self-government express their opinion of the draft decisions of the college in matters of instruction, upbringing, extracurricular activities, and housing.

5. Chairmen of departmental and college councils of student self-government organize the activities of the council and represent student self-government in the departmental council and the senate, respectively.

6. The council of dormitory residents represents the entirety of dormitory residents and organizes social functions in the dormitory.

7. The council of college housing coordinates the activities of the councils of dormitory residents of a college.

8. Organs of student self-government cooperate with the relevant organs of the party [PZPR], political organizations, trade unions, and elements of national student and youth organizations.

Paragraph 3.1. Concrete guidelines for the activities of student self-government and the mode of establishing its organs are outlined in the statute of student self-government in colleges adopted by the self-government organ of the college in accordance with the sample statute of student self-government.

2. The statute of student self-government in colleges also sets forth the guidelines for the activities and the mode of establishing the self-government organs of dormitory residents and college-operated housing.

3. The statute of student self-government in a college takes effect on the day of its confirmation by the chancellor of the college with the consent of the relevant minister operating the college.

Paragraph 4.1. In the event the activity of student self-government organs contravenes the law or social interest, disrupts carrying out the curriculum and upbringing mission of the school, or disturbs the order in effect in the school, the chancellor of the college draws the attention of the relevant self-government organs to the irregularities observed, simultaneously requesting that they be eliminated within a given period of time.

2. Failure to comply with the request referred to in point 1 causes, depending on circumstances, the setting aside of the resolution of the self-government organ, suspension for a definite time of the member of student self-government responsible for the irregularities or their elimination, or suspension of the organ or organs of student self-government by the chancellor.

3. The order takes effect on the day of publication.

Minister of Science and College Education B. Miskiewicz

9761/9871
CSO: 2600/121

UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS REGISTRATION RULES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish 15 Oct 85, Item No 231 pp 620-621

["Order of the Minister of Science and College Education of 1 November 1985 on the Guidelines for Setting Up, Registration, and Mode of Dissolving Scientific, Artistic, and Athletic Circles in Colleges"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 128 of the Law of 4 May 1982 on college education (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1985, No 42, Item 201) the following is decreed:

Paragraph 1. The order applies to scientific, artistic, and athletic circles which are not statutory elements of national student and youth organizations.

Paragraph 2.1. Scientific, artistic, and athletic circles--henceforth referred to as "circles"--operate in colleges within the framework of the department (institute, chair).

2. The circles are a form of scientific activity by the students which enhances their interests associated with the curriculum and research of the department (institute, chair).

3. In colleges reporting to the Minister of Culture and Art, artistic circles may also operate, as well as athletic circles may in colleges reporting to the Minister-Head of Maritime Economy Administration and the Main Committee for Physical Education and Sports.

Paragraph 3.1. No fewer than three students interested in setting up a circle submit to the chancellor a preliminary program and topics for the work of the circle in order to secure the chancellor's consent for setting up the circle.

2. While consenting to the setting up and operation of the circle, the chancellor specifies the deadline for filing a petition for registering the circle. Failure to file the petition before the deadline set causes the chancellor to withdraw his consent for further operation of the circle.

Paragraph 4.1. Petition for registering the circle is submitted to the chancellor by a group of no fewer than five founding members. The petition must contain:

(1) name of the circle and its place of operation;
(2) first and last names of students who are founding members as well as their departments and class status;
(3) name and last name of a person or persons from the founding members entitled to carry out the activities associated with the registration of the circle.

2. The petition should be accompanied by a statute, a program, and outline of circle activities and the evaluation by the dean (director of the institute, department chairman) under whom the circle is to operate assessing the compliance of the circle's program with the curriculum and research program of the department (institute, chair) indicating the scientific advisor of the circle and sources of financing the circle's activities.

3. The statute should include:

(1) the name of the circle and its place of operation;
(2) goals and tasks of the circle;
(3) [classes of] persons who can be members;
(4) officers of the circle, their responsibilities, mode of nomination, and term in office;
(5) circumstances and mode of dissolving the circle on the basis of the circle's resolution;
(6) mode of adopting and amending the statute.

4. The statute may include other provisions necessary to regulate the activity of the circle.

5. The chancellor notifies the authorized persons referred to in paragraph 4, point 1, item 3, the dean (director of the institute, department chairman) and the relevant minister (head of national agency) about the registration of the circle within 14 days of the date the entry in the register is made.

Paragraph 6.1. The relevant official body of the circle notifies the dean (director of the institute, department chairman) of the names of persons serving on it within 1 month of being notified of the entry having been made in the register.

2. The relevant official body of the circles informs the chancellor and the dean (director of the institute, department chairman) about changes of circle officers within 14 days of the latter occurring.

Paragraph 7. The founding members can appeal to the relevant minister (head of national agency) the chancellor's decision to refuse registration of the circle.

Paragraph 8.1. The following are entered in the register of circles:

(1) name of the circle;
(2) first and last names of the founding members along with their department and class status;

(3) the date of the circle's registration;
(4) the circle's place of operation and address;
(5) entry on the dissolution of the circle;
(6) entry on the corrections and amendments to the statute;
(7) names of current officials of the circle.

2. The statute and program of activities of the circle are appended to the register.

Paragraph 9.1. The circles are dissolved by virtue of the resolution of the circle or a decision of the chancellor.

2. The rector, on his own initiative or on the recommendation of the dean or scientific advisor of the circle can decide to dissolve the circle upon determining that:

(1) the activities of the circle run counter to significant social interest;
(2) the activities of the circle are in contravention of the provisions of the law, statute, and program of activities;
(3) no activities have occurred over a period of 1 year;
(4) the number of members has declined below that of founding members.

3. In the event the circle is dissolved, the chancellor resolves to set up a liquidation commission.

Paragraph 10.1. The circles existing on the date the present order takes effect are to be entered in the register automatically, provided they meet the requirements outlined in the order.

2. In the event the existing circles do not meet the requirements outlined in point 1, they must submit a petition meeting these requirements within 3 months of the date the order takes effect.

3. In the event the steps referred to in point 2 are not taken the circles are subject to dissolution.

Paragraph 11. Order of the Minister of Science, College Education, and Technology of 10 December 1982 on the student organizations and associations (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 38, Item 255) becomes invalid.

Paragraph 12. The order takes effect on the day of publication.

Minister of Science and Higher Education B. Miskiewicz

9761/9871
CSO: 2600/121

RADIO, TV REGISTRATION

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish 15 Oct 85, Item No 236 p 624

["Order of the Minister of Communications of 15 September 1985 on the Conditions and Mode of Registration of Radio and TV Sets"]

[Text] In accordance with Article 19 Paragraph 4 of the Law of 15 November 1984 on communications (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 54, Item 273) and Article 2, Paragraph 5 of the Law of 2 December 1960 on the Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting "Polish Radio and TV" (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 54, Item 307 and DZIENNIK USTAW, 1984, No 54, Item 275) the following is decreed:

Paragraph 1.1. The responsibility for registering radio and TV sets--referred to as "sets"--devolves on the owner.

2. Whenever this order makes reference to the owner, a physical person, a legal person, institutions, and organizations owning the sets in a condition suitable to receive radio and TV broadcasts are meant.

Paragraph 2.1. Registration takes place in the post office serving the place in which the set is used and in case the set is used in a mobile structure, the place of permanent residence (headquarters) of the structure.

2. The obligation to register the sets owned has been honored if one of the sets has been presented for registration used by:

(1) physical persons in the same household or the car which they own;
(2) in hospitals, sanitariums, schools, day care centers, nursing homes, inland waterways, and seagoing vessels--in the same building, group of buildings or cars owned by these units.

3. Organizational units not included in point 2, item 2 are obligated to present for registration all the sets owned.

4. Registration should be carried out within 14 days of becoming the owner of a set.

Paragraph 3. A personal radio and TV certificate specifying the place where sets are used confirms their registration. In justified cases, the owner may use the sets in a place other than those indicated in the certificate.

Paragraph 4. The sets are registered for an indefinite period of time, and in justified cases, also for a definite period.

Paragraph 5. The owner of the sets must notify the communications office of the change of name, permanent residence (headquarters), loss or destruction of the radio and TV certificates, and discontinuing the operation of a set.

Paragraph 6. The owner of the sets can at any time effect their deregistration.

Paragraph 7.1. The following are exempt from the registration duty:

(1) units of the socialized economy involved in producing or distributing radio and TV equipment with regard to the sets which are in their inventory;
(2) units of the socialized economy repairing radio and TV equipment and physical persons who are licensed craftsmen allowed to repair radio and TV equipment with regard to the sets they have taken in for repairs.

2. Persons visiting the People's Republic of Poland for a period no longer than 3 months and owning tourist and car radios are also exempt from the registration duty.

Paragraph 8. Sets other than those receiving common use frequencies are registered upon the presentation by the owner of a license issued by the State Radio Inspectorate.

Paragraph 9. Post and Telecommunications Ministry offices collect user fees for the sets as well as fines for delays in paying these fees and using unregistered sets.

Paragraph 10. Licenses granted in accordance with the regulations previously in force are considered to be registration of the sets as defined in the present order. The above does not apply to sets receiving other than common use frequencies.

Paragraph 11. Order No 73 of the Minister of Communications of 29 September 1972 on granting radio and TV licenses (DZIENNIK LACZNOSCI, No 20, Item 147) becomes invalid.

Paragraph 12. The order takes effect on the date of publication.

Minister of Communications W. Majewski

9761/9871
CSO: 2600/121

SOCIOLOGY POLAND

STUDENT, CENSOR ROLE IN CABARETS EXAMINED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 8 Sep 85 p 8

[Interview with Krzysztof Jaroszynski by Wlodzimierz Krzyzanowski]

[Text] [Question] For more than a dozen weeks now, you and your colleagues from the cabaret 'Pod Egida' have gotten a fixed place at your disposal in 'Przeglad Tygodniowy.' The 16th page of our weekly could be considered kind of a continuation of the cabaret 'Pod Egida' and so be it. I like to ask you, maybe a bit perversely, what in your opinion is a cabaret and can it function satisfactorily in Poland?

[Answer] Poland is just the right place for this form of a cabaret, because this is the art of making fun of a difficult situation. Therefore, it has no place in many other countries, but with us it is just the opposite. From the beginning our situation has been difficult, and therefore the need for this kind of art is continually present here.

[Question] Oh, and sometimes even almost mythologized censorship?

[Answer] A cabaret production, to be treated as a work of art, must overcome all restrictions and reach the viewer, listener, or reader of our script, so that he be able to understand the allusions and subtleties. A Dutchman or a Swiss does not need to grasp allusions, but a Pole has to. And the censorship, really mythologized sometimes by some authors, uses its power from time to time. In 10 years, maybe eight or 10 of my scripts were questioned. I do not know whether this is a large or a small number.

[Question] Under these circumstances, can the cabaret fulfill the function of an outlet for social moods?

[Answer] In theory it can, and in practice it certainly is a review of problems, but whether it eases anything? Does it let some air out? This I do not know; to make sure we would have to submerge this balloon in water.

[Question] As an author and performer, you must have an insider's view of the cabaret. What is the Polish cabaret, and what is its special character?

[Answer] A specific feature of the Polish cabaret is that the subject matter outweighs the form in a colossal measure; it lacks attractive forms for the contents. For instance, a person not familiar with our language does not find anything attractive in our cabaret, and this should not be so. It also lacks artistic values, which should be part of it, even if it were just aesthetics of ugliness.

Everywhere the audience dictates the level of abstraction of the jokes, and the writers are supposed to put their jokes on a level a bit higher; but even in this respect, our situation is worse now than it was 10 or 15 years ago. From this, of course, one can deduce a sad thought, that our life is becoming increasingly less and less refined.

Besides, the cabaret is slowly becoming the art of older people. The youngest performers are in their thirties. There are no younger ones, because whatever the youngsters have to express was picked up not by the cabaret but by rock music. I do not know if this is an accident. Polish rock was very politicized, and even today, the words of Andrzej Mogielnicki in 'Lady Pank' are as challenging as the young people can accept it.

[Question] In the past, the bases for professional cabarets were the cabarets of the students. Why is it different today?

[Answer] The statistics and reports of academicians probably claim that the cultural level of our college youth is rising, but just the opposite is true. Student cabarets do not exist. It became a normal state of affairs that at a student song festival the funniest song is the one about 'pedals.' Does it mean that today the foremost problem of the students is homosexuality? The excuse that a script on any other subject will not be allowed by the censorship is nonsense, hogwash.

[Question] Could it be a case of extreme self-censorship?

[Answer] Every writer is exercising some autocensorship, which is sad, because this way we are limiting ourselves. Autocensorship, even though resembling regular censorship, still should be more liberal in about 25-50 percent. If this is not the case, then an abnormal situation takes palce. A similar case is with the spectators, when they hiss. Hissing is the reaction of the audience when the joke does not make them laugh. They hiss instead, meaning that they fear for me, even though I know what I am doing and am responsible for it. As long as they are hissing and not laughing, something is wrong, in my estimation. It is encouraging that the hissing is decreasing now, but even not so long ago, there was a lot of hissing going on at 'Pod Egida.' Whose fault is it? Mine? Theirs?

Poland is a country where popularity has a very special character. Anybody who appears on the television often enough and for a long time - even though maybe a very mediocre artist - is sure to perform till the end of his days.

[Question] From what you just said, one may conclude that you condemn television 'lock, stock, and barrel,' but this is probably not the case, since your are cooperating with it. Isn't that so?

[Answer] Of course I am not totally condemning television. It is the way it is for some objective reasons: insufficient number of studios, installations, and lack of people with suitably high qualifications.

[Question] Let us move over to the cabaret 'Pod Egida.' What in your opinion is the secret of its long life?

[Answer] Really, considering the age of our cabarets, Jan Pietrzak's 'Pod Egida' is a prestigious institution. It is true, there were some interruptions in its functioning and there were times when it was very easy to close it. That this did not happen is only thanks to the stubbornness and consistency of our chief Pietrzak, at times even as a result of his almost circuslike manipulations, because he knows what to do to keep the cabaret alive, so to speak. I think that all of us in 'Pod Egida' are aware of the fact that the cabaret will not solve the problems pervading our society, we can only together make jokes about our difficulties, especially of the most trivial matters. When it comes to the importance of 'the mission we carry,' the opinions of our viewers, as well as our performers, vary considerably. I believe that it is minimal. I also think that the success of 'Egida' results as well from the fact that, besides following the artistic guideline, we also follow the guideline of decency to each other.

[Question] Getting a ticket to the coffeehouse 'Ewa' where you perform is considered in Warsaw a great feat and a special good fortune. Does Jan Pietrzak's cabaret answer your past and present dreams? And one more thing--from the perspective of a writer and performer, what do you think of the audience of 'Pod Egida'?

[Answer] My dream is of a cabaret very astute, discriminating in a political and social sense; attractive enough in form to be fun, for instance for foreigners, who do not know the polish language. I would like it to be a cabaret where the reaction is 100 percent, it means all the spectators laugh wholeheartedly when the script is funny, and cry when it is sad. Nothing unusual!

'Pod Egida' is the cabaret that suits me best, and this is thanks to Pietrzak. But then the public that comes there... It is more snobbish than subtle. Fortunately, there are frequent exceptions, and we must concentrate on them. There are times and situations when the squinting eye of a satirist is out of place. Plainly, life is so bad that it is impossible to make jokes about it. Then one can either keep silent or write seriously.

[Question] What are you doing, then?

[Answer] I rather remain silent.

12470/13046
CSO: 2600/113

BRIEFS

CULTURAL PROPAGANDA MEETING--On the 28th through the 30th of this month, the annual deliberations of the directors of centers of information, centers of culture, and Polish institutes abroad were held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Evaluation of the work of these institutions was made, and tasks were delineated for 1986. The director of the Cultural Department of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party, Prof W. Nawrocki; vice minister of foreign affairs, J. Kinast; and the first assistant director of the Office for Scientific-Technical Progress and Initiation, Prof E. Grudzewski, met with participants in the deliberations [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

NEW UNIVERSITY OPENS--The university of the third century has been established in Lublin. The inauguration took place on 31 October at M. Curie-Sklodowska University. Lectures in the history of the universe, Polish history, psychology, philosophy, and gerontology among others were foreseen for the witner semester. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 85 p 2] 12432/13046

CSO: 2600/126

INTELLECTUALS DEFEND ALBANIAN CULTURE IN KOSOVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Nov 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier, datelined Pristina, December: "Cultural Awakening in Kosovo"]

[Text] The prevailing mood in the Kosovo writers' union is that of cultural combat. A few weeks ago, almost all writers of Serbian and Turkic, in other words not Albanian, extraction wrote an "open letter" to their presidium and demanded that the union should "resolutely" condemn the pressure exerted on Serbians and Montenegrins to leave Kosovo, as well as deplore "nationalism and irredentism" in general. Writers of Albanian extraction are in the majority in the presidium, and that body therefore rejected the demand with the explanation that a writers' union was no "political organization" and did not need to constantly draft resolutions on daily political events. The signatories of the letter thereupon ceased to cooperate with the union. When the matter came up for discussion in the all-Yugoslav writers' union, the Albanian delegates from Kosovo, headed by Hasan Mekuli president of the regional writers' union, walked out of the session, because they did not wish to reply to "uninformed attacks."

Hasan Mekuli, a bear of a man and by profession a university professor, uses the same tactics as the Albanian officials in the region: It is best to keep quiet and wait until the "Serbian furor" begins to die down. Of course, Kosovo writers of whatever parentage are against all pressure, and they have expressed their views repeatedly. But a cultural association should not become degraded into an element of day-to-day politics. Of course, in the background we seem to hear the question: Where were the Serbian writers, in and out of Kosovo, when, with the pretext of a search for weapons, Albanians were arrested, beaten und almost 100 of them killed by the Udba [secret police] in the 1950's? Mekuli himself was evidently compelled to adopt the name "Mekulovic," when he went to school in Montenegrin Ivangrad (Berane) in the postwar years.

The protest by the Serbian and Turkish writers in Kosovo was evidently directed less at the "expulsions" than at the fact that Kosovo cultural life is increasingly turning Albanian exclusively--consonant with the population shift. At least Albanian cultural life is flourishing. "In 1981 we realized that political issues were not getting anywhere. As a consequence we turned inward," says an interlocutor. The new university library in Pristina is a symbol of Albanian cultural awakening. Built in an oriental style, it is equipped with magnificent smaller and larger meeting rooms. The many transparent cupolas throw an agreeable reading light into the study halls. Occasionally some Albanians complain that the university has become less "Albanian" since 1981, and that this is also reflected in the textbooks and the behavior of many instructurs. In fact, it is noticeable that a somewhat more realistic spirit has entered the university: The student body as a whole is smaller, and nowadays many more students follow technical courses while fewer concentrate on Albanology.

General director Shkreli of "Kosovo Film" is able to point to a remarkable number of movies made in his studios, some of them in cooperation. These films have enabled the Albanian culture of Kosovo to reach foreign audiences. "A Man of the Country," a movie by barely 30-year old director Agim Sopi, was sold to the GDR and Syria. In the smoke-filled lunch room of the regional theater, where he is employed full-time to direct stage plays, the young director said he had intended his movie to show that man is ultimately of importance only where his roots are. He had to make a few small changes in the film, because "someone" thought that he had meant to show that Albanians had been subjected to pressure to leave in the 1950's, not only Serbians now. He agreed to these changes, because they involved "insignificant touch-ups only." The director and the manager of Kosovo Film denied that such subject matter indicated a certain inclination toward "blood and soil." On the contrary, they said, they endeavored to deal with general human topics, albeit the films were set in Kosovo. The actors were claimed to be outstanding.

The question remains whether the cultural awakening in Kosovo can be incorporated in the general cultural life of Yugoslavia, or--on the contrary--will aim to get away from it and should be interpreted as independent national Albanian cultural creativity. To some extent this will depend on official Yugoslav attitudes. We heard some complaints that it is often hard to get through the "filter" of certain committees and other institutions of the federal bureaucracy in Belgrade, in particular with regard to foreign contacts. Inside Yugoslavia, the Kosovo artists find much understanding in Slovenia, where a self-representation of the Kosovo Albanians was staged. Kosovo artists also felt close to Bosnia by reason of the common Muslim heritage. On the other hand, they are always confronted with the "Serbian wall" and the Serbs' suspicion of anything that was Albanian. Incidentally, it is quite inevitable for the Muslim-oriental heritage and the interest in Turkish and Arab affairs to assume increasing interest in Albanian cultural life in Kosovo; many Albanians still live in those countries.

Also leading a busy intellectual life is the community of Albanian Catholics, though it has only 60,000 members. Not that these wish to represent anything like a "Western alternative" to the Muslim influenced cultural tradition. Both sides heed the words of Vaso Pasha from Shkodar, according to whom "Albanian nationalism is the religion of the Albanian," though of course not in that adulterated meaning given this phrase by Enver Hoxha in his campaign for the eradication of religion in Albania.

In the 1970's, possibly derived from an earlier tradition, the opinion arose among Kosovo Albanians that they were called upon to act as "arousers" with regard to Albania proper also. This was the basis of the Tirana regime's fear of the Kosovo Albanians and (in addition to economic considerations) its efforts to maintain good relations with Belgrade rather than Pristina. We got the impression that the present cultural awakening among Kosovo Albanians is due to quite a large extent to the feeling of being culturally and intellectually responsible for all Albanians since no major change is to be anmticipated in Albania itself. The Kosovo Albanians feel much the same about Albanians in other parts of Yugoslavia--Montenegro and, specially Macedonia--, where they are treated quite badly and certainly do not enjoy the relative freedom present in Kosovo--despite all complaints. Some Albanian intellectuals, in particular from Tetovo in Macedonia, actually went into "exile" in Kosovo. The all-Albanian sentiment of the young cultural elite in Kosovo has an echo abroad also. Some 30,000-40,000 Albanians from Yugoslavia live in the Federal Republic as guest workers or their families. Since the start of the economic crisis, emigration to America has increased, not least from the Albanian regions of Macedonia, and often illegally via Mexico.

11698
CSO: 2300/93

WESTERN COMMENT ON ALBANIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY IN KOSOVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMINE in German 23 Nov 85 p 12

[Report by Viktor Meier, datelined Pristina, November: "Discrimination Leads to Self-Awareness"]

[Text] The "security situation" in Kosovo is said to be much improved. For the first time since the 1981 unrest, proper attention may now be devoted to issues of economic reconstruction. A first glance confirms this assessment by a high official of Albanian extraction: The presence of the police and the military is much less conspicuous in the region than it was 1 or 2 years ago. Some stirrings may be noted in the economy. Private enterprise has much increased, although official circles complain that private entrepreneurs continue to open coffee shops or grilled meat stands instead of starting up "productive" workshops. The all-Yugoslav "fund for less developed regions" has just about found its feet on the new basis. Half the moneys allocated to the region now flow directly to its economy instead of being channeled through the political authorities. Emphasis is on smaller investments. On the other hand, looked at from the all-Yugoslav aspect, the readiness to support Kosovo tends to slacken, in particular because the Serbian Republic as a whole now plans to join the ranks of aid recipients. At meetings, regional officials like to assert that Yugoslavia will simply have to pay if it wishes to settle the Kosovo problem.

Indeed, the Kosovo issue is still far from settled. On the contrary, it may well be even more thorny for Yugoslavia in its new and slightly altered guise. We were told that the young Albanians had realized that they would not get anywhere by demonstrations and graffiti. The struggle would therefore have to be shifted "to another level entirely." The final goal remains the same: Far reaching autonomy. This attitude tends to increasingly resemble the one adopted by the regime's official functionaries in Kosovo also, because the leaders of the Serbian Republic are evidently seeking to restrict the constitutional powers of the region which, just as the equally autonomous Vojvodina region, represents part of the federated republic.

It is quite evident that the Serbian leaders' campaign against conditions in and the authorities of the Kosovo region increases to the extent that the situation is calming down. Addressing the Yugoslav Central Committee, a high regional official used the word "baiting." Serbian arguments go in two directions: To begin with, the Serbian Republic is asserted to have a constitutional claim to operate as a "homogenous republic," in other words without being hampered by special rights conceded the two autonomous regions. Secondly, the Kosovo authorities are accused of being obviously incapable of dealing with "Albanian nationalism"--provided they in fact make any serious attempt to that effect. Serbians and Montenegrins, for example, continue to be pressured to leave for resettlement elsewhere. In the view of the Serbians, "Albanian nationalism" appears to show its face as soon as an Albanian makes his identity known or even claims that his people are descended from the Illyrians. "By that, he means to say that he does not belong with us," a Serbian reporter says, describing his own standpoint as "communist."

Regional officials of Albanian extraction think it better to keep silent at this time. They campaign by the Serbian Republic may blow over and finally rebound on its originators. In defending its constitutional rights, Kosovo will be able to rely on the support of the other republics and the Vojvodina. Representatives of Albanian cultural life in Pristina do, however, admit that the Albanians are somewhat at a disadvantage when they wish to make their views known to the Yugoslav public at large. This may be an indication of the earlier purge of the university's teaching faculty, not least among the historians.

A particular aspect of discrimination is the persisting absence of relations with Albania, described by Kosovo Albanians as at least their cultural "motherland." Belgrade continues to insist that "privileged" relations between Tirana and Pristina are not admissible. All relations, of whatever kind, must go through all-Yugoslav channels. Albanian intellectuals in Kosovo feel this to be a slight. However, a new phenomenon has now emerged: They are also beginning to consider their Kosovo an individual cultural scene. Albanian cultural life flourishes in Kosovo, whether with respect to literature, painting or cinema. It is appreciated abroad (for example in the Mideast), due to being somewhat reminiscent of oriental modes of thought--the vast majority of Kosovo Albanians are Muslims. Kosovo is about to take on the cultural leadership of the Albanian nation. "Albania is not currently a partner," we were told by an intellectual. This statement shows some disappointment with the stagnation in Albania proper as well as pride in their own achievements.

Ever since 1981, Belgrade has officially insisted that "irrendentism" in Kosovo is receiving aid from Tirana. That is sheer propaganda, not believed by any well informed Yugoslavs either. In fact it is obvious that the Albanian regime is scared of what it calls the "unreliable"(because largely non-communist) "nationalists" of Kosovo. Kosovo refugees in Albania are isolated and usually returned to Yugoslavia. A few weeks ago, the Tirana regime again formally handed over to the Yugoslav authorities two political prisoners of Albanian extraction, who had fled across the border from prison in Pec. Tirana's action has been duly noted in Kosovo. On the one hand, it robbed of any credibility Belgrade's assertion of Albanian "interference." On the other it strengtnened the impression already gaining ground in Kosovo that any closer ties with "this Albania," in other words the present regime, would be impossible and make no sense at all. While this appreciation must not be taken to represent the final abandonment of the distant goal of the "national unity" of all Albanians, it does imply a pragmatic interest (at least for the foreseeable future) in a settlement within the Yugoslav framework.

As for Albania, senior officials in Kosovo do not anticipate any early significant change in that country. We were told that the Tirana leaders form a tight and closed group. The liquidation of former Premier Shehu had demonstrated that all power struggles proceed within the group, without any interference or pressure by forces from below. Ramiz Alia, the current leader, was said to be a product of that system and, moreover, tended to be rather weak personally. In the foreseeable future, he would certainly not be able to introduce any significant innovations.

11698
CSO: 2300/93

- END -

JPRS-EER-86-012

28 January 1986

East Europe Report

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JPRS-EER-86-012

28 January 1986

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ROMANIA'S VADUVA ADDRESSES BALKAN AGRICULTURAL MEETING

Bucharest AGRICULTURA SOCIALISTA in Romanian 3 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government, on 25 September received the delegations attending the meeting of the chairmen of central cooperative organizations of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslvia, Romania, and Turkey.

Discussed were aspects of expanding and diversifying the relations of cooperation with cooperative organizations in the respective countries; the sides emphasized the increased opportunities existing for developing these relations on mutually advantageous bases.

On the occasion, the Romanian side presented the concepts and principles promoted by our country and by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on developing relations of good neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation with the Balkan states, and stressed the need to turn the Balkans into a nuclear free area of peace, cooperation, and friendship.

During the meeting, the sides highlighted the positive results and the constructive spirit of understanding that marked the proceedings of the session.

The meeting was attended by Comrade Paul Niculescu, chairman of the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Marketing Cooperatives--CENTROCOOP.

The second meeting of the chairmen of cooperative organizations in the Balkan area was held in Bucharest on 24-25 September 1985. The session was attended by Ivan Pramov, chairman of the Central Union of Cooperatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; V. Zarkinos, member of the management board of the Panhellenic Confederation of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Greece; Ratko Svilar, chairman of the SFRY Union of Cooperatives; Paul Niculescu, chairman of Romania's CENTROCOOP; and Kamal Ozdemir, director general of the Union of Sugarbeet Production Cooperatives of the Cooperative Association of Turkey.

The participants extensively briefed each other on the current and future activities and tasks of their organizations, and exchanged views on opportunities for developing the cooperation among them on mutually advantageous bases. It was unanimously agreed to continue such meetings, to encourage foreign trade, exchanges of goods, and other economic relations, and to develop exchanges of experience among cooperative organizations in the Balkan area.

The agenda also featured a presentation on the current aspects of Romania's socioeconomic development by Professor Dr. Ilie Vaduva, rector of the Academy of Economic Studies and deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and visits to CENTROCOOP units.

The session proceeded in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect, understanding and cooperation, thus constituting a contribution to developing the relations between the participating organizations and thus, to developing friendly cooperation in the Balkan area and to the cause of good neighborliness in this part of Europe.

12782
CSO: 2700/36

ECONOMY CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENTS IN EIGHTH 5-YEAR PLAN OUTLINED

Principal Goals of Transportation System

Prague DOPRAVA in Czech No 2, 1985 pp 101-103

[Article by Eng Vladimir Blazek, minister of transportation of the CSSR: "Principal Goals of the Transportation System in the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] By its Decree No 262, dated 21 September 1984, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic approved the "Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development in Czechoslovakia Through the Year 1995" and the "Directives for the Eighth 5-Year Plan."

The basic directions of economic and social development during the period through the year 1995 emanate from national economic goals and take proposals for structural changes and the findings of analyses of existing development trends in the Czechoslovak economy into account, as well as from evaluations of external and internal conditions of future development, while respecting the realistic possibilities and essential continuity of current development.

Economic growth is oriented to the express growth of the efficiency of social production through the maximum utilization of natural and economic conditions, resources, and opportunities, particularly with respect to the production-technology base and increments in the work-capable populace.

The realization of these principles while taking into account current development trends, the predetermined nature of investment construction and resources of manpower will require a substantial acceleration in the intensification of the restructuring of the economy and, primarily, means the assignment of higher evaluations to all material and energy resources, the more effective realization of scientific-technical progress, and increasing the efficiency of basic assets and the process of capital construction.

This rendering of developmental tendencies to be more progressive should be aided also by the more effective inclusion of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor but primarily by the gradual structural changes being undertaken in individual sectors of the national economy during the Eighth and Ninth 5-Year Plans in favor of priority development of certain sectors and production which are less energy-intensive, less materials-intensive and less investment-intensive and by a high export efficiency accompanied by the attenuation of ineffective sectors and production.

The directive for the Eighth 5-Year Plan then emanates primarily from the level reached by the national economy and the standard of living of the populace and takes into account all factors affecting subsequent developments in the national economy and persisting influences of foreign markets and world prices of raw materials, fuels, and energy.

As early as the Eighth 5-Year Plan it is necessary to proceed from the assumption that the requirements of unconditionally satisfying all transport needs, which was a priority requirement during the period of the extensive development of the national economy, will yield its place to the requirement of satisfying the rational transportation needs in the most efficient manner. From the standpoint of transport policy, this represents a quality leap, that is to say, it represents the growth of the significance of quality economic indicators of transportation operations and of the significance attached to the economic utilization of capital assets, materials, and, particularly, of all types of energy.

Efforts to increase efficiency in transportation will be promoted under particularly unfavorable conditions because the high degree of utilization of capacities of the transport infrastructure in the most efficient transport sectors, the high investment costs involved in their reconstruction and renewal in the presence of limited resources, the necessity to complete extensive construction projects which have already been started, and other factors considerably narrow the space available for significant changes in transportation. That is why it is necessary to carry out the structural changes in transportation particularly with a view to the current determining elements which include the need to lower the transportation-intensive and energy-intensive components of the national economy and to assure the contribution made by scientific-technical development in the broadest possible terms.

The elaborated tasks of the directive for working out the proposal for the Eighth 5-Year Plan must, therefore, be considered to be minimal in nature and efforts must be made to see to it that plan proposals assure a higher growth of efficiency in all decisive sectors. I have in mind particularly the following:

a. reduction of the materials-intensive and energy-intensive nature of transportation,

b. maximum utilization of existing capital assets,

c. reduction of import requirements,

d. shortening of construction deadlines and reduction of residual budgetary expenditures,

e. broad application of scientific-technical development,

f. increasing the rate of growth of productivity, technical levels, and the quality of work,

g. speeding up modernization and reconstruction,

h. creation of conditions for the smooth handling of international transportation,

i. limiting undesirable influences of transportation upon the environment.

The current situation in the national economy indicates that our "transportation intensity" continues to be too high in comparison with developed European countries (roughly double). The stated goal is to improve the situation to such an extent that the demand for transportation will be reduced at a minimum by 8 percent by the end of the year 1990.

However, this task is not only a matter for transportation organizations but individual transport workers must work up measures to reduce transportation demand in their areas of jurisdiction, which should be aimed, in accordance with specific conditions in various sectors, primarily at greater utilization of local sources of raw materials, the lowering of the mass of construction projects, the application of area services in the construction industry, the optimalization of the size of agricultural enterprises, and a more purposeful deployment of manpower. From the standpoint of the transportation factor then, it will be necessary to promote effective measures in the area of supplier-consumer relationships, a more effective regional breakdown of material-technical supplying, and a rationalization of material and raw material flows.

The directive for the Eighth 5-Year Plan contemplates an overall growth in transportation (excluding pipeline transportation) in 1990, in comparison with 1985, of 3.7 percent with respect to volumes, and by 7.7 percent with respect to outputs. In 1990, the volume of transportation is expected to attain 1,621 million tons and planned outputs will reach virtually 109 billion ton-km. The greatest share in the increment of outputs at a level of 5.63 billion ton-km will be taken care of by less energy-intensive types of transportation, that is to say, by railroad and water transportation.

The overall volume of passenger transportation (excluding MHD and AID) will grow by 5.6 percent during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The transport output in terms of passenger-kilometers will grow at virtually the same rate.

For the Eighth 5-Year Plan, we anticipate that outputs in railroad freight transportation will rise by 4.6 percent, outputs in water transportation by 43.6 percent, and public highway transportation will account for 60.4 percent of the total volume of highway transportation in 1990, as opposed to 56.0 percent in 1985.

With respect to passenger transportation, we anticipate the most rapid growth in outputs in mass municipal transportation--by 15 percent; in air transportation, particularly in international transportation, by 8.4 percent; in highway transportation by 7.4 percent; and in rail transportation by 2.5 percent.

With respect to individual transportation, we anticipate a lowering of the dynamics of growth of outputs and a growth of only 6 percent over the period of the 5-year plan is expected.

An important task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will be the further reduction of energy-intensive nature of transportation. It is anticipated that this will be assured primarily through further development of electrification of railroad lines, of increasing the share of streetcar and trolleybus transportation, by reducing the consumption of fuels and energy, including a number of rationalization measures, but particularly by a priority orientation toward dividing transportation work among transport sectors which are less energy-intensive.

In this connection, it will be necessary to assure that railroad freight transportation will account for at least 74 percent of the total volume of freight transportation in 1990; water transportation, 5 percent; and Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation would account for at least 60 percent of the overall transport outputs recorded by automotive freight transportation. With the progressing electrification of railroad lines, the share of outputs accounted for by electric traction will increase from 55.8 percent in 1985 to 61.5 percent in 1990.

An essential prerequisite for the realization of these measures is the assurance of the necessary deliveries of transport media in the desired quantities, assortments, and having the desired technical-economic parameters.

Existing experience has confirmed the justification of including the problem of lowering the energy-intensive nature of transportation and the problem of more progressive transport systems among the state goal-oriented programs and the need for their further and broader utilization after 1985.

The proposal for State Goal-Oriented Program No 10--"Progressive Transportation Systems"--which will draw upon existing experiences and upon the verification phase of the State Goal-Oriented Program No 13 from 1982 through 1985, is being prepared for the years 1986-1990. It is anticipated that planning and substantive prerequisites for assuring the outlined goals of development pertaining to the transportation systems being followed will be maintained (that is to say, of the container transportation system, of stations devoted to concentrated loading and unloading operations, of the transportation of piece goods by the collection service of the Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation Enterprise, as well as palletization). It is anticipated that in 1990 the growth of goods transportation involving these systems will amount to as much as 12.5 percent in comparison with 1985. Emphasis is placed particularly on creating conditions for the realization of transport chains [possibly unit trains] and the rationalization of the entire cycling process from the dispatcher to the consumer and mechanization of loading and unloading work on the part of shippers and movers.

In the area of development of manpower, it is anticipated that the sector of the Federal Ministry of Transportation will undergo an increase in employment by the addition of approximately 7,000 workers and that some 5,000 workers will be added to transport organizations controlled by national committees over the course of the 5-year plan. Despite adopted measures in the area of social policy, the stabilization of operational professions, particularly with respect to railroads and mass municipal transportation, remains a problem because the stipulated increase in manpower continues to make it impossible to effect the substantial lowering in overtime work in transportation.

Whereas the Seventh 5-Year Plan was characterized by the gradual realization of measures adopted by the Policy Advisory Committee of the CPCZ and the Government of Czechoslovakia, the Eighth 5-Year Plan will be aimed at intensification, improving quality, and, within the framework of possibilities, even expanding the adopted social measures. Within the framework of the plan of social development for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the principle of a separated allocation for the social sector will be maintained, as was the case during the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In comparison with the situation which existed during the previous 5-year plan, the investment means which we will invest in the technical base of public transportation during the Eighth 5-Year Plan will again be higher so that the development trend with respect to investment construction will be maintained even if the allocated funds will not make it possible to realize all intended projects in the transportation system nor make it possible to solve all of the most pressing operational requirements. For example, almost Kcs 24.5 billion will be devoted in the Eighth 5-Year Plan to the purchase of locomotives, freight cars, aircraft, ships, and other essential machines and installations. Consequently, it is necessary to orient these funds toward campaigns which allow us to anticipate the attainment of high efficiency and effectivity.

In the course of the past years, the management of the Federal Ministry of Transportation has several times evaluated the effectivity and fulfillment of Czechoslovak Government Resolution No 215/1977, which set forth the principles of state transport policy. It was found that a number of measures in the area of planning, prices and tariffs, foreign exchange, and reproduction of basic assets, organization and management, etc., had been successfully applied and that the approved principles of state transportation policy continue to have validity.

However, because of a shortage of resources, particularly of investment funds, a substantial increase in output and quality of transportation continues to elude us and fulfillment of the goals of state transportation policy is not commensurate with the required intentions.

Consequently, the need to mobilize all reserves, including increasing the level of management and organizational work in transportation, is emerging into the foreground. We must seek such solutions, the realization of which will not depend on more funds and resources than are set forth in the directive, but rather we must seek progressive and innovative solutions. Scientific-technical development must contribute toward this status to a higher extent than ever.

From the above brief outline of the tasks and problems which face us in the next 5-year plan it is clear that transportation will be operating under even more demanding conditions than has been the case thus far. In addition to the basic task, that is to say, the assurance of the smooth satisfaction of transportation requirements, this industry will have to substantially increase the quality of efficiency involved in the entire transportation process with limited resources.

That is why the decisive role in assuring the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan must be played primarily by the lower levels of organization and management--the railroads, Czechoslovak Airlines, the Czechoslovak Elbe-Oder Navigation Enterprise, the Czechoslovak Danube River Navigation Lines, the INTRANS Enterprise, as well as all other effective economic units.

Currently, we have entered the final phase of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and are finalizing and making more precise the plans for the next 5-year period. It has been determined that while the Seventh 5-Year Plan was very demanding it once more confirmed that the working people in transportation are capable of solving a number even of the most difficult tasks. It would, therefore, not be correct to let up in the work efforts and good results being achieved, but, on the contrary, it is necessary to develop all-round initiative in assuring the tasks which confront us in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Development of Railroad Transportation

Prague DOPRAVA in Czech No 2, 1985 pp 104-110

[Article by Eng Miloslav Skarka, candidate of sciences, deputy minister of transportation of the CSSR: "Development of Railroad Transportation in the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] Railroad transportation continues to be the decisive component of the transportation system of our nation, primarily from the standpoint of mass transportation, that is to say, the transportation of products, the movement of passengers over long and medium distances and from the standpoint of suburban transportation (commuters moved to their jobs, to schools, etc.).

The principal future task confronting railroad transportation is to assure, together with water transportation, that roughly 80 percent of the increase in transportation outputs for freight in the period 1985-1995 are adequately taken care of.

With respect to passenger transportation, the goal is to increase the reliability and quality of travel in addition to the quantitative fulfillment of transportation tasks.

To fulfill these tasks, a number of complicated problems, particularly in the area of the railroad technical base, are being solved today.

Whereas today the characteristic of railroad passenger transportation is the lower level of services rendered, we can anticipate a palpable improvement in the situation. The creation of conditions bearing on improving the quality of work in the sector of track administration (Government Resolution 190/83) will result in improvements in the timeliness of trains but also in increasing the speed of travel, which is being criticized today. Improvements in the quality of travel will also be contributed to by the gradual replacement of rolling stock whose life span has expired for new and more modern rolling stock with more comfortable interiors. Thus far, the target date for series deliveries of electric traction units (so-called pantographs) from domestic production, without which the quality of suburban transportation could not be assured, particularly in the environs of the Capital City of Prague, remains an open question; their use is being considered also on newly electrified lines having a smaller number of travelers. Improvements in the technical status of passenger cars will be aided by the construction of a new enterprise (ZOS) for the repair of four-axle passenger cars at Vojany, which, once it is completed, will free up some space at the present repair facility at Bubny for the requirements of the Capital City of Prague.

The equipping of railroad stations with modern information technology, baggage lockers, and cleaning machines will continue to be expanded. A special element intended to improve services for travelers traveling long distances or traveling abroad will be the introduction of an automated reservation system for seats on trains, which will be undergoing tests beginning at the end of 1985. The system will reserve tickets, seats, beds, or lounge seats.

A proposal for raising the speed at which selected passenger trains travel up to 200 km/hr is in the study stage; if the Government of Czechoslovakia approves, its realization could be begun as early as the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the 10th 5-Year Plan. In conjunction with capacity possibilities of railroad lines, the introduction of time-interval suburban transportation in the environs surrounding the largest cities of Czechoslovakia will be expanded.

However, according to existing experiences, it will clearly not be possible to assure the comprehensive overall reconstruction and construction of decisive railroad junctions, either in Prague or in Bratislava, not even by the year 2000 as had originally been anticipated.

In the area of freight transportation, we expect that the tight situation which exists between the constantly growing transportation requirements of the national economy and the capacity of the railroad network of the Czechoslovak State Railroads will continue. Utilization of the main railroad lines will continue to be at the upper limit of permissible output and that is why we cannot anticipate an overall palpable quality change in freight transportation in the immediate future.

Compared with the past, the transportation of bulk cargoes (coal, iron ore) will stagnate; such cargoes account for more than 50 percent of the overall volume of freight car loadings.

The anticipated growth in the volume of piece goods transported will be taken care of through the modernization of the overall technical base of the railroads, primarily through the introduction of modern security equipment, the electrification of railroad lines and the purchase of new freight cars having higher technical and transport parameters. Unfortunately, the development of progressive electric traction is limited by a shortage of electric locomotives delivered by Czechoslovak industry and the high cost of freight cars does not permit the renewal of the freight car inventory to the extent necessary.

A considerable contribution from the standpoint of services rendered to shippers is expected to result from the planned development of integrated transportation systems, particularly containerization. Also, the introduction of modern systems of control, particularly in railroad operations, on the basis of computer technology and the introduction of automated elements to the technical base of railroad transportation will contribute toward mastery of the tasks facing the railroads in the upcoming 5-year plan and in subsequent periods.

In conjunction with the results of work involved in the development of our economy and society, it is necessary to start from the assumption that the requirement for the absolute satisfaction of all transportation needs, which occupied first place during the period of extensive development of the national economy, will yield its leading role to the requirement for the most efficient satisfaction of rational transportation requirements.

Because it is not possible to effect a substantial speedup in the investment intentions aimed at developing railroad transportation, the entire orientation toward solving bottlenecks in transportation lines must be solved with rationalization measures aimed primarily at reducing the transport-intensive nature of these requirements.

In handling the overall volume of transportation work, the railroads account for more than 70 percent of all transport operations. This share is, to a considerable extent, dependent upon the nature of the transported bulk cargoes and upon the efficiency of the transportation routes, which is documented by the data in the table below (in percent).

Item	1980	1985	1990	1995
Tons	18.7	19.1	19.3	19.6
Ton-km	74.4	74.1	72.0	70.1

The growth in the volume of freight transportation handled by the railroads is shown by the measurable increase in its share of overall transportation. However, with the absolute growth of outputs, the share of the railroads in the overall outputs in ton-kilometers is declining. This is influenced primarily by the anticipated changes in the structure of bulk cargoes.

In the future, the share of international transportation (imports, exports, transit traffic) in the overall volume of transportation will be increasing. A substantial growth is showing up with respect to the group of construction materials and other products in connection with the anticipated shift of these bulk cargoes to highway automotive transportation. The transportation of solid fuels will decline slightly and the share of this group of products in freight car loadings will decline from 35.6 percent in 1980 to 30.8 percent in 1995. It is anticipated that the average transport distance during the period followed will increase slightly, primarily as a result of the higher share of international transportation and despite the fact that domestic transportation distances are expected to gradually decline. Over a period of 20 years, a growth in the volume of freight transported by railroads is expected to rise by 12.7 percent in 1995.

The division of transportation and transportation work involving passenger transportation is based on the orientation given by Czechoslovak Government Resolution No 158/1982. For purposes of adhering to the directives, we will consider the top limit to be a growth of overall outputs involved in passenger transportation, excluding municipal mass transportation and individual transportation, by 4 percent per 5-year plan period.

With respect to railroad transportation, it is anticipated that the continuing decline of passenger travel will be halted and that the number of passengers transported and the volume of railroad outputs will increase slightly in the upcoming period. It is anticipated that, in 1995, in comparison with 1980, the number of transported passengers will grow by 5.9 percent and the volume of outputs by 8.4 percent. This will be caused, among others, by the fact that the railroads will take on a portion of the passenger transportation load from the bus lines, particularly in the category of commuting to work and school, as well as some long-distance transportation. What will be decisive for the realization of these tendencies is the improvement in the quality of this type of transportation, particularly improvements in reliability and in making connections, also involving other types of transportation.

A. Development of Stable Capacities

The primary task in developing stable capacities in railroad transportation is the achievement and maintenance of a good technical status.

Czechoslovak Government Resolution No 190/83, dated 18 August 1983, stipulated the program for long-term measures through the year 1990 intended to raise the operational-technical level of railroad tracks and facilities.

Improvements in the quality of the trackage are expected to result from renewing the system of maintenance which represents an increase in the annual volumes of work done as indicated below:

Comprehensive reconstruction of trackage	830 km
Comprehensive reconstruction of switches	1,900 switch units
Medium repairs	2,100 km
Related construction work	8,500 km
Related exchange of rails	500 km

The development of railroad stations and trackage during the period under consideration will be oriented toward the removal of bottlenecks, that is to say, locations which have an inadequate reserve of throughput capacity of which the Czechoslovak State Railroads currently have a total of 114 (including 69 track sectors and 45 railroad stations). In view of the possibilities at the disposal of the national economy, it is necessary, in making these removals, to proceed in a phased manner from the intensification stage to the more demanding construction projects, particularly along sectors of main lines, of the southern line, of lines with international significance, in the East Slovakia transloading area, and in the railroad junctions of Prague, Bratislava, and Brno.

Despite all intensification measures, which include primarily the equipping of tracks and stations with modern security technology and the electrification of trackage, it will not be possible even in the Eighth 5-Year Plan to assure the increased efficiency of the first- and second-class trackage to the extent necessary. Consequently, limiting sectors will persist, particularly in locations where a number of tracks meet. These locations are particularly the following: Velky Osek-Nymburk-Lysa nad Labem, Pardubice-Kolin, Ceska Trebova-Chocen, Kuty-Breclav, and Vrutky-Zilina. To alleviate the pressure on these lines it has already been decided to reroute future heavy traffic to selected branch lines, which include the southern line (Kosice-Zvolen-Trnava-Kuty-Breclav-Znojmo-Jihlava), the northern branch line (Chocen-Hradec Kralove-Libice nad Cidlinou), and the Prague-Usti nad Labem line (the so-called left bank line). Increasing efficiency through construction of sectors of additional track will, however, in view of limited investment funds, be accomplished only along the eastern portion of the southern track in the sector Roznava-Plesivec and Krivan-Zvolen. Increased efficiency for fixed traction facilities is being pursued along the broad-gauge track from Matovce to Haniska pri Kosiciach.

In the complex of the East Slovakia transloading area, completion of the railroad transloading station at Cierna nad Tisou will continue. The railroad industry is trying to remove the transloading of iron ore from Cierna nad Tisou and striving for its complete transfer to the central transloading point for ores at Haniska pri Kosiciach.

The expansion of the railroad junctions at Prague, Bratislava, and Brno is very difficult and very expensive. These junctions did not present conditions allowing for the necessary rate of construction during the previous period. The reconstruction of the railroad junction in the Capital City of Prague represents the realization of construction projects valued at approximately Kcs 16 billion, with construction valued at a total of Kcs 3 billion having been completed thus far. In the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, on the basis of consultations with the State Planning Commission, an increase in the rate of construction is anticipated. The subsequent course of reconstruction and construction is aimed at concentrating investment capital and capacities in the central region of the city, that is to say, on the main railroad station, on the Vrsovice classification yard and the south siding railroad station, and a volume of work valued at a total of Kcs 1.5 billion is expected to be accomplished during the period of the 5-year plan.

Reconstruction of the railroad junction at Bratislava primarily counts on completion of facilities for passenger transportation, consisting, for the present, only of repairs being made to the existing passenger station.

The railroad junction at Brno has been the subject of a study and it is anticipated that the first phase of its reconstruction will be initiated during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

With respect to the other railroad stations, additional investment projects are planned for Trnava, Sturove, Poprad-Tatry, and Usti nad Labem. Construction of a new operations-dispatcher building will be initiated at Usti nad Labem-Strekov.

A sizable problem for railroad transportation is the question of assuring called-for investments, whether it be constructions called for by the expansion of extraction localities for coal, the requirements for transport connections of the new nuclear electric power plants during their construction, or the removal of the permanent influence of mining activity upon the railroads and activities caused by the construction of waterworks. As a result of the expansion of extraction locations, construction pertaining to relocation of the Zatec-Chomutov and Prievidza-Novaky lines will be initiated during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Reconstruction efforts intended to increase the efficiency of the Veseli nad Luznici-Ceske Budejovice-Protivin and Cicenice-Tyn nad Vitavou lines will continue in conjunction with construction of the nuclear electric power plant at Temelin.

Development of the uranium industry requires a new switching of the Ceska Lipa-Decin, Ceska Lipa-Liberec, and Ceska Lipa-Nymburk lines requires a solution for the railroad junction at Ceska Lipa and an increase in the efficiency of the Ceska Lipa-Nymburk line. Of these projects, the Eighth 5-Year Plan will see the initiation of construction intended to provide a new connection within the Ceska Lipa area, as well as corresponding adjustments at the Ceska Lipa railroad station.

The equipping of railroad lines and stations with information, security, and classification equipment is governed by a concept adopted by the collegium of the minister of transportation in July 1983.

The basic directions of development in the Eighth 5-Year Plan will be aimed at providing new information and security equipment along principal lines and selected lines and stations with the goal in mind of increasing safety, improving throughput, creating conditions for the development of electrification and computer technology and at equipping classification stations with sorting equipment intended to lower the need for workers and to raise the quality of the output.

Long-distance cables will be installed along a total of 600 km during the 5-year plan, primarily in conjunction with the development of automatic blocking devices, electrification of tracks, and the expansion of the information announcing network for the transmission of data. The innovation of the cable network will utilize coaxial cable and the possibilities for using optical fiber cable will continue to be examined.

Construction and expansion of the automatic telephone central at Prague, Brno, Olomouc, and Plzen and in other junctions will result in improving the quality and speed of communications between railroad elements. The use of second- and third-generation centrals will be examined.

The utilization of modern multichannel transmission equipment based on integrated circuits will contribute to the multiple utilization of lines without a requirement to expand them substantially.

Construction of the radio track network along the I and II main lines to facilitate connection between the dispatcher, the train engineer, and conductor, and automated transportation and operations telephone networks will facilitate a better operational management of transportation and, thus, contribute to its smooth flow.

Construction of automated blocking devices is anticipated in the Eighth 5-Year Plan over some 170 km of track, particularly along the tracks of the I and II main lines and along parts of the lines having an international significance. By 1995, it is expected that automatic blocking devices will be located along 2,270 km of track, that is to say, about 17 percent of the network operated by the Czechoslovak State Railroads. These facilities should include some 200 km of long-distance security installations. Traffic along the Prague-Kralupy nad Vitavou line will be controlled by computer.

Construction of relay-type security devices in stations is expected to be accomplished with respect to 1,000-1,700 switching units during the 5-year plan, predominantly in conjunction with automatic blocking devices and in large junctions (Olomouc, Kralupy nad Vitavou, Plzen, etc.).

It is anticipated that sorting technology will be provided for three classification stations in each 5-year plan to facilitate semiautomatic to fully automatic car classification using the KOMPAS modular device of Czechoslovak manufacture.

The proposed developments will contribute to improving the technical level of transportation.

As was the case in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, so subsequent planning periods will see a development of track electrification. During the Eighth 5-Year Plan, roughly 350 km of track will be converted to electric operation.

The concept for future development of track electrification is aimed at:

a. development of both power systems in such a way as to hold the number of contact locations down to a minimum and to make sure that the electrification of main lines which carry the heaviest burden is not limited; priority will be assigned to developing a single-phase system;

b. solving the insulated rail joint problem through the use of dual-power locomotives.

In selecting lines for additional electrification, attention is paid to see to it that the electrification primarily achieves the following goals:

a. maximum savings in motor fuels,

b. relief for junction stations and thus improving the transportation situation,

c. purposeful augmenting of lines which have been electrified thus far to make them into full main lines,

d. improving the environment.

On the basis of studies done, contacts between the two traction power systems were arranged in such a way that they would be most suitable from the standpoint of railroad operations as well as from the economic standpoint. During the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, contacts will be realized in the following intrastation sectors: Beroun-Zdice on the Prague-Plzen line; Benesov u Prahy-Bystrice u Benesova on the Prague-Tabor line; Belusa-Puchov on the Bratislava-Zilina line.

Contacts will be solved by a contact separation of the traction line in open line sectors by using dual-power locomotives for all trains using the contacts (the exception will be shunting trains which will continue to be accompanied by motorized locomotives).

During the final years of the 5-year plans, it is anticipated that the following track lengths will be electrified (in percent of the total trackage operated by the Czechoslovak State Railroads):

1985 26% 1990 30% 1995 33%

At the beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, electrification work will have started along 210 km of track; in contrast, as a result of accomplishing the task of lowering construction work under way, work will have been started on only 65 km of track by the beginning of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. This would lead to sizable difficulties in the area of utilizing capacities of the specialized Electrification of Railroads Enterprise. Consequently, it is necessary to continue to deal with the question of uniformly utilizing the capacity of this enterprise and of the subcontractor deliveries from enterprises outside of the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Railroad Transportation.

Substantial limitations will be imposed on the development of intentions for expanding the locomotive and rolling stock economy. Workplaces of this branch of industry are predominantly unsuitable, particularly with respect to the rolling stock economy, because traction vehicles and advanced-generation rolling stock which will place greater demands upon the maintenance base will be delivered.

Also, it will not be possible to fulfill the requirements of the railroads to the full extent with regard to social investments and apprentice schooling.

The planned investment activities for the Eighth 5-Year Plan include construction of central catering facilities (at a minimum one for each line) and other structures of a social character in efficient units (a laundry facility at Cierna nad Tisou, polyclinics in Brno and in Prague, a rehabilitation institute at Marianske Lazne).

Initiation of construction of specialized middle school training centers, or continuation and augmentation of these projects is being contemplated for Zvolen, Kosice, Ceska Trebova, Prague, and Usti nad Labem.

B. Development of the Means of Transportation

Deliveries of motorized locomotives will be aimed primarily at shunting locomotives (600 kw) and, to a lesser extent, also at line locomotives with facilities to permit the electric heating of passenger consists. Additional locomotives for passenger transportation will be reconstructed in railroad repair facilities and machines shops and change from using steam to provide heat to using electricity. This reconstruction is being undertaken because the need for efficient line locomotives will be declining as a result of additional progress in electrification.

Because of a shortage of financial means in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it was necessary to slow down the planned rate of renewal and, instead of the originally anticipated more than 230 motorized locomotives, consideration is being given to deliveries of only 159 locomotives.

Because of inadequate capacities existing in Czechoslovak industry, the Eighth 5-Year Plan will see deliveries of only 250 electric locomotives instead of the requested 415. This will require, on the one hand, the continued utilization of existing locomotives over and above their planned life cycle, even at the price of increased maintenance costs, and, on the other hand, is reflected negatively in reducing the rate of development of electrification.

For the sake of maximum energy economy, it is expected that electric direct-current shunting locomotives will be equipped with pulse-type converters and universal-type locomotives will be equipped with pulse-type converters as well as adjustable resistors, depending on the nature of locomotive use. With respect to shunting locomotives, savings in electric energy will be approximately 30 percent, with respect to line locomotives hauling passenger trains, roughly 7 percent.

The further development of electrification will result also in development of the inventory of electric traction units. With a view toward the need to replace at least the direct-current units which are nearing the end of their lifetime, it is expected that, in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, a five car direct-current unit will be developed domestically. Furthermore, development and delivery of alternating current units will continue. Along lines which have fewer travelers than those who use suburban lines which are heavily traveled, we are considering using units with a smaller number of cars and, in the long run, consideration is being given to introducing an electric traction car with trailer cars and a smaller output.

At the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the economic life cycle of the EMU-89.0 electric traction units in the Tatra Mountain electric railroad system will be coming to an end. The assurance of deliveries of new vehicles is being pursued for the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

With respect to motorized railroad cars, it is anticipated that a new type of four-axle car--the Model M-273.2, will be introduced. The required volume of deliveries, amounting to about 160 units, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan represents primarily the replacement of the Model M-262.0 and Model M-240.0 motorized cars. Delivery of the four-axle motorized cars is important also from the standpoint of energy. Their replacement with motorized locomotives would mean increasing the consumption of motor fuels by 30 to 60 percent (in exceptional cases, even by 100 percent) and would mean increasing the utilization of passenger cars which are in short supply.

It is not expected that the inventory of two-axle motorized cars will exceed that of the 1985 level.

The greatest share in assuring railroad passenger transportation will continue to be borne by classic consists hauled by locomotives.

The GDR is expected to continue to deliver sleeping cars, dining cars, lounge cars, snack-bar cars, compartment cars, service cars, and double-decked cars which correspond to European standards with respect to their workmanship and equipment.

As a result of the inadequate capacity of Czechoslovak rolling stock factories, it will be necessary, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, to procure large-capacity freight cars (designated as Bai) needed for the minimal renewal of inventory through imports.

Anticipated deliveries of a total of approximately 600 passenger cars during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, provided by the possibilities of their production and financing assurance, provide almost one-half of the required renewal of this inventory. This fact will exert a negative influence even on the quality of passenger transportation. It is anticipated that an increase in the rate of modernization of the passenger car inventory will not occur until the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

A serious problem for the Czechoslovak State Railroads is the currently unsatisfactory technical status of the freight car inventory. A large number of freight cars are damanged, both by shippers as well as by the railroads, more than one-third of the rolling stock inventory is obsolete and technically unfit. Furthermore, as of 1 January 1990, the strict international standards will apply to the technical workmanship of freight cars, particularly of four-axle freight cars. This regulation will also apply to the communal freight car inventory (OPW) where the Czechoslovak State Railroads will have to put out of service more than 13,000 freight cars from its total of 32,000 cars.

During the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it will be necessary to proceed with limited funds which will not make it possible to cover the optimum needs of the transportation industry. In order to preserve at least a certain continuity in the rolling stock inventory in light of the need to withdraw cars from service and the anticipated magnitude of transportation goals in conjunction with requirements levied by shippers and foreign railroad administrations, it was decided to buy more two-axle cars which are also cheaper in comparison with four-axle cars. It is anticipated that a total of 18,700 freight cars will be purchased. The express reductions in funds destined for imports caused the substantial lowering of the possibilities for purchasing freight cars from the GDR and from Poland, namely refrigerator cars and flat cars, destined primarily for the transportation of heavy engineering units.

During the Eighth 5-Year Plan, freight cars which are predominantly universal in character will be delivered. Particular emphasis is placed on the tightness of freight cars (so that undesirable losses in bulk cargoes might not occur) and on the sturdy nature of the cars. The introduction of a new type of truck results in reduction of the overall mass of the car in favor of its carrying capacity.

In the period following 1988, in addition to requiring universal-type freight cars, the transportation industry is looking for production of specialized cars for containers, for grain, for the transportation of fertilizer, etc. All freight cars are required to have a structural magnitude per axle of 22.5 tons and to have the box and floor appropriate to a regime of 120 km/hr. Great emphasis is placed primarily on reducing the mass of individual freight car parts while retaining strength characteristics which influence the reduction of energy consumption.

As was the case before, it is possible to speak of an entire series of additional areas of extensive problems afflicting the railroad industry. The purpose of this article, however, was to briefly illuminate the main developmental intentions of the railroads during the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Conceptual intentions designed to optimalize railroad work, naturally, considerably exceed the actual extent of investments in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The development of stable capacities in railroad transportation is, however, demanding also with respect to investments but is limited from the standpoint of territorial problems because, for example, in expanding or lengthening stations and in constructing additional tracks it is necessary to take into account the law pertaining to protection of agricultural land. It is also very difficult to find solutions which would be appropriate from the standpoint of operations and territorial considerations. All of these circumstances then, naturally, influence the extent and rate of the desired capital construction which then retrospectively increases the demands placed upon transportation workers who handle the tasks of railroad transportation under more difficult working conditions. However, it is also a reality and up to all workers on the railroads to exert their maximum efforts, even under not completely ideal conditions, to assure the transport requirements of our society and to thus contribute, in a decisive way, to assuring the development of the Czechoslovak economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Development of Highways and Motorways

Prague DOPRAVA in Czech No 2, 1985 pp 111-116

[Article by Doc Eng Frantisek Stransky, doctor of sciences: "Development of Highways and Motorways During the Years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] 1. Introduction

The further development of automotive transportation and improvements in its quality and economy are connected in Czechoslovakia with the essential modernization of the existing highway net and its gradual augmentation, as well as by the construction of new high-capacity communications of the motorway type. Consequently, in the next years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, within the framework of the overall possibilities at the disposal of the Czechoslovak economy, the further development of highways and motorways is expected and development is expected to focus attention to the most heavily burdened portions of the networks of these types of communications, that is to say, on the following:

a. modernization of selected highway networks,

b. construction of additional motorway segments,

c. construction of basic communications systems in Prague and in Bratislava.

During the years 1986-1990, highway and motorway system workers will be faced by sizable tasks in the area of assuring winter and summer maintenance of surface communications of all types, improving the status of roadbeds, improving the quality of horizontal and vertical traffic markings on these highway facilities, etc.

In solving all of these tasks, it will be necessary not only to follow the highest possible efficiency and to minimize their material-intensive nature, particularly with respect to the consumption of bitumen, cement, and aggregates of higher quality, to reduce the energy-intensive nature of the tasks, not to mention reducing the consumption of motor fuels, but, at the same time, it will be necessary to assure the protection of agricultural and forest land, subterranean and surface sources of water, and limit additional negative consequences for the environment to an economically tolerable extent. A sizable contribution toward assuring these tasks will have to be made by the further development of science and technology which, during the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in the highway and motorway economy, is aimed at decisive problems of innovation and modernization primarily of maintenance and repair work pertaining to surface communications.

2. Construction of the Motorway Network

During the years 1986-1990, motorway construction in Czechoslovakia will continue by completing construction of motorway sectors started during the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and valued at approximately Kcs 2.4 billion, as well as by initiation of construction of additional motorway sectors valued at

Kcs 4.1 billion. Priority solutions will be sought for traffic problems involving sally sectors of highways leaving major city areas, together with a gradual interconnection of existing motorway sectors into contiguous routes.

Thus, in the CSR, the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will see completion into a contiguous route of the D-5 motorway from Prague to Bavoryn, while construction on the motorway sector Rehlovice-Trmice on Highway D-8 in North Bohemia Kraj will be continued and construction will be initiated on the sally sector of this motorway from Prague; construction will continue on Highway D-11 beyond Podebrady and Highway D-47 as far as Vyskov. During the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan it is expected that the motorway network in the CSR will be lengthened by approximately 18 km and will reach an overall length in 1990 of approximately 335 km while roughly 41 km of additional motorway sectors will remain under construction.

In the SSR during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, construction of motorway sectors on Highway D-61 in the direction of Trencin will be continued. On Highway D-1. construction will be initiated of the sector Chocholna-Nemsova, construction will continue on additional segments of the motorway sector Liptovsky Hradok-Hybe, while construction will be completed in the sector Licartovce-Budimir in East Slovakia Kraj. As a component of the communications system of the capital city of the SSR, Bratislava, the Federal Ministry of Transportation will be responsible for improving the bridge across the Danube River near Lafrancon and part of the communications between Bajkalska and Senecka to an extent equal to la- and lb-type construction. In addition to the above improvements, 1986-1990 will see the activation of an additional 18.6 km of motorways in Slovakia and the overall length of motorways in the SSR will reach approximately 183 km by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, with some 13 km of additional motorway sectors remaining under construction. The total length of the motorway system in Czechoslovakia in 1990 will be almost 520 km.

As was the case during the Seventh 5-Year Plan with respect to motorway construction, it will be necessary to realize several significant bridge projects during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, such as the bridge across the Danube River in Bratislava, the motorway bridge on the Rehlovice-Lovosice sector on Highway D-8, and the bridge across the Vltava River near Mlcechvost, a bridge across the Labe River near Podebrad, etc. The budgetary costs of 14 newly initiated motorway construction projects totaling some 59 km in length are in the vicinity of Kcs 6.4 billion and clearly documents the demanding nature and complexity of the construction of these motorway sectors, construction of which is expected to be accomplished in the next 5-year plan.

3. Construction and Modernization of Selected Highways

With regard to the construction of new highways or modernization of existing highways in the selected highway net, be that within the framework of capital construction or of major repairs, the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will see priority allocation to solving problems on the most heavily burdened sectors and, furthermore, the reconstruction or construction of new highways called for by the mining industry or reconstruction and construction of basic communications systems in Prague and in Bratislava. In addition to solving these problems, it will be necessary to devote priority attention to the following matters with respect to the selected highway system:

a. completion of the key connection between the North Bohemian Brown Coal Basin and Highway D-8 in the area of Usti nad Labem, including construction projects called for by the extraction of coal and uranium;

b. continuation in the construction and reconstruction of communications systems in large cities, particularly in Brno, Ostrava, Plzen, Usti nad Labem, Nitra, and Zilina;

c. completion of contiguous most heavily used sectors in the selected highway net, primarily by connecting them in the direction of Brno-Ostrava, Bratislava-Zvolen, as well as completing the sally sectors of highways leaving major cities;

d. speeding up the reconstruction of unsuitable highway bridges and replacing temporary bridges, with priority treatment being accorded to the reconstruction of unsuitable bridges along key routes to handle above-average traffic;

e. removal of specific defects, particularly heavily used level crossings from railroad lines, sharp curves, and the gradual creation of throughways through communities or bypasses.

4. Construction of the Basic Communications System in Prague and in Bratislava

During the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, in constructing the city of Prague's basic communications system, fundamental attention will be devoted to creating a high-capacity connection between Highway D-5 and Highways D-1 and D-11, with subsequent connections to Highway D-8, whose sally portion as it leaves the city of Prague will be connected by an intersecting radial highway to the basic communications system of the capital city of Czechoslovakia. Preparations are being made to initiate construction of the Strahov tunnel, including connecting portions of the Central Transport Beltway and for a high-capacity connection of the sally portions of Highway D-5, roads I/6 and I/7 by an outer beltway I/1 in the Trebonice-Repy and Repy-Ruzyne sectors.

Similarly, in the capital city of Slovakia, Bratislava, the Eighth 5-Year Plan is expected to yield solutions for the most pressing transport problems of the city, primarily through the rational solution of the intersection at Patronka, which will be solved in a manner other than a level crossing; through increasing the efficiency of the communications in the Mlynska Dolina Lowland, through connecting the Bridge of the Heroes of Dukla Pass with the Lafranconi bridge by creating high-capacity communications, including intersections and creating high-capacity connections between the Bridge of the Slovak National Uprising and Petrzalka. Also, the elimination of specific defects involved in the connection of the Bridge of the Heroes of Dukla Pass with the sally portion of Highway D-61 and with other sally portions of highways leaving Bratislava will be accomplished.

5. Maintenance of Highways and Motorways

Workers in the highway and motorway economy will need to focus considerable attention in all years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan on assuring the proper maintenance of highways and motorways in such a way that these facilities create good conditions for the economic and safe operation of automotive transportation in each year. Consequently, primary attention will have to be devoted to maintaining and improving the status of roadbeds and bridges with the objective in mind of increasing their service life.

The predominant portion of Czechoslovak highways and more than one-half of our motorways has bituminous roadbeds. Consequently, deliveries of bituminous binders play a decisive role in the status of these communications. Despite the increasing consumption of these materials in the highway and motorway economy, deliveries of these substances are essentially stagnating and will remain the same for the next few years and may even decline. That is why maintenance and current repairs of bituminous roadways are seeing the constant introduction of new economizing technology which reduces both the consumption of bituminous binders, assures the more effective utilization of this material and lengthens the service life of bituminous road surfaces. At the same time, bituminous surface renewal projects are seeing the introduction of technologies which regenerate bituminous layers, making it possible to "revive" the existing coverings of these roadbeds, or, in replacing old surfaces with new ones, regenerate the demolished material and facilitate its reuse in the highway or motorway economy. Also, priority treatment is given to following and introducing less energy-demanding technologies which, for example, utilize the technique of cold dressing of bituminous road surfaces, permit the utilization of sulfur additives, etc.

The gradual transition toward a greater and broader use of coatings or thin carpeting layers of bituminous road surfaces, which were introduced in the highway and motorway economy in recent years, must be considered in our country as a basic direction for the rational and efficient utilization of highway asphalt (in view of the availability of bituminous binders here), even through the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Limited possibilities for utilization of other technological treatments, particularly in the construction industry, are currently leading toward reducing the volume of supplier capacities with respect to carpet type treatment of bituminous roadbeds. By equipping specialized supplier organizations in this industry with machines and mechanisms for the introduction of progressive technology involved in modern renewal of road surfaces and motorway roadbeds in the Eighth 5-Year Plan would make it possible to affect a considerable expansion of the necessary capacity for renewal of road surfaces in Czechoslovakia. The quality and status of road surfaces specifically affect not only the speed and safety of automobile transportation but contribute to an express reduction in the energy-intensive nature of this type of transportation.

In the Eighth 5-Year Plan and in the next 5-year plan, innovation and modernization of maintenance and repair of highways and motorways, as is the case with respect to all other types of surface communications, will be among the decisive tasks of the highway and motorway economy.

6. Development of Science and Technology

In addition to the gradual introduction of new findings of science and technology into planning, designing, and into the technology of new highway and motorway construction, including construction of new highway and motorway bridges, which result primarily from the solution of research and developmental tasks on the part of designing and supplier organizations or their respective scientific research bases, the development of science and technology in the years 1986 through 1990, with projections into the out years through 1995, with respect to the highway and motorway economy will be aimed at assuring the comprehensive program entitled "Innovation and Modernization of Maintenance and Repair Work of Surface Communications."

This program will solve problems of maintenance and repair of roadbeds, bridges, and components of highway communications, including checking the quality of work, etc. Consequently, this program is divided into four fundamental components, as follows:

A. the information system pertaining to the highway and motorway net;

B. the automated system for managing technological processes and for accomplishing quality control in construction, reconstruction, and maintenance of surface communications;

C. innovations pertaining to maintenance and repair of surface communications;

D. appurtenances and equipment for surface communications intended to increase the safety of highway operation and to protect the environment in the vicinity of surface communications.

The objective of solving the tasks identified under A above during the Eighth 5-Year Plan is as follows:

a. working out a methodology for the automatic detection and inventorying of the shift of concrete plates in surface communications roadbeds, including proposals, developments, and production (in verification series) of measuring devices (Research Institute for Transportation in Zilina),

b. modification of the measuring device to determine the roughness of road surfaces, including proposal, development, and production (in verification series) of the measuring device (Research Institute for Transportation in Zilina),

c. research of a traffic counter, proposal, and production (in verification series), including operational testing (Highway Development Enterprise in Brno),

d. working out a methodology for determining the constant parameters of surface communications in connection with selected characteristics of the traffic flow, including proposal and testing of a functional metering vehicle (Research Institute for Transportation in Zilina),

e. working out and providing the program for a subsystem of the second phase of the ASR of the highway economy (Highway Development Enterprise in Brno; Highway Data Bank in Ostrava),

f. working out a method for determining selected technical-economic parameters of the traffic flow as a basis for the rational planning of development of the network of surface communications, including the dimensioning of roads (Research Institute for Transportation in Zilina).

This will lead to the creation of prerequisites for the further development of the information system, of perfecting its function and of expanding the possibilities for its further utilization and, thus, an automatic information system pertaining to highways and motorways of the Czechoslovak network will be created and will include a program- and instrument-assured collection, processing, storage, and evaluation of the necessary data. In the years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, further expansion of the system is expected to include the continuous monitoring of the real longitudinal profile of the roadbed, automated identification and evaluation of road surface disruptions, including development and creation of the necessary instrument base, as well as solution of the problem involved in automated design of surface communications reconstruction projects.

In the B portion of the program, solutions will be provided with respect to research and application of automated or maximally operational methods of qualitative control, including the setting of qualitative parameters regarding modern and nontraditional construction materials through appropriate methods and introduction of a comprehensive system of quality control and regulation pertaining to selected production processes, rationalization of investor activities, and activities by suppliers of construction work.

Furthermore, investigation will focus on a substantial increase in the operational nature of control by shifting quality activities to the production process and, thus, preempting the creation of nonquality components and their parts, as well as averting the occurrence of energy, capacity, material, and other losses. During the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, activities will include methods for the automated determination of the composition of bituminous mixtures, methods pertaining to the automated control of the carrying capacity of highway roadbed bases, of compacting bituminous treatments, and of controlling the carrying capacity of rigid pavements. A method for the continuous measurement of humidity in aggregate, of determining the parameters of nonstandard loose bulk substrates, a method of automated control for compacting soils, and research and development of methods for controlling the quality and its organizational assurance in executing bridge construction (mixtures, materials and masses of auxiliary facilities, surface preparation) will be in process and their conclusion is expected during the years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The broad spectrum of questions and problems in Section C of the program, pertaining to the innovation of maintenance and repair work of surface communications during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, is aimed primarily at the rationalization of planned maintenance work on surface communications and at lowering the materials-intensive nature of cyclical repair work involving roadbeds. In addition to research by the materials and technological base involving the execution of large-area repair work of bituminous road surfaces, in addition to research and development of new coating and spray technologies, in addition to improving the quality of binding layers and modern materials used in the maintenance of these pavements, there will be research and development pertaining to thin-layer treatments and concrete toppings for roads, concepts and technologies pertaining to repair work, reconstruction of these roadbeds, solutions to the utilization of demolished materials, and the regeneration of road surfaces, on the spot or by container facilities.

Particular attention is devoted to the maintenance and renewal of bridge projects, to research and development of auxiliary bridge structures (roadways, expansion, insulation, bearings, etc.), to the maintenance and renewal of drainage facilities and the replacement of open drainage facilities with drainage systems. Also, the problem of researching organizational and technical treatments of weight-bearing bridge structures from the point of view of the necessity of transporting extraordinarily heavy loads.

A no less serious problem, solved in the C portion of the program, is the innovation of winter maintenance with respect to which, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, solutions will be found through research to the application of chemical strewing materials having a less negative effect on road surfaces and objects in the vicinity of surface communications and the use of additives to pavement materials which would lower the incidence of pavement icing once the temperature drops below the freezing mark.

In the final D section of the comprehensive program entitled "Innovation and Modernization of Maintenance and Repair Work of Surface Communications," the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will see the solution of tasks connected, among others, with the perfection of materials used in vertical and horizontal traffic marking on surface communications, the introduction of traffic signs with interchangeable symbols, the deepening and perfection of the information system relating to traffic accidents, improvements in the effectiveness of measures to increase the safety of highway operations from the standpoint of surface communications, improvements in the surface characteristics of pavements and the entire complex involved in reducing the negative influences of surface communications upon the creation and protection of the environment.

The solution of this comprehensive program during the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, coordinated with the Research Institute for Transportation in Zilina, the Research Region 07 in Brno, requires broad cooperation with research and development work sites and with other organizations not only in the transport industry and under the jurisdiction of the CSR and SSR Ministries of the Interior but also under the jurisdiction of CSR and SSR Ministries of Construction Industry.

Main Tasks of Water Transportation

Prague DOPRAVA in Czech No 2, 1985 pp 117-120

[Article by Eng Jozef Madaj: "Main Tasks of Water Transportation in the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] The position of Czechoslovak water transportation within the framework of the transportation system of our country stems from the anticipated directions of development pertaining to our national economy, the development of the mutual exchange of goods, particularly in the direction of deepening Czechoslovak ties in the international division of labor involving the CEMA member nations and on the basis of economic cooperation with the other countries.

Even though Czechoslovak water transportation in the past 20 years has shown the greatest growth dynamics with respect to the transportation of goods in tons and transport outputs in ton-kilometers, its share within the framework of the transportation system was low; in 1980, it accounted for 0.7 percent of the goods moved in terms of tonnage and 3.7 percent of transportation outputs in terms of ton-kilometers in the total transport output of the country.

In the interest of improving conditions for the further development of Czechoslovak water transportation and to increase its share in the framework of the transportation system of Czechoslovakia in the Seventh, Eighth, and the Ninth 5-Year Plans through a planned division of transport tasks and the maintenance of the principles of state transportation policy, the basic directions of development pertaining to water transportation were taken up by the Presidium of the Government of the CSSR and by the Government of the CSSR.

The increased share of water transportation in the overall outputs of the transportation system of the state were already reflected in the plan for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, where Czechoslovak water transportation was tasked with increasing the volume of transportation by 35 to 40 percent and assigning priority development to international shipments.

The development of water transportation in the Seventh 5-Year Plan followed two principal goals--to assure the transportation requirements of Czechoslovak foreign trade along the Labe and Danube Rivers and to further develop the internal transportation of bulk cargoes and to create prerequisites for shifting the parallel transportation of building materials, carried out by energy-intensive highway transportation, to water transportation.

In 1984, the volume of goods transported, in comparison to 1980, increased by 2,917,000 tons and it is anticipated that in 1985 the volume of transportation, in comparison with 1980, will grow by 34 percent and transportation outputs by 42 percent. A more express growth will be recorded in the Danube region (a growth in the volume of transportation by 62.5 percent and a growth in transportation outputs by 61.5 percent) where unutilized transportation reserves still exist, particularly in river transport to foreign countries. In the Labe region, the volume of transportation will rise by 22.6 percent during the Seventh 5-Year Plan and transportation outputs by 17.1 percent.

However, an analysis of the development of task fulfillment during the Seventh 5-Year Plan indicates that in the beginning years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan a certain stagnation occurred since more rapid development is hampered by unfavorable conditions in foreign trade, by the lack of harmony between the growth of technical equipment in the hands of navigation enterprises and the modernization of waterways and harbors, by unclarified supplier-consumer relationships in regard to domestic shipments. Some of listed unfavorable influences were successfully solved in 1982 through 1984; however, the favorable development in the years 1983-1984 was negatively influenced by a long period of low water on both waterways and, on the Danube River, navigation had to be halted for 1 month in the lower reaches of the Danube as a result of finishing work pertaining to the Dzerdzap 2 water project at the end of 1984, which was reflected in lower fulfillment of decisive planned indicators.

As a result of the above, water transportation during the last year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan has shown a decline in volume of 502,000 tons with respect to fulfilling the task set by the 13th Congress of the CPCZ; also, it is not possible to evaluate positively another congressional task which is the quality of the transportation process, particularly from the standpoint of smooth flow, timeliness, and reliability of transportation. This condition is caused by the above-mentioned factors which also influenced the development of transportation over several past 5-year plan periods.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, deliveries of vessels will essentially be fulfilled in full measure. Even though the creation of new harbor facilities is lagging, particularly with respect to deliveries of cranes while full use was being made of systems measures addressed in the resolutions of the Czechoslovak Government and full utilization was made of internal reserves, there were expectations that the transport tasks assigned to water transportation by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ would be fulfilled. Fulfillment of this task is seriously threatened by the developments of the winter of 1985 when, during the first 2 months, there was a shortfall of approximately 950,000 tons in fulfilling the transportation plan.

The planned division of transportation and transportation work during the Eighth 5-Year Plan assures the further increase in the share of water transportation outputs in the total of transportation outputs; in 1990, this share is expected to reach 1.1 percent of the goods transported in terms of tonnage and 6.8 percent of the transportation outputs in terms of ton-kilometers. The overall growth of transport volume represents 29.4 percent, including 23.9 percent in the Labe River region and 39.6 percent in the Danube River region. Simultaneously, there is a significant growth in transportation outputs in terms of ton-kilometers, namely by 43.9 percent for the sector of water transportation (divided 34.1 percent for the Labe River region and 49.8 percent for the Danube River region). The main task for Czechoslovak water transportation during the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will be an efficient assurance of the transportation needs of the national economy in domestic and international transportation on the Labe-Vltava and the Danube waterways.

In the transportation of goods, water transport will be doing the following:

a. in domestic transportation, primarily assure the movement of bulk cargoes in those regions where waterways connect centers of production and consumption;

b. in transportation to foreign countries, assure the requirements of Czechoslovak foreign trade and a transportation connection between Czechoslovakia and river and maritime ports;

c. assure the movement of extramassive and extradimensioned shipments.

The planned increase in the share of outputs accounted for by water transportation in overall transport outputs and the most rapid growth of the rate of transportation in the Eighth 5-Year Plan stems from the social effectiveness of water transport which, in comparison with the other means of transportation, has a higher productivity and consumes less energy and materials. Also, its influence upon the environment is more favorable.

Efforts to increase the efficiency of water transportation will be conducted under unfavorable conditions because of the braking effect of the previous trends which were tending toward a growth of needed funds and investments, towards a growth of wage costs, and toward the overall growth of costs per unit of output.

The intentions behind the development of water transportation and the increase in its share of transportation work presuppose the gradual expansion of the network of Czechoslovak waterways which is intended, in a phased manner, to not only modernize existing waterways but, particularly, to make the Labe River navigable up to Pardubice and the Vah River to Sered.

Because in the development of the water economy through the year 1995, priority treatment is assigned to the construction of sources and water distribution systems and construction of facilities to protect the purity of water in the face of a limited program of construction designed to protect waterways and canals, the question of assuring the construction of waterways in the Eighth 5-Year Plan is left open.

The reconstruction of existing and the construction of new public and enterprise riverports and transloading facilities is to be realized in conjunction with the reconstruction and construction of new waterways. In the Eighth 5-Year Plan, preparations will be made for construction of the port of Sered and Pardubice with the provision that the deadline for initiation must tie in with the determination of progress made in construction of waterways.

The most important construction investment is considered to be the construction of the harbor at Radotin in Prague, the facility for the transloading of heavy shipments in Bratislava, and construction of a transloading facility for bulk cargo at Komarno.

The realization of water transport outputs in the Eighth 5-Year Plan is based on the assumption that the renewal and development of the vessel inventory will continue at the desirable rate.

The basic types of vessels in the Labe River region will be Model TC-1150 pusher barges, Model TR-610 and TR Variabil pusher tugs, and motorized freighters.

For transporting engineering products, special "roll-on--roll-off" vessels from Poland will be utilized.

The basic type of vessels for the Danube will be Model TC-DE-1600 pusher barges (55 are on order), TR-1000 and TR-1760 pusher tugs.

In determining the further development of the structure of the vessel inventory it is decisive to determine which navigational technology can be considered as being optimal from the standpoint of all-societal effectiveness and, simultaneously, determine the kind of transportation this navigation technology is to be used in.

In recent times, increasingly one sees the use of the lighter system, consisting of the use and transportation of special pusher lighters and maritime carriers.

This progressive system of river--ocean--river transportation between Danubian ports and ports in India, Pakistan, and Vietnam has been used with a high degree of efficiency within the framework of CEMA since 1978 by the International Economic Maritime Enterprise "Interlichter," which has its headquarters in Budapest. In 1984, this type of shipping system was initiated by the IZMAIL Soviet Danube River Navigation Enterprise between the Danube and the Mediterranean. The creation of a lighter-type system to service the Baltic (on the Labe-Oder) is currently being examined within the framework of Section 3 of the Permanent Commission on Transportation of CEMA. In this connection it will be useful to follow, as early as the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the variant intention of substituting deliveries of lighters for pusher barges and to participate in the utilization of the lighter system on the Danube and possibly even on the Labe River.

The capacities of ports, and particularly of transloading mechanisms, are decisive with respect to the level of utilization of the vessel inventory in the transportation of goods. Thus far, ports and their transshipment facilities are the limiting link in the transportation process which causes considerable losses of transport capacity because of necessary waiting time for cargo handling.

Therefore, it is necessary to orient the development of transshipment capacities at ports during the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan toward a systematic renewal and modernization of the fundamental means and, at the same time, promote the curtailment of the overall sojourn of vessels in ports and a speedup in the turnaround time of vessels by increasing the coefficient of processing involving the transloaded goods.

The requirement for a more efficient satisfaction of transport requirements, accompanied by a slowdown in the trend aimed at the growth of funds and investments required by transportation, results in the need for greater intensification of activities in all areas of water transportation.

For the time being, intensification intentions can be directed as follows:

a. at improving the qualitative economic indicators in water transportation and, thus, creating possibilities for the growth of volume of transported goods through better utilization of basic assets, materials, and energy.

b. at improving the quality of transportation in the direction of raising the level of guarantees that merchandise will not be damaged and by shortening transportation times.

The following principal intentions were set forth for the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan with respect to attaining the basic goals of intensification in water transportation in view of its low demand for energy and in view of its foreign exchange advantages:

a. increase the share of pusher technology in navigation operations by navigation enterprises and create technological-organizational prerequisites for increasing the handling and transportation of containers to number a minimum of 14,000 per year;

b. in cooperation with Czechoslovak foreign trade, utilize the progressive lighter system of transporting goods and make sure that Czechoslovak riverports benefit from the development of this type of transportation;

c. introduce the roll-on--roll-off system of goods transportation, which does not require transloading, in the Labe River region and create conditions for its introduction on the Danube River by 1990;

d. utilize more progressive transport technologies (lighter system, roll-on--roll-off system, container transportation);

e. shorten transportation time for piece goods by 1 percent, for bulk goods by 2 percent per year by reducing vessel sojourn time in Czechoslovak and foreign ports and by raising the level of organization pertaining to ship and port operations;

f. raise guarantees that merchandise will not be damaged during transportation and transloading in Czechoslovak ports.

Accomplish the following:

a. increase transportation outputs in ton-kilometers per liter of fuel by 2.5 percent at the Czechoslovak Labe-Oder River Navigation Enterprise in Decin and by 5.5 percent at the Czechoslovak Danube River Navigation Enterprise in Bratislava;

b. increase transportation outputs in ton-kilometers per member of ship's crew by a minimum of 20 percent;

c. achieve a growth in the qualitative indicators pertaining to utilization of the vessel inventory in terms of t/tn by 13.9 percent and in terms of ton-kilometers/tn by 26.9 percent;

d. increase the time utilization curve for crane equipment by 47.9 percent at the Czechoslovak Labe-Oder River Navigation Enterprise in Decin and by 14 percent at the Czechoslovak Danube River Navigation Enterprise in Bratislava;

e. achieve a level of vessel repair percentage of 12.5 percent in comparison with the initial year of 1985.

The above-mentioned "Program of Intensification of Czechoslovak Water Transportation for the Eighth 5-Year Plan" is worked out and specifically contained in the "Comprehensive Set of Measures" of the Federal Ministry of Transportation--Water Transport Sector, in the Czechoslovak Labe-Oder River Navigation Enterprise at Decin, and at the Czechoslovak Danube River Navigation Enterprise in Bratislava with the proviso that it will be constantly updated and supplemented.

Principal Tasks of Civil Aviation

Prague DOPRAVA in Czech No 2, 1985 pp 121-123

[Article by Eng Jiri Nulicek: "On the Principal Tasks of Czechoslovak Civil Aviation in the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] Czechoslovak Government Resolution No 29, dated 28 January 1982, on the position and subsequent development of Czechoslovak civil aviation transportation in the period through 1985 decided to operate intrastate air transportation only on the basic network of airfields and to maintain them in a manner responsive to the minimum social requirements. As a main task, it was stipulated that Czechoslovak international aviation should be assured and the necessary conditions should be created for its further development with respect to commercial policy, ground bases, and through the utilization of savings in aviation fuels made available by domestic air transportation.

It is possible to state that the assigned tasks are being well-fulfilled during the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Domestic air transportation stabilized the transportation outputs responsive to the intentions of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and, in 1984, reached a level of 10.8 million converted ton-km. It is supported through eight Czechoslovak airfields (Prague, Bratislava, Ostrava, Kosice, Tatry, Sliac, Piestany, and Karlovy Vary) and, during the period of international trade fairs, also by the airfield in Brno. The number of passengers transported is around 250,000 per year and reflects coverage of the transportation requirements. International transportation is aimed at the priority assurance of economic contacts, foreign tourism, and foreign trade.

In harmony with the program adopted for the development of Czechoslovak air transportation the yearly increments of transportation outputs in international passenger transportation during this period rose, in 1981, by 9 percent; in 1982, by 9.2 percent; in 1983, by 4.2 percent; in 1984, by 3.3 percent; and in 1985, an increase of 5 percent is anticipated. The transport output in international transportation, expressed in terms of converted ton-kilometers for 1984, represents an increment of 28.8 percent compared to 1980, the last year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, which was the starting year for the rationalization and reevaluation of the proportions of Czechoslovak air transportation. The rate of growth of Czechoslovak international air transportation rose above the world average during the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, prominent attention was devoted to a system of management and assurance of air operations, both from a technical as well as from the cadre side, to make sure that it reflected a solid average European level. Take-off and landing runways were reconstructed and lengthened at the international airfield in Prague and in Bratislava, runway reconstruction was undertaken at other airfields, including Ostrava, Sliac, Piestany. Extensive reconstruction of the runway system at Prague-Ruzyne resulted primarily in the renewal and lengthening of the main runway by an additional 600 meters to a total length of 3,700 meters. This makes it possible to use the maximum take-off mass of an IL-62 aircraft or of larger aircraft. Modernization also resulted in new lighting equipment, new radio equipment, new meteorological and electric facilities for landing aircraft and their precise landing maneuvers. The reconstruction and lengthening of the take-off and landing runway at the airfield in Bratislava meets requirements for a more elastic organization of air operations and assures the landing of aircraft in case of inclement weather conditions in Prague.

Czechoslovak civil air transportation is entering the year 1985 and the Eighth 5-Year Plan with the basic intention of tying in with the tasks set for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, that is to say, to develop international transportation on a priority basis; to maintain domestic transportation at the essential minimum; to increase efficiency, including a further lowering of energy consumption. Transportation tasks during this period which emanate from societal transportation requirements anticipate a permanent trend in the growth of average values by 2 to 3 percent per year. As one of the decisive actions designed to assure this task, the renewal of IL-62-M long-distance aircraft will be completed and renewal of aircraft to handle medium and short distances will be begun as replacements for the obsolescent TU-134-A and IL-18, which will be replaced by new models with a higher seating capacity. This makes it possible, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, to increase transport capacity by more than 20 percent compared to the current status which exists primarily on European lines. On regularly scheduled lines to the socialist countries, transport capacity will be raised by 30 percent in the winter season and 40 percent in the summer season. This capacity will be utilized primarily by participants of organized Czechoslovak passive tourism. Czechoslovak transport outputs on lines running to the socialist countries represent more than 60 percent of the total output of Czechoslovak international air traffic. The increase in capacity will be manifested by increased transportation outputs in international passenger transportation by about 8 percent and its share in the overall volume of transportation outputs will be raised to 94 percent. The modernization of the aircraft inventory will also contribute to improving the comfort and cultural level of travel.

Domestic air transportation will be essentially maintained at the current level. It is anticipated that a slight increase of passenger transportation by about 10 percent will occur. At the dividing line between the Eighth and Ninth 5-Year Plans it is expected that utility aircraft for domestic transportation, manufactured by the Czechoslovak aircraft industry, will be subject to renovation. In 1990, the transportation of a total of 1,235,000 passengers by Czechoslovak airlines is being contemplated, including 955,000 in international flights and 280,000 in domestic flights.

The program for development of air transportation during the Eighth 5-Year Plan also contains provisions for the further modernization and augmentation of air safety equipment, including radar facilities for safety and control of aviation operations in the airspace of our nation and at our airfields. The growing inventory of radio navigation devices in combination with radar devices makes possible the ready and accurate control and vectoring of aircraft and improvement in operations, for example, by shortening flight routes and thus facilitating savings in aviation fuels, or by increasing the throughput rate of the airspace. It is necessary to solve the modernization of ground facilities, particularly of passenger terminals and facilities at the airfields in Prague and in Bratislava, the energy systems of these airfields, including the systems for supplying aviation fuels and the provision of mechanizing and transport means will be modernized and adequate facilities for the development of air freight transportation, including warehouses and mechanization of handling will have to be solved.

The facilities of the Prague Airfield passenger terminal are no longer adequate for handling large-capacity aircraft, particularly those of foreign airlines. This airport station in Prague has been in operation since 1968. Its expansion and internal reconstruction, which will be initiated during the Eighth 5-Year Plan will assure us of a capacity for more than 2 million travelers using foreign airlines and 315,000 travelers using domestic airlines per year.

A significant component of Czechoslovak civil aviation is the amount of aviation work performed for agriculture, for forestry, and for water management. These services are taken care of by the SLOV-AIR Enterprise in Bratislava, which functions all over the nation. In support of developing aviation work for agriculture, the Government of Czechoslovakia approved the concept in 1977 whose intentions are being gradually fulfilled. Outputs anticipated by the concept by 1985, that is to say, 5.8 million average hectares covered, just as the tasks set by the Central Committee of the CPCZ with respect to the problem of servicing one-fifth of the agricultural land by air, had been fulfilled back in 1984. In comparing the years 1984 and 1974, outputs rose more than twofold. Compared to the last year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, outputs in aviation work performed for agriculture will rise by the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan from 5 million hectares to more than 6 million hectares. In addition to increasing outputs, attention is being devoted to fulfilling the requirements of agricultural enterprises within appropriate deadlines, as well as to the composition and quality of the work performed. A significant problem confronting aviation work in agriculture remains the high seasonality of the requirements, which is constantly growing. Whereas for the Seventh 5-Year Plan the requirement for the entire period was to make sure that the required amount of work was accomplished 65 percent during the first half-year, currently, a minimum of 70 percent of the work is being called for for the first half of the year.

Aviation work is a component of the technology of plant production and its development contributes to fulfilling the strategic task of increasing self-sufficiency even in the production of foodstuffs. The principal advantages of using aircraft are the high daily outputs because they replace 5 to 10 agricultural machines, the operational nature of these activities and the high quality of fertilizer application. For example, the use of aircraft to service grain crops is manifested by an increase in yield by about 300 kg per hectare; in protecting plants according to the type of plant and application involved, the contribution of applying the materials by aircraft amounts to about 10 to 15 percent.

For the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it is anticipated that the outputs of aviation work performed for agriculture will be increased to 6.8 million average hectares by the year 1990, that is to say, by 13 percent compared to the planned tasks for 1985 and that 70 percent of the annual outputs will be assured for implementation during the first half-year. To fulfill the program of intensification with respect to plant production, it will be necessary to assure the maximum readiness of domestic capacities but also to utilize the possibilities of making use of the effective aid provided by enterprises which do aviation work in the CEMA member countries, particularly during the period of peak seasons from the point of view of maintaining optimum agrotechnical deadlines. It is also required to assure a growing number of tasks for the forestry industry and for water management, particularly with respect to increasing the protection of the environment by liming forest areas, by extracting diseased stands, etc.

Aviation work of this kind is taken care of by Model Z-37 aircraft of Czechoslovak manufacture (80 percent of the agricultural aircraft inventory), as well as by AN-2 aircraft and Mi-2 helicopters of Polish manufacture.

The aircraft inventory operated by the SLOV-AIR Enterprise will be renewed, as of 1995, by the introduction of Model Z-37 agroturbo aircraft of Czechoslovak manufacture, which will replace Z-37-A aircraft, which will lead to an overall lowering of the number of aircraft while maintaining the dynamics of output by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. In the case of helicopters, the inventory will be supplemented with type Mi-2 helicopters from Poland.

The system of centralized airfields will be completed; there is a total of nine such fields which house the management of aviation components and service centers for individual krajs of Czechoslovakia. They are located at Marianske Lazne, Ceske Budejovice (Hosin), Rakovnik, Liberec, Mnichovo Hradiste, Holesov (for South Moravia and North Moravia), Bratislava, Prievidza, and Kosice. In addition, there are 106 basic airfields available as operational bases for aircraft and crews at okres level.

In 1985, a new repair facility at the airfield in Bratislava will be put into operation which will facilitate the more efficient conduct of maintenance and repair work, primarily involving aircraft equipment.

5911
CSO: 2400/78

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT UNDER NEW LAW OUTLINED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 39 No 11, Nov 85 pp 457-460

[Article by Prof Dr Sighart Loerler, of the Department of Political, Economic and Administrative Law at the GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "Regulation of Local Governments' Economic Management Under the Local Assemblies Act"]

[Text] Within the framework of the general state administration of the economy, local state organs need to accomplish major tasks arising as a consequence of the further pursuit of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy as well as the need to safeguard the growth of the national economy's performance required for that purpose, in accordance with the new stage of the economic strategy. The new law on the local people's representations in the GDR--GoeV--of 4 July 1985 (GBl I No 18 p 213) lists the legal provisions which respond to "the increasing contribution of local organs for the accomplishment of the tasks involved in the new stage of our economic strategy."(1)

Article 3 Paragraph 1 GoeV outlines the general responsibilities of local people's representations in the economic field: "In the implementation of the economic strategy, (they) enforce comprehensive intensification in their sphere of responsibility, create ever better regional reproduction conditions and develop all local reserves for the development of the national economy's performance and efficiency." Article 3 Paragraph 3 GoeV provides for the improvement of working and living conditions simultaneous with intensification. Accordingly the local people's representations must adopt a relevant socialist municipal policy to guarantee "that the material and cultural needs of our citizens are increasingly well satisfied, their well-being in attractive and cultivated cities and communities nurtured."

This general definition of tasks makes it plain that national and local tasks are combined in the work of the local state organs as members of the united socialist state power. The legal organization of the tasks, rights and duties of local government in the field of economic management therefore also reflects the concrete requirements with regard to the application of democratic centralism as the basis of management and planning.(2) It is indissolubly linked with the development of the combines and the modalities involved in the application of democratic centralism.

Greater Responsibilities of the Local People's Representations for the Accomplishment of National Tasks for the Implementation of the Economic Strategy

The management structure of the economy, created by the establishment of combines made up of enterprises and enterprise sections, raises new demands on the local government organs' coordination of sectoral and regional development. According to Article 4 Paragraph 1 GoeV, the development of all regional resources for the improvement of the national economy's performance and efficiency, the safeguard of an economic, social and intellectual-cultural development coordinated with the branches and sectors as well as the further improvement of our citizens's working and living conditions, represent the fundamental tasks of local government within the framework of the national management of the economy. They are described in greater detail in Article 4 Paragraphs 2-4 and Chapters IV-VI GoeV.

The provisions cited involve a definite expansion of the national tasks to be accomplished by local government. In addition to their responsibilities, settled in the former (1973) GoeV, for the distribution of investments, the rational deployment of the social labor capacity and the development of the infrastructure, the new law makes local government responsible for regional rationalization (Articles 4 Paragraph 1, 21, 39, 63 GoeV), while tasks in the fields energy management (Articles 31, 49, 72 GoeV) and secondary raw materials management (Articles 25, 43, 69 GoeV) are substantially expanded.

Within the framework of regional rationalization, local government organs encourage the rapid transfer to production of the results of science and technology, the construction of rationalization aids, the better utilization of basic assets, the lowering of production consumption and the optimalization of transport (Article 4 Paragraph 2 GoeV). The bezirk councils will issue the appropriate plan tasks and targets for the kreis councils. The latter will then draft the actual rationalization measures for the kreis, coordinate them with the factories, cooperatives and facilities in the kreis and ensure the inclusion of the coordinated measures in the annual plans of the kreis, cities and communities as well as the prorated inclusion in the plans of the factories, cooperatives and facilities involved (Article 39 Paragraph 2 GoeV). At the same time only the basic tasks and powers of the local government organs at the various management levels were included in the GoeV, while detailed provisions are set out in special legal regulations, in particular Part P, Section 29, No 3.3 of the Order on the Order of the 1986-1990 Planning of the GDR National Economy--Planning Order--of 7 December 1984 (GBl Special Issue No 1190 p).

The provisions of the GoeV in the fields energy management and secondary raw materials management take into account the regulations issued in recent years on the management and planning in these fields. These already fixed fundamental tasks and powers of local government. However, while these process related provisions largely include regulations applicable to all local government organs(3), the tasks and powers of local government listed in the GoeV are sharply differentiated by management levels. As a result, the responsibilities of local government for the across the board management of local processes are further expanded, while greater weight is given the determined pursuit of local interests.

In the field of energy management, for example, this is demonstrated by the right of people's representations as well as city and community councils to check the supply of heat to centrally heated residential buildings and public facilities, regardless of the latters' subordination, and to impose obligations regarding stable supplies of solid fuel for the public on coal trade entreprises not subordinated to them (Article 72 Paragraph 2 GoeV). In the field of secondary raw materials management, account was taken of the special economic organization, according to which only one enterprise of the collection and processing combine may operate in each district and, consequently, just enterprise sections may operate in the kreises. The managers of these enterprise sections were therefore instructed to report on the accomplishment of their tasks at the demand of kreis assemblies and kreis councils (Artricle 43 Paragraph 4 GoeV).

At the same time, the greater responsibility of local government for the accomplishment of national economy managing tasks does not end with the quantitative expansion of their operations in various spheres. The GoeV aims to establish the present and future duties of local government, and this is specially expressed in the higher place value assigned long-range conceptual efforts.

Local government's oustanding national task is that of providing increasingly satisfactory regional reproduction conditions in order to assist the national economy's improved performance and efficiency (Article 3 Paragraph 1 GoeV). It cannot possibly do justice to this task by the regional balance decisions to be adopted within the framework of annual planning or location procedures linked to a concrete investment. To avoid being confronted by the combines and enterprises with a fait accompli regarding the deployment of regional resources, local government must look ahead and positively influence the development conceptions of the industries and sectors in the region. In connection with the drafting of five-year plans, bezirk councils indeed engage in long-range conceptual efforts (Article 21 Paragraph 1 GoeV), but the need for such efforts required special emphasis at kreis, city and community level where annual plans are all that is drafted (Articles 39 Paragraph 1, 57 Paragraph 2, 63 Paragraph 2 GoeV).

The Proper Organization of Relations Between Local Government and Enterprises on the Basis of Democratic Centralization

Relations between local government and combines and enterprises not subordinated to them will continue to be governed by the principle of cooperation (Article 4 Paragraph 1 GoeV). This responds to the coordinating nature of these management relations. Local government tasks with respect to national management matters involving non-subordinated combines and enterprises are accomplished by coordinating activities which cannot achieve optimum results without the active cooperation of the coordination partners. Various organizational forms may be used. The law assigns concrete decisionmaking powers to local government for the purpose of carrying out specific national management tasks. These may take the form of balance decisions, permit requirements, rights of instruction, and so on. At the same time the law provides for the proper form of the agreement on the organization of relations between local government and combines and enterprises not subordinated to them.

The expansion of the decisionmaking powers of local government is strictly related to tasks. In other words, concrete powers are established for the management of specific economic processes (for example the regional distribution of investments, production shifts and changes in services, the deployment of the social labor capacity). This principle of concrete task relatedness of decisionmaking powers is reflected in a significant expansion and more precise definition of the legal tools available to local government.

The rights of instruction listed in the GoeV, for instance, have grown from eight to eighteen. Five rights of instruction have been assigned to bezirk councils compared with only one in the earlier law. Most rights of instruction (eight) apply at kreis level. Abolished at the same time was the general right of instruction established in Article 4 of the 1973 GoeV, because it did not adequately relate to concrete tasks. Branch management and task related regional coordination are thus meaningfully linked, undue intervention in the reproduction processes of combines and enterprises avoided and the efficacy of the entire management system improved.

As regards the organization of forms of agreement or contract, the local contract has been anchored in the law for the first time (Articles 4 Paragraph 1, 63 Paragraph 4 GoeV). At the same time the GoeV takes account of the fact that bezirk and kreis councils arrive at all kinds of agreements with ministries, combines and enterprises. For example, an agreement is the legal form used by bezirk councils and the respective combines for the regional guarantee programs provided for in Article 21 Paragraph 2 GoeV. The agreements on measures of regional rationalization to be concluded by the kreis councils have a major part to play as a basis for the proportional inclusion of these measures in enterprise plans.

The conclusion of local contracts(4) has become general in the organization of cooperation between city, city district and community councils and enterprises, cooperatives and facilities in the region. Based on past experience, the law establishes three groups of tasks for the substance of the local contract: Tasks related to regional rationalization, the improvement of working and living conditions and the development of social-political as well as intellectual-cultural life (Article 63 Paragraph 4 GoeV). As a special provision for the substance of local contracts, Article 67 Paragraph 4 GoeV provides for city and community councils to agree with enterprises, cooeperatives and facilities the assumption oftasksrelatedto the reconstruction, modernization and maintenance of housing units in the region.

Enterprises, enterprise sections, cooperatives and facilities are obligated to submit to the local people's representations proposals for joint measures in the region (Article 4 Paragraph 1 GoeV), to utilize their potential for the improvement of our citizens' working and living conditions and contribute to the promotion of mass political efforts in residential areas (Article 4 Paragraph 3 GoeV). This provides the legislative framework for the coresponsibilities of enterprises and so on for developments in the region without explicitly establishing the duty to conclude local contracts. Still, it would be quite wrong to therefore assume that the conclusion of local contracts is entirely at the discretion of the parties concerned. Though the local council may not require the enterprise to conclude a specific local contract, the enterprise is obligated on the basis of its legally established coresponsibility to offer a definite contribution consonant with its possibilities and to conclude the appropriate contract.

For the purpose of the organization of relations between local government and enterprises the law joins together different types of legal forms. This linkage is reflected in the differentiated use of decisionmaking powers and contracts related to the accomplishment of specific tasks and expresses the juridical realization of the requirements of democratic centralism in accordance with concrete development conditions. The differentiated application of decisionmaking powers by local government with regard to the standardized implementation of national policy and of independently organized contracts is particularly suitable for joining the two aspects of democratic centralism--centralized management and planning and the independent responsibilities of local government and enterprises. The operational capacity of central management and planning requires on the one hand the inclusion of local government in the implementation of central instructions and, consequently, its equipment with concrete task-related decisionmaking powers. On the other hand, with regard to the handling of regional interests, it imposes respect for any central management and planning decisions mandatory on enterprises. The differentiated provision of decisionmaking powers and contracts in the new GoeV thus represents an important step toward the perfection of the socialist legal order on the basis of democratic centralism.

Many and Varied Types of Cooperation Between Local Government and Enterprises

The close cooperation between local government and enterprises is manifested not only in the conclusion of contracts and agreements. As an indispensable element of coordinating efforts it is also essential for the realization of the decisionmaking powers of local government. The coordinating operations of local government are part and parcel of national economic management and accordingly classified in the management, planning and balancing system of the national economy. When exercising the decisionmaking powers assigned it, local government must always bear in mind the effects of its decisions on the realization of the decisions made by central government vis-a-vis the combines and enterprises within the framework of branch management. Arising therefrom is the general requirement for the synchronization of all decisions, and this can be effected only by close cooperation between local government and the enterprises in the process of decision preparation.

Various types of cooperation have in fact developed to guarantee the synchronization of decisions. Beginning with long-range conceptual work, they range across the regional coordination of five-year and annual plans (legally organized in the planning order) to plan implementation.

Many adviosory bodies at bezirk and kreis councils were established as institutionalized forms of cooperation. Their explicit listing in the GoeV would have strained the text and impaired the fundamental nature of the law.

However, it is certainly the case that the work of these bodies substantially contributes to the deepening of cooperation between local government and enterprises (for example the supply commissions, transportation committees, energy commissions and commissions for the recovery of secondary raw materials reserves at the bezirk and kreis councils). Legal regulations already largely define the tasks and working methods of these bodies which are headed by the competent member of the bezirk or kreis council. With the collaboration of the combines, enterprises and economy managing organs represented in them, these bodies advise on the preparation of decisions which are subsequently issued either by resolutions adopted by the local council or as individual decision by the council member. It follows that these bodies are not organs of the state and do not hold decisionmaking powers.

With reference to the development of cooperation of city, city district and community councils with enterprises, we must not forget enterprise sections. In the course of combine establishment, many enterprises were transformed into legally dependent enterprise sections. As a result, city, city district and community councils are confronted with the fact that substantial places of production, located on their territory, are parts of enterprises outside their territory but greatly affect the social life, the working and living conditions of their citizens and the use of regional resources. Consequently the law (Articles 4 Paragraph 3, 63 Paragraph 4 GoeV) explicitly mentions enterprise sections as partners in team work. The task therefore arises for combines and enterprises on the basis of the provisions of Articles 6 Paragraph 4, 30 Paragraph 5 of the Combine Decree to create the necessary internal enterprise prerequisites for the cooperation of enterprise sections located away from head office with the respective local governments. This also includes the authorization of the managers of enterprise sections to conclude local contracts on behalf of the enterprise.

Implementation of Comprehensive Intensification in the Independent Sphere of Responsibility of Local Government

The law differentiates between the tasks of local government with regard to its own sphere of responsibility and to the national economy as a whole. This reflects the linkage between centralization and decentralization in the structuring and subordination of economic units. Local government's own sphere of responsibility includes the subordination of combines and enterprises as well as responsibility for the official direction, planning and supervision of PGH's [artisan producer cooperatives], private craftsmen and tradesmen. This involves district managed industry, agriculture, local supply management, locally subordinated trade enterprises as well as locally managed construction and transportation.

However, local government's responsibility for the national management and planning of these spheres does not mean that the implementation of comprehensive intensification in the local sphere of responsibility is a local task exclusively. In fact, the central government is required within the framework of instruction, assistance and supervision of local government to contribute to the accomplishment of this task (Article 5 GoeV). Lastly, the subdivision of the local sphere of responsibility by various management levels has the result that bezirk councils also are not only responsible for the implementation of comprehensive intensification in their subordinated combines and enterprises but must also make sure that this task is accomplished in the spheres of responsibility of kreis, city and community councils as well.

Implementation of comprehensive intensification is indissolubly linked with specialization, cooperation, combination and concentration in the national economy. In the course of recent years, the result in the local sphere has been the removal of many enterprises (for example of local supply management) from the sphere of responsibility of kreis, city and community councils and the transfer of these enterprises to the superordinated council.

The law takes this process of concentration into account by providing for the direct responsibility of bezirk councils for intensification in locally managed sectors with largely bezirk subordinated capacities. In addition to bezirk managed industry, this affects mainly local supply management and the sector of trade and supply. Regarding these, the bezirk council is generally responsible for the management and planning and, consequently, the implementation of intensification (Articles 24 Paragraph 1, 25 Paragraph 1, 26 Paragraph 1 GoeV). In the field of construction, on the other hand, Article 27 Paragraph 2 GoeV emphasizes the responsibility of bezirk government for the guarantee of the necessary performance growth of kreis managed construction, though the kreis council is responsible for its development by way of intensification (Article 45 Paragraph 2 GoeV).

In view of the fact that most locally managed sectors substantially influence the implementation of socialist municipal policy, intensification in these sectors also provides improved conditions for the accomplishment of municipal tasks. At the same time observance of the responsibilities incumbent on local government in kreises, cities and communities requires these organs to be able to influence combines and enterprises not subordinated to them but affected by local concerns.

The law therefore expanded and more precisely defined the concrete and task related decisionmaking powers of kreis, city and community councils vis-a-vis enterprises not subordinated to them but operating on their territory. Examples are many and various powers with regard to the fixing of opening hours of supply and service facilities (Articles 68 Paragraph 2, 69 Paragraph 1 GoeV), on fixing routes and confirming the stopping places of public transport (Articles 48 Paragraph 3, 71 Paragraph 2 GoeV), on stable supplies of solid fuels for the public (Article 72 Paragraph 2 GoeV), on the permission required for any intended cessation of services and repairs (Article 69 Paragraph 2 GoeV) as well as expanded rights to instruct. These organizational tools are designed to efficiently link the measures for the implementation of intensification with the steadily improved accomplishment of local tasks.

While, on the one hand, the law takes account of completed processes of concentration, it does, on the other, offer definite opportunities for the variable expansion of the tasks and powers of kreis subordinated cities and communities. As per Article 61 Paragraph 4 GoeV, the kreis assembly may decide by resolution to expand the municipal responsibilities of the kreis city and larger kreis subordinated cities. In that case the enterprises and facilities required for the accomplishment of these expanded tasks must be subordinated and sufficient material and financial resources allocated to such cities. As regards responsibility for the operation of craft trades, Article 39 Paragraph 3 GoeV provides for the opportunity by kreis council resolution to transfer to city and community councils the guidance, planning and supervision of the work of PGH's, private craftsmen and tradesmen as well as the issue of business licenses. Application of this provision does not depend on the size of the respective city or community but on whether the respective PGH's or private craftsmen or tradesmen are primarily involved in supplying a particular city or community.

The subordination of enterprises and facilities to the councils of kreis cities and larger kreis subordinated cities, related to the expansion of tasks, simultaneously makes these councils responsible by way of intensification to expand the opportunities for the accomplishment of local tasks by the capacities subordinated to them.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Krenz, "Government and Law in the Further Development of the Benefits and Motive Forces of the Socialist Society" (paper given at the GDR Conference on Political Science and Jurisprodučence, Berlin, 26 and 27 June 1985), Berlin 1985, p 51.

2. On the further perfection of democratic centralism in the new GoeV, see K. Heuer, "Reflections on the New Law on the Local People's Representations," NEUE JUSTIZ 1985, No 9, pp 350f.

3. See, for example, Article 10 of the Decree on Energy Management in the GDR--Energy Decree--of 30 October 1980 (GBl I No 33 p 321) and Article 10 of the Decree on the Comprehensive Utilization of Secondary Raw Materials of 11 December 1980 (GBl I 1981 No 2 p 23).

4. On the function of the local contract see V. Petzold, "Team Work of Cities and Communities--An Important Constitutional Principle," NEUE JUSTIZ 1985, No 4, p 129, and the bibliography cited there.

11698
CSO: 2300/71

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS IN SOUTHERN TRANSDANUBIA

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Istvan Safran: "Environmental Protection in Southern Transdanubia"]

[Text] When the secretary for environmental protection was asked what his main concerns were, Gyorgy Rippert of Szekszard, Dr Antal Polgar of Pecs and Mrs Laszlo Tarjan of Kaposvar addressed nearly identical concerns, tensions, efforts and inspirations. Can they reconcile their concerns? Hardly. Rather, their situation and their resulting responsibilities are similar.

Tolna: Potable Water and Arable Land

The rivers and lakes of Tolna megye are polluted far above the national average. To mention the Sio or Kapos rivers or the Sed-Nador canal is sufficient example. The area environmental protection agency is responsible for the quality of these waters, but it can do little to improve them since the pollutants' source lies beyond the megye borders. For example, the Pet Nitrogen Works, the Peremarton Chemical Enterprise and the Nitrochemical Industrial Plant are particularly "lauded" in this area, and the inhabitants drink the water of the Simontornya Leather Factory and the Kaposvar Sugar Factory. The situation is serious: for example, in Szekszard the potable wells along the Sio had to be pulled out of the water supply for the townships, and new sources had to be opened at great cost in their place. In this plan period seven communities have been added to the list of endangered townships because of polluted groundwater. Today, "Do not drink the water" signs could be posted beside the names of 19 towns.

Of course, this trouble has not come by itself. As the growth of the potable water system was not followed by proportional growth in treatment capacity, now the Dombovar, Bonyhad and Tolna sewage treatment plants have fallen below standard. The disposal of chromium-laden sludge from the Simontornya Leather Factory is a special problem, since this is a poisonous, hazardous waste product. Incidentally, nowhere in Tolna today can these types of waste products be properly disposed.

Naturally, environmental protection has made praiseworthy accomplishments in these areas. In Szekszard, the iron and manganese removal facility has been installed and is servicing the potable water network. Construction of the natural gas pipeline has much improved the air not only at the magye capital, but at Bataszek and Bonyhad as well. Good drinking water has been assured to 16 smaller townships, partly under the direction of local organizations.

Concepts for the next plan period include expansion of the sewage treatment plant, solution of the problem of hazardous waste disposal, and not least a healthful drinking water supply for more and more townships.

Baranya: Hazardous Waste

In Baranya, as in many other areas, environmental protection is a regularly scheduled topic at the meetings of social and political organizations. In the recent past the megye council, and in the last few days the city's party executive committee have discussed the problems. There is no doubt that there is work to be done in this district of Transdanubia. As an example, due to the progressive acidulation of the soil, artificial fertilizers cannot be used with adequate effectiveness. Plants cannot absorb the unregulated supply of nutrients adequately, so the chemicals pollute the water. And while it is true that in the past years more than 2,000 hectares of previously uncultivatable land have been successfully reinjected into the lifeblood of the economy, this still does not solve the agricultural land problems.

Today, the wells of more than 192 townships yield only contaminated water, but in 101 places piped water is available. The final solution would be to broaden public utility service. In fact, the water packaging plant built at Budafa has greatly helped these disadvantaged small townships.

The tension between the public water utilities and the sewerage and sewage treatment approaches have not decreased in this area in the past few years. It seems that good intentions and money are never enough. As an example, the Pecs Waterworks began implementing a new sewage treatment plant with the help of the city council, but its final completion has been stalled for more than a year now.

The megye's water problems are further aggravated by the Sed-Nador-Sio so thoroughly damaged by Tolna. The toxic-chemical-laden industrial water channeled into the Danube threatens the wells of the Mohacs community; the healthful water supply of many hundred thousand citizens is at stake. A noticeable change is anticipated in the next plan period.

It can be questioned why the air at the megye capital is still objectionable, even though the Mecsek range is nearby. Pecs is not the only victim: at Komlo and Mohacs as well, the air's sulfur dioxide content is significant. According to the experts, the situation will not improve significantly in the near future, since an increasing number of places are reverting to coal heat and the number of motor vehicles is also increasing.

In Pecs, the usual residents' complaints are the sewage treatment plant, the leather factory, and the megye meat packing plant. The majority of the citizens resent these concerns because of the stench that periodically blankets the city. The sewage plant's sludge digestion facility currently under construction will help, but it seems that the implementors are in no hurry to open it.

From the environmental protection perspective, it deserves special mention that in the southern Transdanubian area, 63.5 thousand tons of hazardous waste are produced annually and require special handling. Currently the Pecs Leather Factory, the Baranya Meat Packing Plant, and the Hidas branch of the Budapest Chemical Works have sedimentation facilities. We know only this about the toxic output of the other factories and cooperatives: they pollute the environment: Recently, the resolution approved by the National Planning Office designated the temporary/permanent hazardous waste dump within the borders of Gare, Baranya megye. The council awarded the land use permit in 1983, and the purchasing program was scheduled for this time. In the villages and towns of Baranya, the various organizations are contemplating the upcoming environmental protection tasks. Instead of an item-by-item report of the actual programs, a few objectives shared by the neighboring megyes should suffice: in all development, the environment-conscious solutions must be kept in the forefront; primary consideration must be given to the plans which promise conservation. And further--as it was said recently at the meeting of the party executive committee--standing should be restored to the protection and development of the environment.

Somogy: Before All the Balaton

Many in Somogy megye are also concerned with the disposal of hazardous waste. In the area extending from the south Balaton to the national border, the name of the village Gare is often mentioned: many anticipate and hope that it will reduce their concerns about hazardous waste. But without more powerful central authority, it is said, the plan will always remain a plan.

Of course, in this megye the Balaton enjoys primary attention. Much has been spent on the "Hungarian Sea" and in local opinions the millions of forints and the social unanimity has visible effects. For example, of 12 large area pig farms known to pollute the environment, many have been liquidated or refurbished. To protect the lake water, last year the sewage dumping facilities of seven beachside plants were scrapped, and the construction of the sewage system serving the shore was accelerated. Between Siofok and Boglarlelle, even treated waste water is barred from the Balaton's watershed.

The complex waste disposal plan which encompasses the entire megye has been completed. Its first accomplisments are the sewage disposal plants constructed at Zamardi and Keresztur. Besides the concerns mentioned earlier, the inadequate inland water drainage causes tension. For instance, in the vicinity of the Balaton, barely one-tenth of the rainwater can presently be drained off.

Many here are also concerned with the lack of wholesome drinking water. At the start of the plan period, 121 townships were registered as being health endangered; by the end of the year their number will have been reduced by one-half.

Industrial output is implicated in the clean-air problems in Comogy. More attention should be given to reduction of the pollutant effects of industrial processes, and as early as possible more must be done for the utilization of industrial by-products. For the next Five-Year Plan, modest plans are being worked out: the objectives are the deceleration of environmental pollution and the incorporation of environmental protection restrictions into the everyday pace of production, economy and social life. It is felt that a well-constructed and well-founded program must be produced, such as that for the Balaton. Then the environmental protection measures in the South Transdanubian area will have visible results.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

TIES WITH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Oct 85 p 5

[Interview with Tibor Melega, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, by Istvan Gabor Benedek: "On Strengthening Economic Confidence"; date and place not specified.]

[Excerpts] During the last five years there have been scarcely any changes in the dimensions of our foreign trade: Our country, characterized by its open economy, conducts half of its growing commodity trade with its traditionally best partners, the CEMA countries. Our representatives are working with acknowledged commitment in several committees, subcommittees, and institutions of socialist integration; our committed participation contributes to improvement in the operation of the Council, to expansion of multi- and bilateral cooperation between the member states, and to development of concerted scientific-technological, financial, and commercial cooperation.

Besides this extremely significant activity, Hungary--primarily under the aegis of the UN but also outside it--has established and cultivates a wide scale of ties with the major international economic organizations. Our participation in the activities of forums assisting the cooperation of states of the world has directly and indirectly contributed to a growth in our economic strength and political influence. Our presence has especially deepened in the GATT, in the European Economic Commission, and in UNCTAD. We discussed the extensive activity in this area with Tibor Melega, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.

A Balance of Our GATT Membership

[Question] Our country joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1968, the step being a part of our domestic economic renewal. With the passing of seventeen years it is clearly possible to state: Have our expectations connected with membership been fulfilled?

[Answer] Our country depends on foreign trade to an unusual degree. Therefore, it is a question of survival that we create suitable conditions for our export purposes in the competition for world markets. We need conditions which will guarantee that our marketable commodities will not be forced into a disadvantageous position while the products of our competitors receive preference. In defense of our interests we must take a stand in every case when, let us say, the shipments of other states get into a western country duty-free or under reduced customs duties, while full customs duties are imposed on Hungarian commodities.

In 1948 the states striving for security in the world market recognized that it was more universally advantageous if everyone voluntarily complied with jointly developed tariff controls than if individual countries would make a muddle of international commerce with their arbitrary behavior. The GATT's success is evidenced by the fact that up to the present time seventy states have joined the 23 founding member countries. The agreement gains its significance from the national commercial-political means in the hands of the governments, i.e. that book of jointly formulated regulations which determine how members regulate and utilize, in their relations with each other, customs duties, procedures for import concessions, support for exports, and the protection against unscrupulous commercial methods.

From the very first moment the goal of the GATT was to create for everyone within international commerce equal and identical conditions for participation. In other words, we call this freedom from discrimination, i.e. the most-favored-nation principle. In this way the GATT forms the contractual legal basis for our country's commercial relations with the capitalist world, which occasionally are also supplemented by bilateral commercial agreements. We joined the agreement with great hopes, since the elimination of customs duties which obstruct the development of international commerce and the diminishing of other obstacles is also a part of our socialist commercial policy.

We have formed the opinion that our participation in the work of the GATT is useful and productive. It is especially so in conjunction with the fact that there are no bilateral commercial treaties among the leading commercial powers in the capitalist world, the United States, the Common Market, and Japan, and in this sense it is the GATT alone that guarantees the basis for those ties.

[Question] What does our country give its GATT partners within the framework of the agreement? In other words: How do we pay for the favorable treatment accorded to us?

[Answer] The up-to-date, effective Hungarian customs system introduced in 1968 created the opportunity for us to provide decreases in customs in return for the customs advantages we gained within the GATT. Therefore, in practice we enforce the general principle in this way. Our country joined the GATT so that she should enjoy equal treatment completely free of disadvantageous discrimination in commercial relations within the realm of customs duties and other trade regulations. Since the GATT is built upon reciprocity based upon freedom from discrimination--pertaining to the obligations which were assumed--therefore from the Hungarian side we "pay" in a similar manner with equivalent decreases in customs duties and of course we do not utilize discrimination.

It is necessary to emphasize this, perhaps even to describe it in greater detail, because following our joining the GATT most of our partners provided us with equal treatment when it came to the sale of Hungarian products; the Common Market member states, however, have to this time not fulfilled their obligations accordingly. By this I mean that they have not abolished--neither completely nor gradually--their discriminatory import restrictions.

[Question] What other advantages do we enjoy in the world market as a result of the agreement?

[Answer] From the point of view of our commercial interests, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has proven itself to be useful in numerous ways and in many various areas. First of all, we have benefited from the process for a general decrease in customs duties realized within the framework of the GATT. This is important for us, since Hungarian commodities are in an unfavorable competitive situation on our traditional West European markets. The member countries of the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association, i.e. the EFTA, buy and sell industrial goods among each other duty-free, while they import from the developing countries--certain goods and agricultural products, too!--with reduced customs duties. Just as an aside, let me point out that the GATT regards support granted to developing countries as an exception to the most-favored-nation principle; other non-members, such as our country, do not enjoy similar comparable advantages.

However, I can report on other types of positive developments. As a result of the reduction in customs duties established at the last roundtable discussions of the GATT, within the framework of the so-called Tokyo series concluded in 1979, the customs tariff rates of the European Economic Community for pharmaceutical raw materials decreased on an average from 11 percent to 5 percent from 1980 to 1987, while the customs tariff rates burdening Austrian furniture imports declined from between 20-22 percent to 10-16 percent.

On the Basis of Common Interests

[Question] Did the roundtable discussions at the Tokyo series provide us with other advantages?

[Answer] Yes. For the first time we succeeded in making substantive progress in various economic regulations which are utilized in addition to customs duties. In accordance with our commercial interests we also adhered to various entirely new agreements, or, shall we say, codes of behavior. From now on, our country is also a signatory to the agreement on dutiable price, the treaty formulated within the framework of the anti-underselling code, the agreements pertaining to the procedures on import concessions, and the convention affecting technological obstacles to commerce. These documents, in essence emerging from the GATT principle, make more exact the previously somewhat general obligations, reforming the forms and methods of implementation.

There is still something which I must relate here. It was also proven at the roundtable discussions at the Tokyo series that within the GATT our strength is often multiplied; we are not alone and at the mercy of anyone on the world economic stage. Obviously, within the framework of bilateral discussions the economic weight of the small countries demonstrably differs from that of the capitalist states which are significantly stronger economically. Within the GATT, however, the opportunity is provided for countries having the same or similar interests in certain questions to step forward jointly, supporting each other.

This is what happened and is happening in opposition to the agricultural export subsidy policy of the Common Market, since this practice supports unfair competition in third markets. The European Economic Community's support system--which has in this way made Common Market products cheaper--has not only squeezed out Hungarian products from their traditional markets but also makes it impossible for them to expand into new markets. Since other states--such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Argentina, Brazil--similarly to our country, consider this subvention harmful and a breach of the GATT principles, they can take a more effective stand together. In the same way, on the basis of similarity of interests, we are cooperating with the developing countries on such matters as, for example, the international textile trade.

[Question] The leaders of our external economic ties never miss a single opportunity to protest against disadvantageous discriminatory measures employed against our country. Is the GATT our ally on this issue?

[Answer] It is common knowledge that--basically for political reasons--capitalist countries handle exports from socialist countries in a more disadvantageous way, more precisely, they extend to their capitalist partners treatment that is better than the one received by us. The indisputable merit of the GATT is that in its "regulation pertaining to the extending of non-discriminatory treatment" it does not allow any kind of differentiation based on existing deviations in the political, social, and economic systems of the various countries.

[Question] How do the GATT members view us, and what kind of role do we play in the organization?

[Answer] Without immodesty I can state that our development is accorded attention and sympathy. The initial lack of confidence is a thing of the far past; our partners have experienced and are experiencing that we are a country which can be trusted and which keeps its word, that our economic policy is balanced and fair. Therefore, the work of the Hungarian delegation is followed with special interest. They recognize the personal diplomatic accomplishments of our representatives, too, among other things that we consistently go to bat for complete enforcement of our rights. An indication of this respect is that Hungarian representatives regularly fill important offices at various GATT forums.

Against Commercial Blackmail

[Question] Up till now you have dealt with the past and the present of the GATT. How do you view the future of the agreement?

[Answer] Following the serious problems emerging in the world economy, restrictive measures spread in international commerce inspired by a spirit of protectionism and in this sense in opposition to the GATT regulations. In the leading capitalist countries, first of all in the United States and in the European Economic Community there are significant domestic forces at work, openly declaring that the discipline of GATT stands in opposition to the economic interests of their nations.

Thus, the GATT has, in this sense, reached a crossroad as the basis and institutional system for international commerce. Either it will succeed in strengthening its disciplinary power--through the utilization of new regulations,if need be--or the danger exists that this useful institution with a great past will fall apart. It will fall apart and bilateral treaties, inspired by short-term interests, will predominate in the regulation of commercial ties. Just as this trend would invalidate the equality of the countries trading with each other--therefore, the basic principle of the GATT--naturally the will of the economically strong countries would unrestrictedly prevail. This therefore would be to the disadvantage of the smaller states.

This is why not long ago the thought emerged that new roundtable discussions should be started within the framework of the GATT, in order to reestablish and strengthen its discipline, perhaps even to expand GATT regulation into newer areas.

Hungary supports the idea of new roundtable discussions. Our basic principle is that the achievement of our economic and political goals requires a stable and guaranteed long-range commercial political environment. We believe that the new roundtable discussion must strengthen the agreement, and extend its influence to those areas which are now regulated insufficiently or not at all, for example, to questions relating to agricultural trade.

We also favor the multilateral decrease in the most favored customs duties, so that we can improve our competitive position in all of those markets where treaties signed by the Common Market or other customs unions and free trade zones have relegated, or are about to relegate us into a position of disadvantage. And of course we persist in opposing all discriminatory regulations utilized against us as politically inspired and alien to the GATT.

[Question] We live in Europe, we are tied to the countries of the continent with thousands of unbreakable economic bonds. What kind of a role does the European Economic Commission play in the life of our country, and how are we connected to the work of the EEC?

[Answer] This regional commission of the UN concentrates its attention on development of East-West commercial ties within the international economic organizations. That is why the USA and Canada are also on the list of members. While at the end of the 60s and in the first half of the 70s the EEC fulfilled a progressive role in the expansion of cooperation, the past decade has brought regression in cooperation. In essence, the leading western countries have obstructed constructive development. Since the second half of last year we have experienced a certain degree of moderation, and we trust that the atmosphere will continue to improve. Naturally we aren't deceiving ourselves: progressive and regressive elements have always been simultaneously present in the activities of the EEC. Obviously, Hungary desires the widening of cooperation, but it should also be pointed out that our country takes a stand against economic illegalities and blackmail, and we condemn discrimination and the assignment of disadvantages for political reasons.

Next Year In Vienna; On The Same Topic

[Question] In the area of trade policies, what kind of means do we have at our disposal?

[Answer] Various western countries, out of political considerations, restrict the export of certain advanced technologies to CMEA countries. In every case our representatives in the EEC point out the harmful, senseless, and unreasonably tension-producing nature of this practice. In the EEC we also voice our worry about increasing protectionism.

Over and over we emphasize: the job of the European Economic Commision is to contribute with its own means to reestablishing an atmosphere of trust among countries and business circles. In accordance with this, the EEC must do its share in realizing the recommendations contained in the economic section of the Helsinki closing accords. And last but not least, this year's and next year's activity by the EEC will determine the spirit of the Vienna meeting--scheduled to convene in November 1986 in order to overview the situation for executing the Helsinki accords--and its approach to questions in the economic basket of the accords.

In conjunction with the commercial activities of the EEC we must mention those useful seminars, meetings and conferences of experts, at which from time to time they discuss the questions relating to east-west industrial cooperation, the place and role of marketing activity, and they evaluate the obstacles restricting trade.

[Question] During the 1960s and 1970s Hungary's economic public opinion watched the work of UNCTAD with anticipation. In the 1980s it seems as if the Conference on Trade and Development has lost its significance. Why?

[Answer] At the creation of UNCTAD in 1964, the socialist countries played the role of initiators. It was impossible not to note the falling apart of the colonial system, the appearance of developing countries, and that through this a new situation developed in the world economy. From a historical point of view, we have placed great importance ever since that time on the principles of international economic cooperation accepted at the first conference. In addition to assistance to developing countries, these prescribed freedom from discrimination.

Soon afterward, however it became apparent that the organization would focus its attention primarily on the problems of developing countries, on troubles relating to the export of finished products and raw materials, on the difficulties of the financial situation and on aid directed at them. The so-called "Seventy-seven" group, composed of developing Asian, African, and Latin American countries, which now numbers more than one hundred member countries, won from the developed capitalist countries certain noteworthy concessions for themselves. One such significant achievement was the creation of a general system for customs preferences. This provided for certain finished products from developing countries to enjoy favorable tariff rates. Naturally, Hungary also extends preferential tariffs to the developing countries.

Our country, which acts jointly with the group of socialist UNCTAD members, supports the valid demands of developing countries directed at reforming the international economic order. At the same time, we dismiss all allegations directed at washing away the difference between the role of the socialist and developed capitalist countries in international economic life,, and their responsibility for the situation of the developing countries.

We also dismiss those attempts whose goal is the alteration of the comprehensive character of UNCTAD, i.e. the removal of east-west commercial questions from the agenda of UNCTAD meetings.

Advantages and Agreements

[Question] Or, in other words, our country is striving not to decrease the significance of UNCTAD but rather to strengthen its earlier role. What are the chances for broadening the conference's sphere of activity?

[Answer] The recognition that it was not enough to help the industrialization of developing countries with an improvement in the commercial political conditions for the export of finished products, but that there was a need for more direct means, was born within UNCTAD. The UN Industrial Development Organization, UNIDO, was created in this spirit. With the organizational assistance of UNIDO, it has become possible for the developing countries to make the acquaintance of Hungary's industrial achievements, which, in an indirect way, may help our export.

The working out of international commodities agreements has a significant place in the activities of UNCTAD. Our country has an interest in balancing out the raw materials markets, and for this reason it participates in the majority of conferences discussing international commodity agreements. We determine our adherence to international commodity agreements based upon an evaluation of our current economic interests. We take into consideration the significance for the Hungarian economy of the raw material in question, the advantages deriving from the agreement and the material obligations, as well as the given agreement's potential for actually stabilizing the market. Presently Hungary is a member of the International Sugar Agreement and the International Cocoa Agreement, as well as of the International Cotton Advisory Council.

In sum: We believe that the significance of international trade organizations will not decrease in the future. Hungary will continue in its desire to actively participate in the joint work, since the socialist policy of living side by side in peace is inseparable from the struggle for the development of non-discriminatory economic ties.

[Question] We thank you for the conversation.

12588
2500/37

CHANGES IN OPERATIONAL PROGRAMS, GOVERNMENT ORDERS

New Regulations On Government Orders

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Sep 85, Supplement REFORMA GOSPODARCZA No 60, 5 Sep 85 pp 1,3,4

[Unattributed article: "Government Orders and Operational Programs"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface in original text]

> [Text] Below we publish extensive excerpts from Resolution No 123/85 of 19 July 1985 of the Council of Ministers Concerning Operational Programs and Government Orders for Materials, Products and Investment Projects. The complete text of that resolution will be published in DZIENNIK URZEDOWY KOMISJI PLANOWANIA PRZY RADZIE MINISTROW, No 6, 1985.

With the object of providing enterprises with the conditions for concluding agreements for the implementation of government orders as well as for the implementation of the tasks contained in the operational programs, pursuant to Articles 2 and 384 of the Civil Code and Article 6, Point 2, and Article 27, Paragraph 2, Point 2, of the Decree of 26 February 1982 on Socioeconomic Planning (DZIENNIK URZEDOWY, No 7, Item 57, 1982; and No 71, Item 318, 1983), the Council of Ministers resolves as follows:

Section 1

1. The tasks and resources specified in Supplement No 1 to this Resolution are hereby resolved upon for the implementation of the following operational programs:

1) public railway and road transport;

2) food-industry supplies;

3) public health supplies.

2. The list of materials and products to be comprised in government orders in 1986 and during the years 1986-1988, as specified in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution, is hereby resolved upon.

3. the list of investment projects whose implementation should be comprised in government orders, as specified in Supplement No 3 to this Resolution, is herewith resolved upon. Government orders for the implementation of these projects are to be of a longrange nature, comprising the period until the planned deadline for the completion of these projects.

Section 2

1. The following are responsible for the implementation of operational programs:

1) for the operational program of public railway and road transport -- the minister of transportation and the ministers representing the parent agencies of the enterprises implementing the tasks of that program;

2) for the operational program of food-industry supplies -- the minister of the metallurgy and machinebuilding industry and the ministers representing the parent agencies of the enterprises implementing the tasks of that program;

3) for the operational program of public health supplies -- the minister of chemical and light industry and the ministers representing the parent agencies of the enterprises implementing that program;

2) [as published] those responsible for the implementation of government orders for materials and products are the ministers representing the parent agencies implementing these orders as well as the ministers mentioned in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution.

3) Those responsible for the implementation of government orders for investment projects are the parent agencies of the investors and executors.

Section 3

The agencies referred to in Section 2 are particularly responsible for:

1) assuring that the ordering agencies, in cooperation with the enterprises acting as the recipients of products and services comprised in the lists of government orders and operational programs, specify said orders in detail in accordance with the needs of the recipients;

2) influencing the executors of government orders and operational programs by legally accessible means as well as by the means defined in the Central Annual Plan, with the object of assuring a complete implementation of said orders at the level established in this Resolution;

3) assuring that the amount and utilization of the resources earmarked in central annual plans or secured by granting allocation priorities to the executors would closely correspond to the rationally justified amount,

indispensable to the implementation of government orders and the tasks of operational plans.

Section 4

The ministers responsible for the implementation of operational programs, as mentioned in Section 2, Paragraph 1, and in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution, or their authorized plenipotentiaries:

1) dispose of the foreign exchange allocated for the implementation of government orders and operational plans and decide on the manner of its utilization;

2) may submit recommendations for granting economic priorities to the executors of government orders and operational programs;

3) approve the agreements concluded between the executors of government orders for materials and products and the ordering agencies as well as between the executors of operational programs and the recipients;

4) supervise the progress and perform periodic assessments of the implementation of government orders and operational programs and intervene if problems arise.

Section 5

1. The selection of the executor of a task specified in an operational program may occur through unrestricted negotiations, to be handled by the plenipotentiary in charge of the operational program, on the basis of the regulations governing the government orders for materials and products.

2. The implementation of tasks specified in operational programs occurs on the basis of contracts between the executors and the recipients, upon their approval by the plenipotentiary. The contracts should be concluded on the basis of the regulations governing government orders for materials and products.

Section 6

1. Orders for materials and products should be issued separately for annual and multiannual periods, pursuant to the provisions contained in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution.

2. Multiannual government orders for materials and products are implemented pursuant to the provisions governing annual orders and the provisions contained in this Resolution.

3. Foreign exchange for financing the implementation of multiannual government orders for materials and products is allocated once a year in central annual plans, in the amounts required to implement these orders.

4. The minister of materials management will, in cooperation with the ministers of foreign trade and interior commerce and services, designate within a period ending on 15 August 1985 the agencies ordering the materials and products specified in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution. In addition, he shall determine the principles and procedure for concluding multiannual contracts.

5. A government order for a particular product should be issued by a single ordering organization, regardless of the purpose of the product ordered.

6. Interministerial coordination and supervision over the implementation of government orders for the materials and products specified in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution will be exercised by the minister of materials management.

Section 7

1. Orders relating to the tasks contained in the operational programs as well as to government orders for materials and products should specify the quantities established in Supplements Nos 1 and 2 to this Resolution.

2. Products exceeding in quantity the limits established in Supplements Nos 1 and 2 to this Resolution cannot qualify for the preferences granted to the executors of government orders and operational programs, owing to the limitations on the resources allotted for the implementation of these orders and programs. This does not apply to the items that are especially designated in Supplement No 2 to this Resolution.

Section 8

1. The outlays on construction and installation operations during the successive years of implementation of the investment projects based on government orders will be specified in central annual plans on the basis of preliminary agreements between investors and project executors as well as the suppliers of the materials, machinery and equipment accepted by their parent agencies, and, with regard to supplies of materials, also by the Office of Materials Management. Information about such outlays will be transmitted to the chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers by 30 September of the year preceding the plan year.

2. The amounts of the tax-exempt remuneration of investment-project executors will be specified in the 1986 Central Annual Plan.

3. The chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers is empowered to exclude the following kinds of investment projects from government orders:

1) projects for which the preliminary agreements mentioned in Point 1 are not concluded on schedule;

2) projects whose completion deadline becomes postponed during the implementation of government orders owing to delays in implementation; in this

case, withdrawal of the government order will occur toward the end of the year for which the completion deadline of the project was fixed;

3) projects that have not been prepared for implementation or which lack assured sources of financing (....)

Section 10

Government orders for the implementation of particularly important tasks relating to science and technology, as drafted in accordance with the procedure established by the chairman of the Committee for Science and Technological Progress under the Council of Ministers, should primarily pertain to the tasks ensuing from:

1) international agreements and contracts, and particularly the tasks ensuing from the basic directions of the longrange program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics until the year 2000, and the related programs, as well as tasks ensuing from general agreements for economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the member countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance;

2) the directions of the restructuring of the national economy;

3) the scope of science and technology development outlined in preplanning studies of the development of subsectors and products (....)

Section 12

The specific procedure and principles for the implementation of government orders, with allowance for the revisions ensuing from this Resolution, are defined in:

1) Resolution No 151 of 4 November 1983 of the Council of Ministers Concerning Government Orders for Materials and Products (MONITOR POLSKI, Item 218, No 38);

2) Resolution No 180 of 12 December 1983 of the Council of Ministers Concerning Government Orders for the Implementation of Particularly Important Tasks of the Development of Science and Technology (MONITOR POLSKI, Item 239, No 42);

3) Resolution No 14 of 23 January 1984 of the Council of Ministers Concerning Government Orders for the Implementation of Selected Investment Projects (MONITOR POLSKI, Item 21, No 3).

Section 13

This Resolution is effective as of the day on which it was taken.

Table: Agencies Issuing Government Orders

Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A.	Raw and Other Materials						
1.	Bearing-steel products (rolled, drawn, descaled)	045,0476,0477	1,000 tons	55.0	56.0	58.0	CENTROSTAL Steel Marketing Agency
2.	Rust-resistant steel products	045,046,0476, 0481	"	33.0	34.0	35.0	"
3.	Rolled wire, 5.5-1.4 mm diameter	0455-4	"	1165.0	1200.0	1250.0	"
4.	Boiler steel pipe of II and III requirement classes	0461	"	19.0	22.0	23.0	"
5.	Steel drilling pipe	0461	"	43.0	52.0	55.0	"
6.	Electronic materials,		millions of zlotys	2610.0	2840.0	3330.0	UNITRA-UNIZET Technical-Commercial Agency for Electronic Subassemblies
	of which: metal products and alloys	0533,0566, 1159					
	--monocrystalline	1159,2841-41					
	--dielectric	1159-6					
	--chemical	1336-9 1319-41,0541-41					
7.	Ionic and nonionic detergents	1242-119	1,000 tons	39.8	41.4	43.0	ORGANIKA-CHEMIKOLOR Enterprise for Trade in Organic Chemicals and Dyestuffs
8.	Chemical fibers	1285-413	"	245.0	243.0	249.0	SURTEX Textile Industry Trade Enterprise
	of which textured silk polyamide silk and polyester silk	1272-115 1272-215	"	27.2	28.3	29.4	
9.	Enamel glazes	1319-34	"	9.0	10.0	11.0	CENTRODLEW Bureau for Sales of Cast Products
10.	Construction adhesives	1336-433,-444 -53	"	15.8	16.3	16.0	BESAR Bureau for Sales of Building Materials
11.	Footwear adhesives	1336-433,-472 -511,-542	"	12.0	x	x	POLBUT Leather Industry Trade Enterprise
12.	Urea adhesives	1336-421	"	231.0	238.0	251.4	WEGLOPOCHODNE Enterprise for Marketing Coal-Derivative Products
13.	Structural electrical-insulation laminates	1361-52, -61 1362-42, -51 1369-26	ton	2400.0	2400.0	2640.0	CHEMIPLAST Plastics Trade Enterprise
14.	Artificial and synthetic leathers for footwear industry	1361-7, -8	million of sq m	10.3	x	x	POLBUT Leather Industry Trade Enterprise
15.	Decorative paper	1814-457	1,000 tons	12.0	13.5	14.0	PAPIER Voluntary Association of State Enterprises, Trade Bureau
16.	Furniture flanges and foils	1821-157, -158 -159	million of sq m	60.0	62.0	68.	PLYTOZBYT Construction Board and Adhesives Bureau
17.	Construction cardboard for making tarpaper	1815-31	1,000 tons	65.0	x	x	Marketing Bureau for Structural Insulation Materials
18.	Cotton and cotton-like yarn	1913,1915, 1914	"	188.0	195.0	205.	SURTEX Textile Industry Trade Enterprise

[table continued]

[continuation of table]

Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
19.	Commercial textile products: flat						POLBUT Leather Industry Trade Enterprise
	--fabrics and knitwear	1917-54, 1917-54, 1927-54, 1936-54, 1946-54, 1952-54, 1954-34, 2031-54, 2032-54, 2033-54,2038	1,000 km	44.0	x	x	
	--footwear felts and footwear fiberboard	2026-2 2062-54	1,000 Mg	2.0	x	x	
	--vamp fiberboard	2062-54	1,000 sq km	1.5	x	x	
20.	Natural leather for footwear industry						"
	--	2211-1	1,000 tons	4.5	x	x	
	--	2212-1.-2	million of sq m	23.5	x	x	
21.	Grooving materials	--	tons	13600.0	14900.0	16300.0	STOMIL Rubber Industry Trade Enterprise
B.	Coproduction Components, Spare Parts						
22.	Brake fluids	0246-900	1,000 tons	4.7	x	x	CPN Petroleum Products Agency
23.	Abrasive materials and tools	284	million zlotys	6875.0	x	x	CENTROSZLIF Bureau for Sales of Abrasives
24.	Ball bearings	0631-7	millions	110.0	115.0	120.0	PREMA Technical and Trade Agency of the Precision Instruments Industry
25.	Screws and joints	0653	1,000 tons	111.8	x	x	METALZBYT Metal Products Marketing Agency
26.	Clamps for mine timbering	0629-8	"	65.1	66.2	68.4	Supply and Transport Agency for the Mining and Power Industry
27.	Fuel apparatus for diesel engines	0719-71	million zlotys	7539.3	8000.0	8500.0	POLMOZBYT Automobile and Automotive Spare Parts Trade Enterprise
28.	Hydraulic elements	0876	1,000	254.0	275.0	300.0	BUMAR Foreign Trade Enterprise
29.	Electromagnetic relays	0918-4	"	4468.0	x	x	ELMET Trade Enterprise for Technical Goods, Lodz
30.	Electrical conductors for mobile and portable receivers	1124	1,000 km	120.0	130.0	145.0	CENTROKABEL Cable and Wire Sales Bureau
	of which for mining industry	1124-6	"	5.5	6.5	7.5	
31.	Conducting-wire reels	1122	1,000 tons	27.0	27.5	29.5	"
32.	Power cable	1126	1,000 km	30.2	30.9	32.0	"
33.	Signal cable	1128	1,000 km of veins	240.0	250.0	280.0	"
34.	Telephone cable	1125	"	2200.0	2400.0	2600.0	"

[table continued]

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Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
35.	Stabilizers	1133-81,-82	1,000	10340.0	x	x	ELRET Trade Enterprise for Technical Goods, Warsaw
36.	Semiconductor elements	1156	millions	311.0	330.0	350.0	UNITRA-UNIZET Technical and Trade Agency for Electronic Subassemblies
37.	Radio and transformer filters, chokes, magnets	1158-1,-4,-5	millions zlotys	2200.0	2300.0	2400.0	"
38.	Resistors	1158-11	millions	510.0	560.0	617.0	"
39.	Capacitors	1158-12	"	698.0	732.3	771.7	"
40.	Printed single- and multilayer circuits	1158-68	1,000 sq m	275.0	280.0	320.0	"
41.	Printing inks	1319-1	1,000 tons	7.2	7.3	7.5	TECHNOGRAF Typographical Industry Supplies Center
42.	Graphic films	13335-325	1,000 sq m	1150.0	1300.0	1400.0	"
43.	Rubber and plastic conveyor belts	1374-1 1369-3	km	3824.0	4388.0	4975.0	STOMIL Rubber Industry Trade Enterprise
44.	Rubber V-belts	1374-3	millions	16.0	x	x	CHEMIA Chemical Trade Enterprise, Warsaw
45.	Spare parts for household power appliances						AR-DOM Trade Enterprise
	--kpl RM 5500 rotors		1,000	125.0	x	x	
	--PS3-21-2 type OKC motor		"	50.0	x	x	
	--PS20 type power pump		"	30.0	x	x	
	--PS-45 type apron		"	50.0	x	x	
	--C-20,C-40 heating inserts		"	120.0	x	x	
	--bearing assemblies for SHL rotor-type washing machines		"	900.0	x	x	
	--I-44D type thermostat		"	80.0	x	x	
	--PS-7 power valve		"	80.0	x	x	
	Finished Products						
46.	Central heaters	0614-31,0617-11.0656-32	1,000 sq m p.o.	6100.0	8000.0	9000.0	CENTRODLEW Bureau for Sales of Cast Products
47.	Sinks and sink drains	0614-512,-513 0656-512,-513	1,000	535.0	550.0	600.0	"
48.	Bathtubs	0614-511, 0656-511	"	420.0	430.0	450.0	"
49.	Mine timbering	0629-1	1,000 tons	486.0	502.0	516.0	Supply and Transport Center of the Mining and Power Industry
50.	Fire-extinguishing blankets	0657-139	1,000	110.0	x	x	SUPON Association of Commercial-Technical Firefighting and Protective Equipment Enterprises, Trade Establishment
51.	Gas and electric kitchen ranges with oven (4-burner)	1672-11, 1136-111	"	830.0	x	x	ELMET, Enterprise for Trade in Technical Goods, Poznan
52.	Bathroom heaters	0672-291	"	213.0	x	x	ELMET Enterprise for Trade in Technical Goods, Wroclaw

[table continued]

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Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
53.	Coal dust-burning boilers	0711	1,000 sq m p.O.	76.5	x	x	ELMET Enterprise for Trade in Technical Goods, Radom
54.	Loading machines	0721-400	units	8.0	11.0	13.0	Supply and Transport Center of the Mining and Power Industry
55.	Pumps for pure and warm water	0871	1,000	70.0	72.0	75.0	Bureau for Sales of Pumps and Industrial Windings
56.	Sump pumps	0871	"	26.0	27.0	28.0	"
57.	Temperature controllers for the automation of heating centers	0912-1	millions zlotys	127.7	170.0	292.0	MERAZEP Bureau for Marketing Measuring and Control Equipment
58.	Electricity meters	0941-4	1,000	760.0	850.0	900.0	Supply and Transport Center of the Mining and Power Industry
59.	Automotive tachometers	0943-374	"	32.0	x	x	POLMOZBYT Motor Vehicle and Automotive Spare Parts Trade Enterprise, Starachowice
60.	Gas meters	0943-731, -732	"	208.5	230.0	250.0	Polish Petroleum and Gas Extracting Industry
61.	Trolleys	1061-1	units	220.0	x	x	Supply Enterprise for Territorial Economy
62.	Acid storage batteries for motor vehicles	1134-12	1,000	2160.0	x	x	EMA-ZBYT Technical-Commercial Agency for Electrical Machinery and Equipment
63.	Tractive acid storage batteries	1134-15	1,000 cells	900.0	x	x	"
64.	Acid storage batteries for rolling stock	1134-16	units	2300	2500	3000	EMA-ZBYT Technical-Commercial Agency for Electrical Machinery and Equipment
65.	Pentacosta-system switchboards for public telephone networks	1151-132	1,000 units NNp[expansion unknown]	322.8	340.8	351.1	Supply Center for Postal and Communications Services
66.	E-1C system switchboards for public telephone networks	1151-133	"	61.0	70.0	92.0	"
67.	Nitrogenous fertilizers in terms of N	1231-1 (bez 1231-111)	1,000 tons	1410	x	x	Agricultural Trade Board, CZS SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA [Peasant Self-Help Association of Agricultural Cooperatives]
68.	Phosphoric fertilizers in terms of P_2O_5	1231-2	"	920	x	x	"
69.	Pesticides	1246	"	13	x	x	ORGANIKA-CHEMIKOLOR Trade Enterprise for Organic Chemicals and Dyestuffs
70.	Fire-extinguishing foam and powders	1337-91	"	6.1	x	x	SUPON Association of Commercial-Technical Firefighting and Protective Equipment Enterprises
71.	Paints and lacquers for the consumer market, for exports, for housing construction and for communal economy	1312-1318	million liters	150	160	170	Trade Establishment under the POLIFARB Association of Paints and Lacquers Producing Enterprises

[table continued]

[continuation of table]

Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
72.	PCV pressure pipe	1263-12	1,000 km	10.0	12.0	12.5	CENTRODLEW Bureau for the Sales of Cast Products
73.	PCV drain pipe	1363-129	"	27.0	x	x	CHEMIPLAST Plastics Trade Enterprise
74.	Tires and inner tubes for trucks, (nonagricultural) machinery and equipment and track carts	1371-2, -62, -71	1,000 kpl [expansion unknown]	2500	2530	2589	STOMIL Rubber Industry Trade Enterprise
75.	Tractor tires and inner tubes	1371-3, -63	"	1000	1000	1270	"
76.	Tires and inner tubes for agricultural machinery and equipment	1371-4, -64	"	820	860	920	"
77.	High-pressure hose	1373-54	1,000 km	4.4	4.6	3.4	"
78.	Fire hose	1373-55	km	3500	4000	5000	SUPON Association of Technical-Commercial Firefighting and Protective Equipment Enterprises, Trade Establishment
79.	Ceramic drain pipe	1449-1	million drain units	155	165	180	Trade Services Enterprise for Structural Ceramics and Silicates
80.	Tarpaper	1461-1	million sq m	193	195	200	Marketing Bureau for Structural Insulation Materials
81.	Glass-mineral wool and its products	1462-11 do-14	1,000 tons	160	200	220	"
82.	Cord for agricultural machinery	2023-8, 2023-61	adjusted tons	43500.0	x	x	CZS SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA, Agricultural Trade Board
83.	Protective clothing	2185 (bez 2185-91,-92) 2184 (bez 2184-91) 2114-86,-99, -97	1,000	41500	47500	47500	SUPON Association of Technical-Commercial Firefighting and Protective Equipment Enterprises
84.	Protective gloves	1374-51 2016-53, 2016-54, 2184-91, 2185-91,-92, 2273-4,-5	1,000 pairs	83000	83000	83000	"
85.	Protective and work footwear	1375-3,-4,-5 2221-4, -5 2222-4, -5 2223-4, -5 2225-4, -5 2226-4, -5 2224-4, -5	"	12000	17000	17000	"
C.	Manufactured Consumer Goods						
86.	Enameled steel kitchenware and household ware	0671-11	millions	33	x	x	SPOLEM CZSS Central Board of S Cooperatives, Trade Bureau
87.	Galvanized steel containers and pails	0671-14	1,000	7500	x	x	CSZ SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA, Agricultural Trade Board

[table continued]

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Ordinal No	Item	Standard No	Unit of measurement	1986	1987	1988	Agency issuing government order
88.	Stainless tableware	0671-21	millions	35.0	x	x	SPOLEM CZSS, Trade Bureau
89.	Coal-burning kitchen ranges	0672-14	1,000	197	x	x	CZS SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA, Agricultural Trade Board
90.	Washing machines and rotors (nonautomatic)	0673-11bez 115	"	480.0	x	x	Association of Interior Commerce Enterprises, Center for Turnover in Home Furnishings
91.	Automatic drum-type household washing machines	0673-115	"	300.0	x	x	"
92.	Vacuum cleaners	0673-21	"	940.0	x	x	"
93.	Household refrigerators	0673-51,-52 bez -523	"	470.0	x	x	"
94.	Household sewing machines	0673-6	"	430.0	x	x	"
95.	Bicycles	1043-1 do-6	"	1370.0	x	x	CZS SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA, Agricultural Trade Board
96.	Black-and-white TV sets	1153-21, -23	"	500.0	x	x	Association of Interior Commerce Enterprises, Center for Turnover in Home Furnishings
97.	Household irons	1136-15	"	1600.0	x	x	"
98.	Mainseries electric bulbs	1154-111	millions	166.5	x	x	POLAM-ELEKTROSPRZET Technical-Commercial Center for Lighting Fixtures
99.	Main-series fluorescent tubes	1154-211	1,000	13225.0	x	x	"
100.	Toilet, semitoilet and special soaps	1322-1, -6 1324-63,-64	t<a.t. [expansion unknown]	765.0	x	x	CZSS SPOLEM, Trade Bureau
101.	Washing powders and granules	1322-4	1,000 tons	210.0	x	x	"
102.	Toothpaste	1324-1	ton	26.2	x	x	"
103.	Shampoos	1324-2	1,000 tons	26.2	x	x	CZSS SPOLEM, Trade Bureau
104.	School textbooks, books for elementary and supra-elementary schools		millions of copies	55.3	60.8	66.9	Book Warehouse
105.	Notebooks, copybooks	1825-1	millions	310.0	330.0	330.0	Association of Interior Commerce Enterprises, Center for Turnover in Paper and Sports Merchandise
106.	Sewing thread	1919,1939, 1949	ton	5600.0	x	x	SURTEX Textile Industry Trade Enterprise
107.	Clothing and knitwear for children up to 15						Association of Interior Commerce Enterprises, PROTIMOTEX Center for Clothing Merchandise Trade
	--clothing	2112-1,-2,-3, -4,-5 2113-1,-2,-3,-4,-5 2114-1,-2,-3,-4,-5	millions	198.0	x	x	
	--knitwear	2013-1,-2,-3,-4,-5 2014-1,-2,-3,-4,-5	"	172.0	x	x	
108.	Cotton underwear, adults	2014-001	millions	50.0	x	x	"
109.	Corset goods	2016-1	"	11.0	x	x	"
110.	Stockings and socks	2019	million pairs	288	x	x	"

The above table itemizes the output of materials and products pursuant to Supplement No 2 to the Resolution No 123/85 of 19 July 1985 of the Council of Ministers and, in case of longrange orders, also the anticipated output figures for the years 1987 and 1988. The table also specifies, pursuant to Ordinance No 17 of 10 August 1985 of the minister of materials management, the agencies authorized to issue government orders for materials and products.

Official on Significance of New Regulations

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Sep 85, Supplement REFORMA GOSPODARCZA No 60, 5 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Podsiadko, Deputy Director of Plan Coordinating Team at the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers: "Preferences for Development Projects" (passages in slantlines printed in boldface in original text)]

> [Text] /Resolution No 123 of the Council of Ministers Concerning Operational Programs and Government Orders for Materials and Products as Well as for Investment Projects is intended to carry out the common postulate of economic units -- the creation of conditions for their advance drafting of their own plans and conclusion of mutually convenient preliminary agreements. The fact that this year the work on drafting the Central Annual Plan is being commenced and advanced earlier than in the previous years makes it possible to present in this Resolution the principles for the functioning and scope of government orders and operational plans/.

The resolution contains provisions that standardize the operating principles of operational programs and government orders for materials and products. The standardization of operating principles ensues from the fact that in both cases the government side is interested in particular production effects and grants preferences of the same type to the executors of the orders and tasks comprised in the operational programs.

/In addition to the annual orders for materials and products, the resolution introduces multiannual (3-year) longrange government orders. Of the 110 items specified on the list of government orders, 61 materials and products will be covered by orders for the years 1986-1988. This stabilizes the situation, in conformance with the wishes of the executors, and provides an incentive for enterprises to undertake development projects/. This also serves to offer a new form of preferences for the production of the materials representing bottlenecks in many branches and subsectors of the economy. The longer time frame affords a greater opportunity for a more efficient utilization of foreign exchange through the initiation of anti-import projects (which at first require a greater amount of foreign exchange) and, as a result, demolition of the barriers to the growth of the types of production concerned as well as the possibility of subsequently operating without the support provided by government orders.

Government orders for investment projects also are of a longrange nature; they are issued for the period of implementation of investment projects as specified in the orders. Failure to meet the project completion deadline results in deletion of the project from the list of government orders and expiration of the obligations of the ordering agencies toward the investors and executors, and it makes possible claim litigation on grounds of nonfulfillment of contractual terms. /Such litigation is indispensable to tightening the process of implementing the investment projects covered by government orders. It should also serve to curtail requests for extending government orders to investment projects whose status and feasibility do not warrant anticipating their on-schedule completion/.

To tighten the process of the implementation of investment projects, the chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers is also authorized to exclude from government orders any investment projects that are not ready for implementation or lack assured financing sources.

/The resolution specifies unambiguously the scope of responsibility for the implementation of operational programs and government orders/. This unambiguity of its provisions should contribute to an improved and more efficient implementation of the tasks contained in operational programs and government orders. This should also promote to a broader extent than previously the practice of effectiveness-oriented negotiations preceding the signing of contracts and the quality certification of the products named in government orders and operational programs.

Government orders for materials and products in 1985 will be issued by the agencies designated by the minister of materials management in cooperation with the ministers of foreign trade and of interior commerce and services.

/The designation of agencies authorized to issue government orders makes possible the proper conduct of the preparatory work relating to the conclusion of contracts for government orders/. Here the adopted principle is that a government order for a particular product is issued by just one ordering agency regardless of the purpose of the product ordered.

/The basis for issuing a government order is the contract concluded between the ordering agency and the producer/. In such a contract, the contracting parties are obligated to specify at least the following terms:

-- quantity, nature and grade of merchandise, delivery deadline and method of delivery;

-- requirements for the quality of the products and the conditions and procedure for their quality inspection upon reception;

-- responsibility for failure to fulfill the contract or for improper fulfillment of the contract.

/An important factor in streamlining the fulfillment of these contracts is the legal obligation of suing producers for compensation in the event of nonfulfillment or improper fulfillment/

To facilitate the process of concluding contracts for government orders for materials and products, model contracts have been prepared by the minister of materials management and the minister of interior commerce and services.

The selection of a particular form of model contract is performed by the ordering agency.

Contracts relating to materials and products for which 3-year government orders apply should, in particular, specify the kinds and quantities of merchandise to be delivered during discrete calendar years, as well as the scope, procedure and deadlines for revising and amending the contract. Above all, this concerns establishing the deadlines for determining in detail the variety or merchandise ordered for a given year.

/The resolution's provisions maintain the scope of government orders and operational programs, as well as the commitment of resources for their implementation, at a level close to that of 1985/. In addition to the funds earmarked for imports of centrally financed raw and other materials, 1,220 million rubles and US$590 million are allocated for this purpose; of this amount, 580.1 million rubles and US$77.5 million are earmarked for the operational program for food-industry supplies and 165 million rubles and US$288.1 million for the operational program for public health. In view of the limited resources of both foreign exchange and materials, the proposals transmitted by the ministries were screened on the basis of the following principles:

-- government orders should pertain to materials and products meeting the following socioeconomic goals: application of technological progress, conservation of raw and other materials, improvements in supplies for housing construction, increases in supplies of means of production for agriculture, improvements in the supplies of goods for consumers, for the communal economy and for public transport, education and upbringing, and safety and hygiene of labor;

-- government orders should pertain only to the materials and products whose greater production is impeded solely by problems with the supplies of raw and other materials, whether domestic or imported, for only in this case can a government order fulfill its purpose;

-- maintenance of the continuity of government orders in cases in which it still is not possible to solve the problems owing to which a particular product or material was covered by a government order in previous years. At the same time, in cases in which the output of a particular product or material has attained a satisfactory level, the pertinent government order may be rescinded;

-- Three-year government orders should include the materials and products which impede the development of production in many branches of the economy, while annual orders should chiefly pertain to consumer goods, including goods whose production is expected to overcome its problems within a relatively short period of time and reach a level at which it, or its growth, is no longer dependent on government orders.

/Of the four operational programs followed in 1985, three are retained; the program for clothing and knitwear for children and youth will be abandoned and the products included in that program will be covered by government orders for materials and products/.

/As regards government orders for investment projects, the following decisions were adopted/ :

1) all the 85 continuing projects eligible for this form of implementation preferences in 1985 will be retained (9 projects specified in the Central Annual Plan are expected to be completed in 1985, along with 10 of the 30 schools comprised in a single aggregate item, and 2 tasks were deleted from the plan);

2) during the years 1986-1990 a quantitatively and substantively stable level of investment projects implemented on the basis of government orders will be retained with respect to projects relating to important social goals, i.e., the construction of bakeries, dairies and elementary schools. In this connection, as of 1986 the list of investment projects implemented on the basis of government orders will be complemented with projects for the construction of 4 dairies, 3 bakeries and 10 schools, superseding the projects completed and released for use in 1985;

3) the 1986 list of investment projects implemented on the basis of government orders was additionally complemented with the most urgent food-economy projects, namely, 8 grain elevators.

/Altogether, the proposals submitted mean that in 1986 a total of 100 investment projects would be implemented on the basis of government orders/. It is expected that, owing to the implementation of investment projects based on government orders, as soon as in the years 1986-1987 the following projects will be completed and released for use: 15 bakeries, 6 dairy plants, 3 grain mills, a poultry factory, 3 grain elevators, the first section of the Northern Aqueduct, the CZAJKA Sewage Treatment Plant in Warsaw and successive sections of water supply systems in Legnica and Walbrzych. In addition certain major investment projects such as POLFA in Tarchomin, ZA in Police, ZCH in Kwidzyn, etc., will yield substantial increments in output.

1386
CSO: 2600/1079

YUGOSLAV CONSTRUCTION WORK IN CEMA COUNTRIES

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] Yugoslav construction organizations have been represented for a number of years in the countries of the socialist community (CEMA). Between 10 and 15 organizations from all parts of the country are represented in this region, the most notable among them on the basis of their performance being "Komgrap," "Ratko Mitrovic," "Trudbenik," "Termoelektro" (Belgrade), "Hidroelektra" (Zagreb), IMP (Ljubljana), as well as members of business communities "Unioninzenjering," "Montinvest" (Belgrade), "INGRA" (Zagreb), and "Makedonijainvest" (Skopje).

After the developing countries, the socialist countries are next in the amount of work done. Although the share of this region in work done and project planning services rendered has been dropping (for example, in 1978 it was 17.5 percent, but in 1984, 9.5 percent), still the involvement of Yugoslav organizations in this region is rather significant. The amount of work done annually amounts to between $150 and $250 million, mainly in the sectors of tall building construction and pipeline transport (civil engineering). There are considerably fewer projects in other construction fields, but continuity is maintained in rendering project planning services as well as in performing installation and finishing work.

Among the socialist countries the most important trading partners of the Yugoslav construction industry, that is, of the organizations which keep records on the work they do on capital investment projects abroad, are the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. It is in these countries that most of the work has been done in this region. The USSR has a share of 60-68 percent of the value of work done and project planning services rendered, Czechoslovakia 20-24 percent, and the GDR 5.8 percent.

Value of Work Done in the East European Socialist Countries, in millions of dollars

Year	Total	USSR	Czechoslovakia	GDR	Other Countries
1981	155.1	62.9	27.6	64.0	0.6
1982	133.8	46.6	65.5	21.7	--
1983	250.6	148.0	64.0	38.5	0.1
1984	188.0	126.7	44.4	16.5	0.4

In the countries of this region domestic organizations are represented independently or in collaboration with firms from the advanced countries of the West or with firms from the countries where the work is to be done.

The most important work that has been in the countries of this region is as follows:

Bulgaria: delivery of equipment, supervision over installation, and training of personnel for a diode production line and transistor production line at Beteugrad;

Czechoslovakia: a children's polyclinic in Ceska Lipa; reconstruction of the "Zavod Velvari" Resort at Spolna Neratovica; reconstruction of blast furnaces and steel mills at Kosice, Ostrava, and Trinec; construction and installation work on facilities of the central baths at Marijanske; construction of a glass plant on a turnkey basis at Valasske Mezirici; construction and installation work to build the Litvinov Chemical Plants; complete construction of an industrial bakery at Bratislava, etc.;

GDR: construction and finishing work on the high-grade steel mill being built at Freital; construction work on the Maxutte Steel Mill; numerous installation, anticorrosion, insulating, and painting jobs, etc.;

Hungary: reconstruction of the Zsenye Castle; adaptation and restoration of the interior and exterior of architecturally important buildings at the center of Pecuh;

USSR: construction and installation work done on the hotel complex at Sochi; project planning and construction of four transshipment complexes for general cargo in the port of Roni; construction of a "complete steel mill" at Zhlebin; construction, installation, and building-trade work at the "Dagomys Hotel Complex" sports and recreation center at Sochi; turnkey construction of a settlement of 60 prefabricated houses and infrastructure at Rasskazovo (Tambov Oblast); design and construction of the "Gornyozavoskaya" compressor station on the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline; design, construction, installation, and building-trade work on reconstruction and furnishing of the Hotel "Oranda" at Yalta; "turnkey" construction of a bedroom wing to accommodate 484 in the "Zapoloriye" section of the baths at Sochi; design, erection, finishing work, and installation of materials and equipment for the Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry imeni M. M. Shemyakin in Moscow, etc.

The references which the Yugoslav construction industry has earned so far on the markets of the CEMA countries afford real opportunities for future employment on an even larger volume than up to now. In support of this we would suggest only the fact that certain Yugoslav organizations are even in the group of the largest and most highly esteemed contractors in the world, as in fact can be seen from the ranking in the magazine ENGINEERING NEWS--RECORD (July 1985).

7045
CSO: 2800/97

PROBLEMS, STATUS OF YUGOSLAV INVESTMENT PROJECTS ABROAD

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 85 p 5

[Excerpt] New Contracts Obtained for $2.5 Billion

The figures of the Federal Bureau for Statistics show that in the first 6 months of 1985 new contracts were obtained outside the country for a total of nearly $2.5 billion. Over the same period of time in 1984 the value of contracts obtained was $2.2 billion, that is, nearly 9 percent less than this year. The rate of completion of projects has been increasing slower than the conclusion of contracts. The value of work completed in the first half of 1985 rose 2.6 percent over the previous year, amounting to $914 million. However, a certain discrepancy arises in the growth of contracts and work completed because there is usually a time lag of between 6 and 9 months representing the time that passes from the moment when the contract is let until the first work is completed. That is why the results of the current conclusion of contracts is manifested as a rule most strongly in the second half and toward the end of the year, when there is an increase in collection for work done.

The value of materials and equipment exported to be built into projects did not reach the level this year that it did 2 or 3 years ago, nor did it even reach the results for 1984. (In the first 6 months of 1984 material and equipment exported in the form of capital investment projects abroad were valued at $64 million, while the value over the same period this year is $62 million.) The insufficient motivation of construction organizations to enter into contracts for exporting domestic supplies and material figures as an important factor in the lag of these sales. There are also other causes for the present situation. First of all, Yugoslav organizations were slow to become involved in new projects, that is, the general design, project study or indeed even working drawings had already been completed by firms from other countries, mainly of the advanced countries of the West. Their project planners take advantage of the superiority of their producers, pushing through designs which call for installation of the equipment and technology they are more familiar with. This is beneficial to them, but it is also valuable for their respective countries, since it makes it possible to export domestic equipment under more favorable conditions. In such a situation Yugoslav construction contractors obtain work on foreign projects and are unable to significantly influence the investor to alter the provisions on installation of particular materials and equipment to conform to what our organizations of associated labor have to offer.

How To Compete With Foreign Firms on an Equal Footing

In addition, the advanced countries (above all, the United States, France, Italy, West Germany, Japan) offer complete consulting services, including preparation of project documentation, and this they do gratis just in order to obtain the contracts for particular programs or the opportunity to market their know-how, equipment, and supplies. Yugoslav organizations do not have this kind of business position, nor do they have their own resources or resources of commercial banks that would finance them in taking on and completing this kind of work. As a consequence, project planning services do not exceed 1 percent of the value of the work contracted for by the Yugoslav construction industry abroad, while in the countries of the West (and indeed East as well) this work amounts to about 5 percent of the annual value of construction and installation work done.

Construction Work and Project Planning Services Contracted for and Completed Abroad

Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomous Provinces	Value of Construction Work and Project Planning Services Contracted for, Total, $000		
	1984	Jan-Jun 1984	Jan-Jun 1985
SFRY	2,464.7	2,241.2	2,435.0
SR Bosnia-Hercegovina	413.0	386.2	349.2
SR Montenegro	1.9	2.1	2.1
SR Croatia	490.1	394.9	421.1
SR Macedonia	226.2	217.8	217.2
SR Slovenia	368.4	321.3	347.5
SR Serbia	965.1	918.8	1,097.9
Serbia proper	949.4	903.1	1,075.4
Kosovo	2.7	2.7	2.6
Vojvodina	13.0	13.0	19.9

Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomous Provinces	Value of Construction Work and Project Planning Services Completed, Total, $000		
	1984	Jan-Jun 1984	Jan-Jun 1985
SFRY	1,972.6	891.0	914.1
SR Bosnia-Hercegovina	344.3	157.0	153.1
SR Montenegro	0.6	0.5	0.9
SR Croatia	347.3	135.2	197.0
SR Macedonia	205.7	79.1	87.9
SR Slovenia	319.1	164.0	85.9
SR Serbia	755.5	355.2	389.2
Serbia proper	744.5	347.4	382.9
Kosovo	2.1	1.7	1.6
Vojvodina	8.9	6.1	4.7

Table (continued)

Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomous Provinces	Share of Building Supplies and Equipment in Work Done, %		
	1984	Jan-Jun 1984	Jan-Jun 1985
SFRY	6.5	7.2	6.8
SR Bosnia-Hercegovina	17.2	19.9	26.6
SR Montenegro	--	--	--
SR Croatia	0.4	0.6	0.1
SR Macedonia	0.9	1.6	2.4
SR Slovenia	12.2	12.4	12.6
SR Serbia	3.5	3.0	2.1
Serbia proper	3.1	2.5	2.1
Kosovo	--	--	--
Vojvodina	35.3	31.8	--

Source: Figures of the Federal Bureau for Statistics.

The efforts being made in the country to change the situation in this regard have not so far yielded any great results. The protracted enactment of the law on conducting capital investment projects abroad (over the last 6 years all of 21 versions of this law have been drafted), which among other things should regulate the marketing of domestic supplies and equipment through work on capital investment projects, has become an obstacle to this form of export instead of stimulating it. The solutions put forth in the draft of the law on mandatory exports and installation of materials and equipment of Yugoslav producers regardless of who designed the project being worked on abroad does not respect the real situation, since failure to install domestic materials and equipment could mean that the construction organization would withdraw from a job already obtained or from a job which it could get, which does not reduce the loss, but rather increases it at the expense of the entire community.

The draft of this law does not offer satisfactory solutions for the keeping of records and monitoring of the real inflow of foreign exchange of the construction industry either, which means that there is still no solution to the incentives of this segment of the economy, above all with respect to recognizing its rights and role in exporting and in installing Yugoslav equipment and materials. There are quite a few shortcomings in the bills which have been proposed in the treatment and manner of payment of personal incomes (remuneration) to workers employed on capital investment projects outside the country, and they run counter to the social compact which has been adopted on the manner of payment of those funds. That is, it is evident that along with a number of problems that are involved in the effort of our construction industry abroad, problems caused by the powerful multinational companies and foreign investors, there are quite a few difficulties which are the result of internal organizational and administrative shortcomings and which are just as difficult to overcome as the foreign factors.

A typical example of these problems can be seen in the attitude of the legislators not to allow more than one domestic organization to make a bid on an international contract, instead of requiring them to reach agreement in advance and then to go abroad so that in that way they would compete on an equal footing with the foreign firms. It is the custom for several firms (three or four) from the most advanced countries to bid on an international project, but before they do so they agree on the basic conditions under which they will submit the specific bids.

In addition to those we have mentioned, we will also point out certain other current problems related to the work of the Yugoslav construction industry on capital investment projects abroad. The difficulties in collecting for work done (especially in Iraq), which existed last year and the first months of this year in spite of the efforts to find solutions with the foreign investors, have not been overcome. Instead of extending the deadlines for payment of the various bills, there has been an increase in the number of those which the investors have not been signing, and there have been court cases, which as a rule are very expensive and do not have a dependable outcome (because of the specific nature of local regulations and the subjective factors which do not favor the contractors).

The gradual depletion of work on the leading markets for the Yugoslav construction industry is creating a surplus of unused machinery, which is wasting away rapidly because it is exposed to the influence of adverse weather conditions. There is very little prospect that this machinery can be returned to the country, and one reason is the adverse customs regulations, so that there is a double loss, and the unused capacity is wasting away, while construction in the country is going slowly because of the lack of the necessary "heavy" machinery.

The Market Slump in the Country Is Widening the Group of Organizations of Associated Labor Interested in Doing Work Abroad

The deterioration of conditions for concluding new contracts necessitates that construction organizations have an ever better knowledge of the real conditions under which they can make bids abroad, but the market slump in the country is increasing the number of organizations of associated labor interested in that work. These organizations of associated labor are taking on work without sufficient preparation, undertaking great risks and not uncommonly getting involved in increased losses. In this way the effort of the various organizations abroad is becoming a "thorny path" whose results are to be seen in the growth of the already large losses incurred on the domestic market.

With respect to the credit of domestic commercial banks to support construction organizations of associated labor in their efforts outside, especially great difficulties have been noted concerning the amount of credit which can be obtained (the low bank limits greatly restrict the amounts of credits) and also difficulties in the level of the interest rates to which they are subject. The interest rates are so high, the regular interest applied amounts to between 60 and 70 percent, that including it raises the prices of bids far higher than those which are competitive. Incidentally, it is the custom in the rest of the world for credits on capital investment projects to bear an interest between 10 and 11 percent, while those in our country are considerably less favorable. Moreover, processes do not exist for concentrating uncommitted resources which could be committed to supporting this kind of work, since there are several small unconnected sources, and construction organizations point to their constant lack of their own money.

This Year More Successful Than Last

All of these factors have for a long time now been having their adverse effect, and by all appearances their influence will not undergo essential change before the end of the year. This means that the overall results for this year in performance of work on capital investment projects abroad will be under a pressure which prevents activity from being invigorated more quickly and prevents the rapid return to the level of work achieved in 1983, which was a successful year.

The estimates made in previous months on the growth of capital investment work in 1985 are now being confirmed, which means that this year will be more successful than last: About 10-12 percent better in the conclusion of contracts and 5-7 percent better in completion of work done. It is expected that the value of work, including project planning, engineering, and consulting services, will reach $2.7 billion, and the value of work completed about $2.2 billion. The number of Yugoslav workers employed on those projects will continue to rise slightly, and it is expected to exceed 27,000 by the end of the year. It has been calculated that this year between $130 and $140 million worth of domestic materials will be exported for capital investment projects abroad, but that result would not significantly exceed the level of exports in the previous year.

The prospects for development of work on capital investment projects in the first half of 1986 has been influenced by the somewhat more rapid opening up of new markets (Malaysia, United Arab Emirates, Iran, Zimbabwe, and so on), as well as by the expansion of work to be done on some of the existing markets (Algeria, Libya, Kuwait), and this will most probably have a favorable impact in the involvement of the Yugoslav construction industry outside the country.

The results of the regular surveys of the Market Research Institute show that approximately one-fourth of the construction organizations involved in doing this kind of work predict an increase in the value of work contracted for and work performed in the first months of the coming year. At the same time only about 5 percent of the orgnizations of associated labor surveyed estimate that there will be a dropping off of work abroad, which is encouraging, since in the first 6 months of this year an average of 15 percent of the organizations of associated labor made such assessments. The effort abroad in future will depend to a large extent on the measures expected to be enacted before the end of 1985, that is, above all on final adoption of the law on performance of work on capital investment projects abroad, and enactment and implementation of the supplements to the Social Compact which regulates the question of paying remuneration to workers for work done abroad.

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PROBLEMS IN YUGOSLAV CONSTRUCTION WORK IN ALGERIA

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Radmila Jovanovic: "Domestic Injustices Abroad"]

[Text] According to those who are going off to work outside the country the preparation of regulations on capital investment projects abroad should be used as an occasion, first, to correct the substantial injustices which arise out of the differing taxation of what they will earn there. This would eliminate the causes of dissatisfaction and decreasing interest of specialists in going off to construction projects abroad. In Algeria, for example, 2,150 Yugoslav construction workers (from 13 organizations) have been building 8,130 housing units for nearly 2 years. They took with them onto foreign soil many domestic injustices which on several occasions have even flared up into work stoppages, threatening to evoke even the intervention of Algerian authorities. Unless they are resolved quickly, they could recur, since soon another 1,100 workers, specialists in finishing work, are supposed to go there.

The Work Stoppages "Confused" the Investors

All the shortcomings in organizing the effort and operation of Yugoslav builders abroad, who incidentally have won recognition all over the world for the quality of their work and the way they conduct their business, have been fully manifested in the job of the century--building 36,000 housing units in this friendly country. A protocol on this project was signed by the governments of Yugoslavia and Algeria on the threshold of this medium-term period, when the years of the most serious crisis for construction workers had already been intimated. And instead of stopping to agree as to how they would get this immense job under the most favorable terms and conditions and as to the best way of carrying it out, the construction contractors began to fight over who would take the largest piece from that pie. The results have been meager: Nearly 5 years after the protocol was signed, the prospects are that we will be given contracts to build only another 5,000 or 6,000 housing units beyond those contracted for.

Just when an agreement had been reached somehow within the framework of INPROS as to who would build the housing units in Algeria and just when they had sent their workers there, new troubles broke out. Workers from different firms were paid unequally for the same work on the same construction site, and, what is worse, they were paid irregularly. This was sufficient reason for dissatisfaction to boil over under the hot Algerian sun, at the edge of the desert.

In the spring and then also the summer the workers of several organizations brought work to a halt. This resulted in dissent on the part of the investor himself--the Algerian side. With good reason, since the work was already quite a bit behind schedule, and about 2,000 Algerians are also involved in building the housing units contracted for, and they also participated in the work stoppage, although this manner of exprsesion of dissatisfaction is not allowed in that country.

The reasons for the late payment of personal incomes, it was later learned, have been eliminated, but not the differing payment for the same work and differing taxation of what is earned on foreign soil. Workers from organizations in Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Slovenia have been involved in building the housing in Algeria. One can somehow understand that each of them has differing criteria concerning remuneration, but not for conditions at the same place and differing bases and rates for taxing what they earn.

Premature Return!

The year is coming to a close. The tardiness at the Algerian construction sites has mostly been made up, but in INPROS, which is organizing the work there, they are still afraid of new stoppages. The gross income of workers for work abroad during this year is about to be taxed. Following the amendments of the Law on the Tax System made on the basis of the Interrepublic Agreement on Its Alignment, this matter was dealt with differently in our federal units. The most radical changes were made in the Law on the Tax System in Serbia. Under that law all earnings abroad exceeding three average personal incomes in the republic's economy over 9 months of the year to which it is applied are subject to a high tax rate (running as high as even 80 percent). This will especially hurt the highly skilled workers and specialists, and it is they who are mostly sent abroad, and that is why they have suddenly lost interest in going outside. Many who went before this amended law in Serbia took effect (on 1 January 1985) are exprsesing dissatisfaction and asking to return ahead of time.

The more stringent taxation would not cause so much resentment among those employed in Algeria if it were uniformly applied, that is, if the bases and rates were the same for all those working in the hot African sand. This way the workers, say, from two organizations of "Energoprojekt" are to pay differently for the opportunity to earn somewhat more (at the same job) abroad because of the differing bases and rates. Only because one organization is from Vojvodina, and the other from Serbia.

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CSO: 2800/97

ECONOMY YUGOSLAVIA

EFFECTS OF INFLATION ON 'AVERAGE' ZAGREB FAMILY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 85 p 6

[Article by Bozica Brkan: "The Ivezices Say: We Are Making Do, But Getting By...."]

[Text] The name above the doorbell above Apt 19/II in Josip Pupacic Street is Ivezic. A family of five who describe themselves as the "average average family." Milan (age 43) has all of 23 years of pensionable service, 8 of them driving a streetcar for the ZET [Zagreb Electric Transport]. Andjelka (35), a typographer by trade, works at "Elektroda." Fourteen-year-old Rolando is in the seventh grade, and the 9-year-old twins Mario and Silvio are in the third grade at the "Pali borci NOB" [Soldiers Killed in Action in the National Liberation Struggle] Elementary School.

They live in Spansko, one of the settlements on the western edge of Zagreb, which is caught in the middle between the country and the city. The little houses of the former village Spansko stand like little islands with their fenced-in courtyards and gardens, with here and there a fruit tree, a dog house or stable, and over the morning glass of brandy in the isolated cafe, which still smells more of paint than like a tavern, everyone knows one another without exception. Spansko-South, which is still overflowing with construction workers and the names of construction projects, having a hard time to find itself in the mudholes of the old streets, which have been intersected, and the fresh names of the new streets, which are half-paved, is a part of the city just now in the making.

"When we moved in, we thought we owned heaven and earth," the hosts retell an old story. They have had their own place to live for only 2.5 years now. "Somehow it makes you think that someone really is thinking about you."

Just So They Do Not Post His Name

"When I see how many people are still waiting for housing.... Things have been held up a bit now, but it will come, it will come, bit by bit," Milan says. "I was 56th on the list, and there were 200 housing units. The competition was back in 1979, and construction lasted all of 5 years. I heard: 'Let's go look, it's being built!' We added more, but our building, the streetcar building, since some 20 of the 56 apartments belonged to ZET. But

Plot SC-7 was still just a field. Nothing had happened. We stopped coming. When it was all over, my friends told me 'There's no problem about moving in, we have made it," and I was thinking 'What is there to move in?'! We did not even have furniture, since we had nowhere to keep it. You see, this refrigerator came with us from Goljak. We went through the business of living with my mother-in-law and subletting in a barracks in Vukomerc, whose sole advantage was cheap utilities. And now you see that we have not yet filled the 57 square meters we have, 64 if you count the shed. I could even have had a three-room apartment, but the down payment had to be paid on the basis of the area, and I was not able to do it.... We even had to borrow the 13 million old dinars for this one...."

Milan told us how he had come to ZET 15 years before. He had no job--at that time it was difficult to get a job, even though he had worked several years before at "Jugorapid" and qualified as a filecutter, as well as in "Tesla"--when he read in the newspaper that they were hiring 44 streetcar ticket-takers. The boys from Zagreb, and he as well, thought that was a laughable job. And yet he had just gotten married, the child was small, and Milan decided to try. "I have nothing to lose," he thought. He figured he would probably stick with it for a month, perhaps even a year, until he found something better. He did not figure on his twins being born and on his coming to like the job.

ZET also trained him as a Class A streetcar driver. That meant another Ivezic on the "rails." He had an older brother in "Gredelj," and for years his father was a station dispatcher for the "Samobor line," and he managed to bring all six of the children who grew up in the Lika village of Stikada ("the station before Gracac," Milan says) to the city to go to school. Milan reached Zagreb in 1949 and was a rascal, he cut school, and barely finished a few grades in the railroad industrial school and power industry school. He was more attracted to soccer and singing contests on Sunday at 1100 hours in the old "Varijete" in the early sixties. Singing canzone, that is why his friends call him Rolando, Rolac--he even reached the finals. But no further. He went further driving the streetcar.

And he has a yearning, if it were possible, to go back to the village which, poor as it was, had sent him to the city to earn his living. Out of nostalgia he and the children cultivate a little strip of garden alongside the building, but anything that grows is picked by someone else anyway even before it ripens. It does not, he says, mean any additional income, nor does he receive any from the village. His parents have reached the age of 80, and they barely have enough strength and land to fatten a pig for themselves and put up sauerkraut. Even they need help. But then Lika is far away. But his brothers and sisters come to their rescue. This one with peas, another with potatoes.

And, they say, they get along. But how?

"If I worked the full month," Andjelka calculates, "I would get between 30,000 and 35,000 dinars. If I were not in the office and did not have the frequent sick leave, some because of the children and some because of fainting spells. How that cuts into the household budget! When I pay off the mutual aid treasury and the credit on the carpet, I get outside sometimes 7,000, sometimes 6,000, and sometimes even 9,000 dinars. Just enough for me to buy food until Milan gets paid, since I am paid 5 days earlier...."

"With nighttime and overtime work I get between 50,000 and 55,000 dinars. Now we have had a 30-percent raise. Because of price increases. And we get a family supplement of 9,000 dinars. That brings it to a total of about 80,000 dinars. Then we first pay for lights, heating, and water--16,000 dinars. Now in November it was the most difficult, since heating alone was 14,000 dinars. But I always tell my wife to remember how we had it in the past, and then I will give my whole salary for it if necessary, do you know what it means to have a dwelling!? And we will make do for the rest. Both food and clothing and everything. Just so they do not post my name downstairs that I did not pay. I would be embarrassed to the ground!" Milan says.

"We have between 35,000 and 40,000 dinars left for food. Is that enough? It has to be. Fortunately, a man can get an advance and there is the mutual aid treasury, what would we do otherwise," Andjelka said, and Milan added that he did not like credit, since then when he received his small check it seemed that he was working "for nothing."

"I take what is left for food and go to the store and buy groceries. As much as I will need for that month. Some 10 kg of lard, that is cheaper for me than oil, and it is stronger. I also buy 4 liters of oil, and flour. I buy 10 kg of sugar, since I bake cakes for the children, and we also drink a lot of tea. In the summer alongside the house--there are some 10 linden trees growing--the whole family climbs up and picks a full sack of the flowers, and in Like we gathered rosehips. And I stretch the rest, I cook whatever is left," Andjelka says as she is cooking peas and turnips--kale, a lot of spinach for the children, I bake potatoes, I cook up a meatless stew with potatoes, I do a lot with noodles and gravy.... Sometimes I buy 3 kg of chicken wings, they were 260 dinars, and they lasted a whole week; one day I would fry them in batter, the next day I would make gravy, the day after that I would bake them with potatoes. This year I put up crushed eggplant and roast peppers, and I canned a few peppers and pickles. The money just disappears. And we have to borrow on occasion, and then we pay it back. That is the way it is. There is nothing we can do to get ahead of the prices. How could we?" Andjelka says.

When the Children Are Reasonable in Their Desires

It is easier for them in that Milan is issued a uniform and can travel free and in that the children are close to their school. Imagine when you have to buy books and school supplies. Andjelka herself knits sleeveless sweaters for all three, she buys things on sale, and fortunately the younger boys have been "inheriting" some things from their older brother.

"My children are very modest. They have been brought up to be satisfied with what we give them. They never say 'Daddy, give me, buy me that, since such-and-such a boy has it, and I don't.' They have just been given new boots, and they were so happy they all but took them to bed with them!" the elder Ivezices said laughing. To be sure, they go out only to visit relatives, they spend their annual vacation in Lika, although ZET has a vacation resort on Losinj, and the boys have seen the sea only when they were taken there in nursery school....

"The children have everything by and large. They are not hungry, they are not thirsty, nor are they barefoot nor naked, but life is hard, very hard," Andjelka concludes. Milan adds:

"When one sees how people live, I think that we are living about on the average. There are moments when it is good, and then those when it is really bad.... We see that it is difficult for others as well, but I also see that those who grumble the loudest are not the ones who have it the hardest.

"Believe me, there are times when my breakfast consists of bread, lard, and still worse, a clove of garlic. Then I go off on the second shift, from 1100 to 1800 hours and I come home for supper at 1830 hours and eat what is left from lunch. There is a cafeteria at ZET, but you have to pay, so I do not eat there, since the cooking has to be done at home in any case. Because of the children."

It Was Worse Last Year

That is what Milan says. Is Andjelka jealous of the women wearing fur coats, for example? No. And, she says, she goes to the hairdresser once a year. She is lucky to have a good head of hair, so that she can cut it herself. And desires? They are modest. Just a few days before, she received 25,000 dinars for her 20th anniversary in the firm, and she bought the children boots, undershorts, stockings, and herself a cassette of Djurdjica Barlovic which she had long wanted to have. Does Milan envy the drivers who pass by his streetcar in big cars? No, he says.

Yet Milan does have his license in his pocket, and "one day," and little Silvio, who is excellent in school just like his brother, wants to become an auto body repairman so that he would have plenty of cars! And the desires of the adults? What would they do if they could start all over? For example, would they have three children? Milan says that he would, since he enjoys the fact that Rolando and Mario are splendid soccer players as he had been, and Silvio is a splendid singer. Andjelka would, above all, have gone to Australia, where her sister lives, although she has no longing for wealth, and she would have only one child. She knows best how difficult it is to raise three children, to feed and clothe them, how hard it is when you want something for your children and you have nothing to give them. Nevertheless, both of them think of the children and their apartment as the greatest value in their lives.

"Did you live better or worse last year?" we asked them. And we were surprised when they said: "Worse. At that time we were still repaying debts from the move, the boys were still staying all day in school, which is expensive. Now they take care of themselves. They even do the housework, wash the bathroom, prepare their own clothes. Just like adults.

"Today I am assigned to Number 13, but not unfortunately in the football pool," jokes the tireless charmer Milan while we were waiting for his streetcar, train No 358. Six round trips. That is how he spends his holiday. He is glad, since the pay is better. He goes off in his blue "Czech," the KT-4 two-section streetcar, in the middle of the noon rush hour.

"It is crowded, crowded, but it passes," Milan said as he said good-bye, touching his fingers to the visor of his streetcar conductor's cap. "It passes. I reconciled myself in advance to the fact that it is difficult to break through the rush hour traffic...."

[Box]

Anatomy of the Average Life

Although experts do not like to make forecasts, we still ask them at CEMA [Center for Marketing]: What can we anticipate with the standard of living? And we got the answer that in spite of the momentary improvement, even though personal incomes will rise, no sudden clearing can after all be expected in the skies concerning the standard of living.

"Statistician or satirist, it makes no difference! The results of the work done by both are equally comical and sad," is the tragicomic "barb" uttered partly in jest and partly seriously by Jovan Hadzic-Kostic. It seems more painful than usual right at this time when our statisticians, or actually the most recent data of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, have reported that we are living better than last year.

For the first time in the last several years the rise of net personal incomes has exceeded the rise of the cost of living--by 1.2 percent in the first 9 months. Average personal incomes in the economy over the first 9 months were 35,960 for Yugoslavia (37,576 dinars for SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia), or 71.3 percent higher than last year, while the cost of living rose "only" 69.3 percent. This, they say in the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, is an encouraging datum.

Should we be optimists?

It would not be easy to do that, since the figures of the Republic Committee for Labor and Employment Security and of the Institute for Self-Management have calculated that in August a four-member family, that is, the average Yugoslav family in SR Croatia needed between 66,000 and 68,000 dinars to meet basic needs.

But it is not easy to live even on the average, especially if you live in some expensive city. Toward the end of last year, for example, Rijeka was the most expensive. A family needed 40,102 dinars to meet basic needs. In Zagreb it needed 39,476 dinars, in Split slightly less, and then followed Pula, Karlovac, Sisak, Varazdin, Gospic, Osijek, and Bjelovar at the end with 36,315 dinars. The ranking stayed the same in recent months, but much more money is needed to survive.

To be sure, people are still continuing to shop in Trieste or Graz, and there is even caviar in our own stores. But how are people really living?

For the 3d year in a row now there has been an increase in the number of our households which are worse off every year. Their number increased from 34 percent in 1983 to 40 percent this year. Only one household in 10 hoped to live better this year. The figures of the Zagreb Institute for Market Research of CEMA unambiguously show that this year only 4 percent of the households have covered their basic needs with their regular income, while all of 77 percent did so only partially. That is essentially worse than last year and the year before last.

To cover basic needs--in addition to those 5 percent of the households who say that they have sufficient income and the 7 percent who do not know by how much--18 percent think that their income ought to rise 25 percent, 39 percent think by half, 9 percent by three-fourths, and 16 percent that it should double, or the next 6 percent who think it should more than double!

Since the total monthly income of a household was about 50,000 dinars even this past summer, that means that about 18 percent of the households would have to have at least 62,000 dinars, about 39 percent at least 75,000 dinars, about 9 percent at least 87,000 dinars, and all of 22 percent more than 100,000 dinars. But several months have passed since then.

Which expenditures hurt the household budget worst? In first place are expenditures for food, and then electricity, footwear and clothing, heat, gasoline, public transport, housing, gas, and so on. What do people save on? Mostly on clothing and footwear, and then on utilities, the car, excursions and trips, cigarettes, drinks, culture and entertainment, food (It is interesting that the most recent figures show a drop in the share of food in expenditures from 56.9 percent in 1983 to 55.6 percent this year!), on education....

There is yet another interesting phenomenon. There are more and more households whose income is not enough to cover current needs, but which still are not cutting back. There are simply more and more of those who have already exhausted all available reserves. In any case CEMA experts add that it is very difficult to speak about optimum and effective saving under conditions when households cannot work out the situation and the cost of living of their own everyday lives independently, flexibly, comprehensively, and over the long run.

There have been decreases in miscellaneous credits, which according to many are characteristic of Yugoslavs, partly because the terms and conditions change frequently, and partly because they are less and less available to many people. If they are in fact taken, they are usually short-term and are used for furniture, major household appliances, fuel and stoves, clothing....

Has there been research on where consumption is being cut back? Yugoslavs are doing most to give up alcoholic beverages and coffee, they are going less to the beauty shop and barbershop, they are going less to the theater, to the movies, and to concerts, and they are buying fewer newspapers and magazines.

But unfortunately less is also being spent on all types of meat, especially dried and smoked meat products, and indeed even on milk and oil. Those who have been polled say that the reason is their reduced purchasing power. For example, 78 percent of the households say that their purchasing power is all of 86 percent below what it was in 1983 and previous years. But it is interesting that about 15 percent of the households are spending one-fourth for food, about 42 percent are spending half, 34 percent three-fourths, and about 4 percent even more than their regular income.

However, another observation is still more interesting: Our people are inclined to overestimate and "embellish" their standard of living. There are more and more households who wrongly perceive the shift in their own standard of living to be a move from a middle to a higher category and so on! Even foreign guests in our country have noticed this, saying in one survey done by CEMA that Yugoslavs are satisfied with very little and how they think that this is a barrier to development and for getting out of the present situation. Something else: Our households have automobiles, household appliances, and electroacoustic devices just like the rest of the world, but they are lagging behind in elements of personal and everyday consumption. For example, all of 61 percent of Yugoslavs have no more than two pairs of shoes!

Although experts do not like (unscientific) predictions, what on the basis of what we know so far can be anticipated in 1986? we asked the people in CEMA, where they are preparing to conduct a new poll of households throughout the entire country in December.

"In spite of the good intentions, the trends are such, regardless of the momentary improvements, that inflation cannot die down, so that we can anticipate still less favorable results," says Vlasta Kroflin-Fiser, MA, head of the survey department.

"Costs will continue to rise," he continues, "and this hurts households, and even though personal incomes will increase, they will not be able to offset the price rises. All the surveys we have conducted in the meantime show that households are having a harder and harder time keeping pace with all those costs and objectively, which we began to feel in 1978 and still more drastically in 1981, we are living worse."

What will the statistical service have to say to that?

7045
CSO: 2800/95

FEC VICE CHAIRMAN CALLS FOR END TO FRAGMENTATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 20, 27 Oct 85

[Article by Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council: "Experience Has Been Refuting the System"]

[20 Oct 85 pp 14-16]

[Text] The answer to the question of whether some proposed change in the economic or political system or in current policy affords authentic and integral self-management is the main criterion for assessing its worth--that statement, which has been freely paraphrased, is one of the main arguments of Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice chairman of the federal government, in an article which we have somewhat shortened and to which the editors have added a title and subtitles and which we are publishing in this and the next issue of NIN. The editors invited Dr Sukovic to expound in some detail and substantiate the remarks on the critical analysis of the political system which he made in a recent meeting of the competent Federal Social Council. Instead of the interview that was offered, we received his written response, which we regard as a harbinger of good practice not only in elucidating the present dispute over whether this analysis annuls parts of the Economic Stabilization Program, but also for the period of time in advance of the congresses and elections. Dr Sukovic writes as follows:

It is not permissible to neglect the obligation of opposing conceptions which are not in line with self-management. Especially since their protagonists, who dress them up now in the fleece of science, now in the fleece of the struggle for consistency with revolutionary goals, attributing to pseudoscience the authority of science and to pseudorevolutionism the nobility of revolutionary goals, have been striving to impose those conceptions as better alternatives for the future development of the Yugoslav economic and political system.

Yet concentrating that opposition on the everyday repetition of "verbal condemnations and showdowns" with those conceptions, however well-meaning, is not effective enough at Yugoslavia's present moment. That kind of opposition is actually a lot of talk and of little use concerning the survival of those conceptions. It deprives those conceptions neither of their basis nor their arguments. Nor does it impart to self-management the ability to deprive them of those things through its capability and its strength, by virtue of its results. What is more, involvement with this to the extent that embraces most of the activity in discussions concerning the further development of the system has taken on the characteristics of a method of postponing the effort to solve in the direction of self-management the social problems which are now urgent and have come to a head; a method of creating an atmosphere for continued retention of those parts of the system which are no good.

In Yugoslavia at the present time verbal assurances as to the historical advantage of self-management and swearing allegiance to it are also without great effect. After all, an immense portion of the creators in Yugoslavia are already convinced of this and are committed to socialist self-management....

Thunderous reiteration of the importance and harmfulness of conceptions not in line with self-management does not mobilize the self-managers for action to change the situation for the better. Simply because they know that the immense majority of the workers favor self-management. This is also confirmed by the fact that the workers, even when they carry out work stoppages in protest, are committed to the self-management method of resolving conflicts.

Making a Fetish of Independence

It is many times over more necessary and better than either the one or the other to calmly and seriously, with a responsible attitude toward every argument, to conduct a scientific and political search (exactly so--to search) for solutions in the political and economic system which will make it possible, and guarantee with the "effective human aspect," that self-management will be built as the integral system in Yugoslavia. After all, up to now this has not been accomplished. And as long as it goes on like this, self-management cannot prevail in social developments. Nor can the standstills in its climb and its degradations be overcome.

Instead of superficial, lengthy, and thunderous labeling of the numerous initiatives and proposals, the scientific and political task of the first importance at present is to make a studious, thorough, and discriminating examination of the already-expressed and possible variations of the particular solutions within the self-management orientation, within the self-management conception of the future development of the economic and political system and a conception that is in keeping with self-management federalism.

It is dogmatism and contrary to the rich nature of socialist self-management to say that within the self-management orientation in development of the system there are no alternative versions for the various solutions or individual components, that there is one and only one solution consistent with self-management for any particular problem and for regulating a social relation.

Socialist self-management, in its authentic content, presupposes a high degree of interdependence between independence and unity, eschewing both fetishization of independence and a centralistic unity which stifles independence. Independence in self-management is not measured, nor ensured, nor confirmed solely or mainly by the scope of rights to make final decisions completely independently concerning fragments and little pieces in microorganizations, by the amount of separateness and isolation, but by the scope of freedom for broad and intensive linkage and by the richness of content, by the breadth and intensity of the ties and relations which every entity in self-management establishes with others. That is why more unity, more sense of community, does not in authentic socialist self-management signify less self-managing independence of the parts of the community, just as the independence of the parts, when they take a responsible attitude toward common interests, however great that independence may be, does not threaten community or self-management unity....

Joint and democratic decisionmaking concerning the largest possible portion of community affairs in joint bodies, regardless of the level at which those bodies are organized, means neither alienation of decisionmaking from the workers, nor abandonment of working class interests, but rather is in line with them. It is not centralism. It is simply a normal and inevitable pattern and urgent need in living together. It pursues the line of management of social resources in the context of social ownership and development of socialist self-management relations. It follows the road of breaking up autarky in the economy and everywhere else, group-ownership behavior, which are manifestations and states with antiworker content. The self-management economic integration of Yugoslavia is not contrary to the constitutional independence of the republics and autonomous provinces, nor to their interests, nor to the interests of the nationalities and ethnic minorities within them. On the contrary, it is in the interest of all. There is evidence of this in the lesson to be drawn from the Chinese saying, based on 1,000 years of experience, which runs: Anyone alone is as weak as an ant, but in concord with others he is as strong as a lion! To think otherwise is contrary both to what science has learned and to historical experience. And also nonsensical!

Autarky, the existence of many powerful figures in every entity and at the same time insufficient power on the part of the entities themselves--from the work organization to the Federation--so as to be able to successfully and effectively overcome autarky within itself and in society, is very widespread in Yugoslav reality at the present. Unfortunately, these are no longer just commonplace deviations. These have been constants and components of Yugoslav reality for many years, and the situation has been more or less legalized in terms of law and politics.

The economic, political, cultural, and moral consequences of these components and of present Yugoslav reality are numerous and very adverse. Some of them are limited to the present time, others go so far as to threaten even the future....

Partialization

These and other adverse consequences of the widespread autarky, of egoistic exclusiveness and of the opposition of the parts to the broader wholes, have been making that autarky, on the scale in which it exists, a great Yugoslav evil at the present time. There is nothing in the world worse nor more dangerous to Yugoslav self-management and the entire future than cutting up the unified economic and social space of Yugoslavia into parcels, than autarkizing the parts of the Yugoslav economic, spiritual, ideological, and cultural tissue, which is based on self-management and imbued with it. This has been proven scientifically. This has been confirmed by Yugoslav life over the last decade. It is clear that everyone behaves according to the given general conditions. In other words, it is illogical and unnatural for an economy to parcelize itself solely by its own desire, thereby mutilating and incapacitating itself. On the contrary, it is logical and natural for every economic factor, and indeed every person, to behave as he is guided and coerced by the social relations in which he is operating, by the specific lasting constants in those relations.

The existence of the widespread autarky, then, of the widespread disunity in development, business, the spirit, action, and elsewhere, is more dangerous and more disturbing than all the material difficulties Yugoslavia confronts at the present time, although those difficulties are very painful and full of uncertainty.

One reason is that with more unity based on self-management and imbued with it it would be easier to overcome those material difficulties more rapidly. With autarky, however, there is no way out! There is no philosophy and no system that guarantees a way out without better performance, better organization, and greater unity based on self-management. A unity in which all are equal, not some subordinated to the others....

These realizations, along with the fact that the most essential constants of social relations are determined by the content of the features of the economic and political system, make it imperative that we seek an answer to the following two questions: First, does the concept of self-management which has been built up in the laws, self-management acts, and the orientation of political action to date contain the points of support, the reasons, and the encouragement for the evolution and maintenance of the widespread autarky in society, for the present disintegration of Yugoslavia's economic and social tissue?

And then, has the independence of the parts in the wholes to which they belong, from the work organization to the Federation, been so shaped, elaborated, and designed in the laws and general self-management acts so as to be fully consistent in its content and goals with the entirety of the nature and content of socialist self-management and its programmatic and constitutional definition?

On Rights and Responsibility

An analysis of the quality of the self-management conception contained in the laws and general self-management acts to date and of the quality of social relations and the states which have come about through their application in social practice, both in the domain of the economic system and also in the domain of the political system--unity in their arrangements and their impact in reality offers the only possibility of the right result--furnishes the following elements of answers to the questions posed above:

First. The conception of self-management set forth in many features of the present laws and general self-management acts, in the present political orientations and political-action efforts, neglects to a considerable extent a scientifically established truth, which runs like this: The isolated treatment of rights and freedoms, indeed even the right to independence, their separation from obligations and responsibilities, does not lead toward establishment of true and full socialist self-management as an integral system, as the global Yugoslav social relation, nor toward establishment of the social nature of social ownership to the degree presupposed by its nature, its overall content, and its goals, to that degree of sociality required if social ownership is to be a state, not just a goal.

Science, that is, has made a very well-argued case establishing that there are no rights without obligations and responsibilities, that every right and every freedom also contains responsibility. Both in the philosophical and the political meaning of those words....

Second. The independence of particular entities from self-management unity and community has been guaranteed to a very great degree in present laws and general self-management acts, in political orientations and in political-action efforts.

The balance between the independence of the parts and the unity of the whole inherent in self-management and constitutionally defined has been disturbed in the present laws and general self-management acts and in reality. Disturbed on behalf of an independence which is being treated almost as a fetish or absolute, and to the detriment of the establishment and firm assurance of relations between the parts and the wholes to which they belong, of establishment and assurance of the discharge of obligations of the parts to the wholes, of assurance of unity based on self-management and imbued with it. And this is true in all domains, but especially in the domain of planning development.

Disrupted even in work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor and in all broader communities, all the way to the Federation.

Disturbed in such a way that a broad role has been given to the broader integrated entities, but very little power....

Third. Work organizations, other self-managing organizations and communities, and sociopolitical communities have been placed by the present legal and self-management solutions and political guidelines in relations which actually make it their duty to guarantee the survival of every organizationally independent part, even that part which takes advantage of its independence in planning and the conduct of business so as to injure the joint and general interests and essential content and goals of social ownership. This opens up the possibility, indeed even guarantees, that mistakes and losses caused by autarky will be covered up. Under those conditions the establishment of mutual linkage, the formation of association and integration are not a vital need of existence and an obligation of the independent entities.

Fourth. A concept of self-management which overemphasizes independence, has also parcelized the economic system. To a certain extent the political system as well. It has incapacitated the system from functioning as a whole, its parts from functioning harmoniously and in the same direction, and that is a condition for the system to effectively protect the production relation of self-management and social ownership, for it to compel respect for the common interests and for efficient conduct of business.

The Lack of the Integrative Function

Theoretical analysis and assessment of the unity of points 1, 2, 3, and 4 yields a result consisting in part of the following realizations and the following conclusive assessments.

The laws and general self-management acts adopted to date and present Yugoslav reality have set forth and established a concept of self-management which in its content is considerably less rich than socialist self-management in its authentic form, as defined in the program and the constitution. The integrative component which is inherent in it and without which it does not exist in its true and full authentic form has been squeezed out of it or has been very greatly displaced. Without it, or if it has been greatly diminished or rendered powerless, self-management is reduced to merely one of its components. An important one, but still only one.

A self-management in which there is strong insistence on independence, and far less insistence on self-management integration, on unity in self-management and community, has a logic which orients it toward a slide in the direction of the system of decentralized decisionmaking--and in the direction of becoming exactly that.

The absence of the integrative component in the concept of self-management is not manifested in present Yugoslav reality in the nonexistence of any sort of unified self-management organization that would be managed from a single center. Integral socialist self-management does not assume this. That is alien to it.

Nor is it manifested in the number and breadth of the rights of independent entities, although it is a drawback that certain rights have been established which go beyond material capabilities....

At the moment when the conception was drafted and elaborated, it was not possible to verify this assertion by an analysis of reality. Simply because there had been no experience.

Today, however, the situation is different. There has been abundant experience. It affords a vantage point from which to analyze and evaluate the conception that was established and was carried out. And that vantage point reveals that wishes and convictions were different, better than what was achieved. and that there is a need to complete and add to the concept of self-management that was established, to develop it and to correct its development. What one sees from that vantage point makes it imperative to do that. And it must be done boldly and responsibly.

[27 Oct 85 pp 16-18]

[Text] Can a conception of self-management which, as has been noted, overemphasizes independence, but falls short greatly in providing the integrative components, be a good framework and guideline, without adjustment, to enable the present Yugoslav system, political and economic, so that it can successfully resolve, insofar as that is its task, the complex and profound contradictions that have accumulated in society, the many knotty tangles of economic and other difficulties, including the elimination of autarky, so that it encourages and creates the conditions and the normal process of economic integration of Yugoslavia through self-management imposed by economic laws and the requirements of the microprocessor phase of the technological revolution and prove more successfully than "verbal renderings of account" that self-management is superior to those pathways of social development other than self-management?

How is one to alter and supplement in development the parts of the system, political and economic, so that by comparison with the present one it will effectively perform the functions which it has at the same time more competently and more faithfully to self-management?

The correct and complete answer to these two questions cannot be made in terms of a detached assessment of individual solutions and by simply stringing them together as separate chips on the woodpile. Answering them requires that we look at the whole, vision is required. A comprehensive vision, but above all a vision of the ways of guaranteeing self-management.

Democratic Decor

The answer which I give to the questions which have been put is based on the result of linking together and evaluating the results of a scientific and political analysis of present Yugoslav reality, especially the tendencies which have become steady and predominant in it, and the theoretical knowledge of socialism and socialist self-management. The response based on that is as follows:

Establishment of ties and responsibility between independent self-managing factors and making it possible for decisions to be made jointly and democratically in joint bodies concerning every common interest in development and business by all those whose interest is involved, and guaranteeing, both legally and politically, that those ties are effectively established and developed in practice, is crucial and decisive to the further enablement and development of self-management under the present problematical and deep contradictions of Yugoslav society. The basic direction and basic thread in the development and improvement of the system, economic and political, must be this: Return to full and consistent balance between self-management independence for everyone and self-management unity and community for every complex entity from the work organization to the Federation; to the balance inherent in integral socialist self-management, to its entire existence, as declared and established in the program and constitution. But a unity, it is worth repeating here, based on self-management, with socialist characteristics and imbued with it, and not on some other or different self-management. A unity which is the condition for decisions to be made concerning joint affairs in development and current affairs within broader integrated entities, in society as a whole, in joint bodies, and in relations that signify interdependence and mutual responsibility. A unity which is indispensable so that increasing the rights of the workers in individual organizations does not result in greater confrontation of those organizations, but strengthens the role and power of the working class as a whole, the hegemony of associated labor in society which it can never have so long as it is fragmented within itself.

The second component of this direction, complementary to the first, means omitting from the system every feature which facilitates or compels mistakes and losses caused by autarkic behavior and abuses of independence to be covered at the expense of all, at the community's expense, and incorporating into the system features which will economically coerce every independent entity to enter into association with others and establish ties on a self-management basis, which will make their linkage and association a vital need and obligation of everyone and of all. Especially in the planning of development, in investment policy.

That direction, that thread of development, preserves socialist self-management from having what does not belong to it imposed upon it and from being deprived of what is essential to it if it is to be able to successfully respond to the present and coming challenge of the microprocessor phase of the scientific-technological revolution and meet its progressive requirements; otherwise, it will not be possible to prevent the situation in which the workers, regardless of the scope of their rights to make decisions concerning fragments and pieces in microcells, will be only a democratic decor which will conceal and legitimize the decisions and behavior of those holding professional management and professional positions and which will be a barrier to rendering an account from those holding those positions because of mistakes in development and the conduct of business caused by autarkic conceptions, ignorance, idleness, or something else.

It then makes it possible to prevent egoism and liberalism from being instilled into the conception of socialism as states and as social relations; it prevents the domination of localistic and other similar interests from being regarded as legal and legitimate in the complex configuration of interests in Yugoslavia, which has already become a check on the objectively possible dynamic progress of Yugoslav society as a whole.

A Fateful Step

The limited space does not allow me to state more specifically, elaborate, and spell out the positions which what I have said presupposes or which follows from it. The present situation, the differing views, the possibility of distorted interpretations, however, make it mandatory that even in this statement I should say that what this basic thread for liberating the system presupposes includes the following:

Augmenting science's capability to successfully open up prospects and ways for improving the strategy and individual solutions in the further development of self-management as a social relation and as the form of social organization of the economic and political system. Without a more capable science, society does not have any very bright future....

At the same time, there has to be greater responsibility on the part of every political and self-management institution for the scientific soundness of the decisions which they make, whose result will be improvement of the social atmosphere for scientific creativity, enhancement of the social prestige of science and scientists, and improvement of the material conditions for scientific work.

By making changes in the actual orientation of political action in social practice, which has above all become a real component of the system, and then also by making certain changes and additions in laws and general self-management acts, with resolution and political courage to carry authentic decisionmaking into delegate bodies, while at the same time guaranteeing real establishment of authentic delegate relations.

The speed at which this is done is crucial to the pace in breaking down the blockades to further democratization, to the future development of the political system on the foundations of self-management, to its liberation so that decisionmaking respects the scientific results of science and economic laws, which is one of the conditions for it to gain overall competence.

Everything we know in science and politics persuades us that it is not risky to take this fateful step even today; that it is not risky for the professional political segment of the vanguard to renounce its present role in decisionmaking on behalf of the rank and file of basic organizations of the vanguard.

Elaborating and ensuring in the system the constitutional principle that everyone's independence be respected so long as it is used in a manner that honors and respects common interests and the obligations which arise out of social ownership. But not beyond that.

Amending and supplementing the legislative solution so that the work organization is built up as an integral development-planning and self-managing entity. This need not, should not, and must not be detrimental to the constitutionally established position of the basic organization of associated labor in self-management. It should be at the expense of any expansion of the role assigned to it in the constitution that was accomplished either through law or independent seizure, at the expense of its autarkic orientation and behavior. That is possible. Incidentally, the basic organization's independence in self-management as defined in the constitution does not entitle it to autarky.

Building and augmenting the role of the work organization on this basis and in this direction does not constitute centralization. It is a unification within self-management that is indispensable, a concentration within self-management. This is in keeping with the nature and development of self-management relations. This is the way to avoid further stumbling over the priority and value of the various components in self-management, so that priority does not become a weakness!

There Is No Future Without Integration

Finally, changes and supplements in the system, political and economic, should be made so as to improve the conditions and eliminate the obstacles for normal, economically necessary, and logical growth of Yugoslavia's economic integration in the context of self-management. This makes it mandatory that the system consistently facilitate, stimulate, and protect the constant and dynamic establishment, consolidation, and ensurance of all those linkages of organizations of associated labor throughout the entire unified economic space of Yugoslavia which mean integration in development and the conduct of business and which unify labor, knowledge, resources, and activities, and all of this either with or without organizational unification.

This is the way to create the constitutive tissue of Yugoslavia's economic integration in the context of self-management. This is both an economic and a political imperative at one and the same time. An imperative of Yugoslavia's present and future. It is an economic imperative because it is a condition of rational and optimum utilization of social resources and of natural and human resources; because it is a condition for associated labor to truly determine development policy, take command of the financial sphere and the components on which the existence of the market in general depend, and the existence of its unity in particular; and because it is a condition for organizing in a manner that corresponds to the present-day and future requirements of production; because it is a condition for up-to-date and future information systems, technical and technological systems, and management systems to be used to a greater degree within associated labor.

It is a political imperative because economic integration in the context of self-management is the most reliable way and the obligatory way of eliminating the essential causes of retention of the broad role of the government in organizing the economy and in regulating relations between economic entities, and it is an obligatory condition for building Yugoslavia as a sociopolitical community with self-management content. And because it thereby facilitates and guarantees a broadening of the room for every segment of the working class to manifest itself and operate in a context of self-management, for self-management relations to become deeper and stronger, and for guaranteeing that the social nature of social property is realized on the scale of Yugoslavia as a whole.

It is also a political imperative because without self-management integration throughout the entire uniform space, self-management cannot win a historic victory. Without that kind of integration, there is a real danger that others will be more competitive not only in goods, in technology, but also in their system!

That is why guaranteeing Yugoslavia's economic integration in the context of self-management is not an organizational qusetion. It is a class issue. This is a working-class imperative. It is in the interest of Yugoslavia's working class and of all its parts.

We are, of course, talking about economic integration of a new type. About integration appropriate to social ownership and to the obligations which it presupposes, which honors independence in self-management, but which guarantees common interests.

Who Has Something To Gain From the Crisis?

This is not and cannot be in collision with the constitutionally established position of the republics and autonomous provinces, with the existence of their independent economies as parts of the unified Yugoslav whole, in the unity of social-ownership and self-management relations. It is, however, contrary, and should be, to the "national economies" as autarkic entities, as exclusive entities which respect the unity of the economic region of Yugoslavia only when it brings them immediate economic benefit, but they violate it when this suits them economically.

Drafting and adopting a sound joint development policy for Yugoslavia, a single strategy for its technological development, a program for scientific research that has priority and significance for Yugoslavia as a whole, based in its preparation and performance on the polycentric network of scientific institutions in Yugoslavia, is an indispensable and objectively reliable infrastructural basis for the evolution of Yugoslavia's economic integration within self-management. That is why drafting them in the present is not merely a current task, but is also a strategic one.

This is a deed of historic responsibility. If this task is not performed competently and quickly, future history will have to see this as a historically irresponsible performance of obligations. It will have enough evident facts for the conclusion that in the present time the objective conditions did exist for performance of that task. There will be sufficient facts to show that in the present there was also the knowledge about how to shape in terms of content a competent strategy for Yugoslavia's technological, scientific, and overall development. The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program is strong evidence of this. The task will be reduced to a search for answers to the questions: who has been reluctant and why, who has been dragging his feet and why, so that those strategies can be worked out competently.

[Box, p 17]

Officeholders Who Are Protagonists of Autarky

The human factor--direct-production and management in the economy, science, education, culture, and the political system--has a role which is fateful to the achievement of self-management, to the quality and pace of social development, to the effectiveness and quality of the results the system will yield. No philosophy and no system will ensure a way out of the crisis situation or a competent and objectively possible level of society's development unless the segment of the human factor which makes decisions on social affairs has more up-to-date knowledge, professional and political in the context of self-management; a firm, firmer than at present, orientation toward socialist self-management; a strong, stronger than at present, orientation to realize the integrative component of the system which is inherent in self-management; a very responsible, more responsible than at present, attitude toward work duties and the social need for scientific results and economic laws to be respected in the shaping of the content of strategic and other key decisions; a decisive, much more decisive than at present, orientation toward a specific exactingness as to negligent and not sufficiently conscientious performance of assigned functions, and not merely for performance that is politically erroneous, rejecting the slogan which equates "the rolling of heads" with socially reasonable "removal from office."

This is an imperative. It also gives rise to the necessity that the system and political orientation guarantee that self-management positions and other social positions in associated labor and in the political system be entrusted only to those who in deeds, in results, in human and political honesty, and in the effort they have applied have confirmed that they have the qualities indicated. There are quite a few such people among the employed and among the unemployed. And they are not to be entrusted to those who are now the protagonists of autarky, especially those who have been protagonists of autarky on nationalistic grounds, who have grown to be one with lackadaisical work, whose orientation is to work on behalf of their own conformity.

7045
CSO: 2800/101

PROBLEMS IN RECRUITING CAREER MILITARY OFFICERS DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Illes: "There is a Problem with the Recruiting of Career Military Servicemen"]

[Text] The national defense committee of the National Assembly held an on-site session yesterday in Szekesfehervar in the military barracks wearing the name of Dr Ferenc Munnich. Vice chairperson of the National Assembly Mrs Ferenc Cservenka, first secretary of Fejer County's party committee Mrs Oszkar Barts, and chairman of the county council Gyorgy Teubel participated in the conference.

After the opening speech by chairman Laszlo Gyuricza, Lt Gen Mihaly Torok, troop commander, secretary of the National Assembly's defense committee informed the representatives about the situation, work and timely tasks of the armed forces. Among other things he emphasized that the political condition and morale and disciplinary situations of the troop are solid; it is ready at all times to successfully carry out the tasks it is assigned in the country's defense. The officers and senior noncommissioned officers are completely committed to the party policies, their attitudes are characterized by socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and loyalty to the Warsaw Pact. They work with a high degree of professional consciousness, honestly and successfully, fulfilling the battle readiness and training tasks, they stand their ground in the domestic and foreign exercises and reviews, in the work aiding the national economy and in the raising of young people.

In addition to the successes the speaker also talked about the problems. He mentioned in the first place the problems of recruiting career officers and senior noncommissioned officers. He emphasized that the armed forces has a shortage mainly of captains and master sergeants. Presumably one of the reasons why young people are not attracted to the professional military careers is the heavy work load the job involves. According to surveys over one year's average the officers and senior noncommissioned officers spend 142 days away from their families due to training, service and national economic assignments. There is also a limit on the opportunities to earn income. Maintaining the constant high level of battle readiness does not make it possible for them to take on second jobs.

The most important job of the commanders is to care for the enlisted soldiers--the speaker emphasized. Their living and working conditions and health care are continually being imprcved in proportion with the national economy's ability to bear the load. Their decisive majority honorably fulfills their patriotic, national defense obligations and superbly prepare themselves to defend the homeland. But some young people debate the necessity of military service and are voicing nationalist and pacifist views. This fact points out the shortcomings in the internationlist, patriotic national defense training of the young people. In such cases even more emphasis is placed at the troops on the work of political education.

In closing, Lt Gen Mihaly Torok spoke about the discipline situation, the activity of those helping the national economy, as well as the work of the party and mass organizations at the division.

Representatives Karoly Viola (Pest county, 14th vk. [election district]), Dr Istvan Geczi (Budapest 15th municipal district, 49th vk.), Laszlo Winkler (Gyor-Sopron c. 8th vk.), Dr Antal Toth (Bacs-Kiskun c., 16th vk.), Geza Xzalai (Budapest 8th, 20th vk.), Mrs Istvan Szalai (Vas c., 1st vk.), Lajos Novak (Szabolcs-Szatmar c, 2nd vk.), Mrs Erno Simon (Somogy c, 11th vk.), Ferenc Viragh (Budapest 19, 59th vk.) and Matyas Kovacs (Komarom c, 4th vk.) added their comments to the debate.

Lieutenant General Mihaly Torok together with Lieutenant General, Deputy Minister of Defense Istvan Narai answered the questions.

As conclusion of the Szekesfehervar conference the members of the National Assembly's Committee on National Defense participated in technical demonstrations, then familiarized themselves with the living and working conditions of the soldiers.

8584/12624
CSO: 2500/116

PROBLEMS CITED IN INNER-GERMAN AIR TRAFFIC EXPANSION

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 20 Oct 85 p 52

/Article by Hans von Przychowski: "Activity in Inner German Air Travel"/

> /Text/ The clearly-stated words of French President Mitterrand in Berlin, reinforcing the guarantee of all communications to Berlin and at the same time defending the status of the city, have gained special attention in civil air circles, where for weeks people have been discussing the possibility of inner-German agreements which also affect Berlin air traffic.

Since Lufthansa and the GDR airline Interflug quite surprisingly agreed last summer to begin reciprocal flights between Frankfurt and Leipzig for the trade fairs, the question has arisen time and again--despite many denials in Berlin--what further steps are to be expected in inner-German civil aviation and in what form allied air traffic, as a vitally important link for Berlin, may be affected.

For weeks, reports have been circulating in Berlin aviation circles that Lufthansa and Interflug wanted to expand their trade fair traffic into a regularly scheduled service, at first between Frankfurt and Leipzig, later also between other West German airports and Dresden; that Interflug is trying to obtain landing rights in Frankfurt on a trunk flight from the GDR airport of Schoenefeld, while Lufthansa wishes to obtain landing rights from the opposite direction in Schoenefeld and exploit them long-distance; and that in the alternative Lufthansa is to receive rights in Tegel as a terminal.

It is clear that an expansion, in whatever form, of the bilateral trade fair traffic must be based upon the conclusion of an inner-German air traffic agreement. Among Bundestag Deputies of the governing coalition it is intimated that such an agreement is not to be excluded in the foreseeable future. In the Federal Communications Ministry there is a draft of a civil air agreement with the GDR, drafted in the nineteen-seventies but then "put on ice."

"Great Interest for Tourists"

The reaction to the reports and rumors circulating in Berlin is interesting. Chairman Ruhnau of Lufthansa's Board of Directors gave a cryptic answer to Tagesspiegel's question whether the trade fair traffic was to be expanded into scheduled flights between cities in the GDR and in West Germany. He was convinced, he said, "that the demand for a tourist link between Frankfurt and Leipzig is very great." The trade fair traffic had shown "that there is great interest among citizens the more ambitious plans attributed to Lufthansa--especially those for landing at the GDR Schoenefeld Airport near Berlin--Ruhnau firmly denied. As for eventual landing rights in Tegel, Ruhnau answered: "We have always made known our interest in obtaining landing rights in Tegel. In view of the difficult air traffic situation in and around Berlin, this will probably not be possible in the near future."

The Berlin Senate has not denied newspaper reports that it regards an inner-German civil air agreement as worth a try. Otherwise, the Senators are tight-lipped. Any knowledge of current far-reaching plans of Lufthansa, including flights to Schoenefeld, is denied. Such plans, it was stated, would not be agreed to under any circumstances. Landings by Lufthansa in Tegel, on the other hand, would be welcomed.

Allied Reticence

Extreme reticence is being shown also by the western Allies, who are alone responsible for Berlin air traffic. Reactions to the reports circulating in Berlin range from a know-nothing response to complete confirmation. And those who say they know of preliminary informal agreements between Lufthansa and Interflug even claim to have learned that for the long term a new GDR bus line from the Kurfuerstendamm to Schoenefeld is being planned, and that the GDR has agreed to dispense with controls on passengers on inner-German airline flights.

From Lufthansa Board Chairman Ruhnau's statement that the demand for a "tourist air link to the GDR" is great, one can infer that an expansion of the trade fair traffic into regularly scheduled service is actually being worked on. The accuracy of further plans attributed to Lufthansa, including a flight to Schoenefeld, can scarecely be determined, however, at the moment.

The question now being discussed in Berlin with special concern, whether Lufthansa has sounded out the western Allies on their views concerning the setting up of a parallel air route into the Federal Republic leading to the allied Berlin corridors, cannot be conclusively answered for the time being. The concrete question whether Lufthansa representatives had made soundings among the western Allies was answered by Ruhnau with the clear statement: "This information is false."

Strauss' Activities

Whatever the case, it is understood that the head of government of the Bavarian Free State, who is deeply involved in aviation, has expressed his views regarding inner-German air travel questions in the GDR at least. And in his letter to the Federal Chancellor of 18 August, in which he took a stand against the sale of Lufthansa to private interests, Franz Josef Strauss is said to have based his position on the statement that close ties between Lufthansa and the Federal Government would prove to be very helpful in the near future "in view of the negotiations on landing possibilities in the GDR."

Did Strauss, in his talks in the GDR, discuss the creation of an inner-German air route? In any case, as an experienced pilot, he has already gained experience in inner-German traffic. As far as we know, he is the only person to have received a special permit to cross the inner-German border on a flight to the GDR in his private aircraft. This established a precedent that was commented on, especially in Berlin aviation circles, with bafflement. It is well known that because of allied reservations a forbidden zone runs along the inner-German border that may not be overflown. Only the three allied Berlin corridors lead through this forbidden zone. Any crossing of it requires allied consent.

The background of the Strauss initiatives about inner-German air travel is unknown. Certainly there is speculation that, as Board Chairman of Airbus-Industrie, he wants to interest Interflug in purchasing the "Airbus."

Dangers of a Parallel Air Route

The forbidden zone is also the reason why commercial aircraft wishing to fly from West Germany into the GDR have to make detours over Czechoslovakia or the Baltic Sea. Although this zone serves not only to protect the Federal Republic but also to assure the freedom of Berlin air traffic, it is a thorn in the side of many who would like to intensify inner-German air traffic. The dangers that threaten the Berlin traffic, if a parallel air route were established from the GDR to West Germany, are scarcely recognized.

It is known that Interflug has an exceptionally strong interest in flying to Federal German airports and beyond Federal territory to Western Europe. Such flights would begin in any case from Schoenefeld. With the rather well-known dumping methods of Interflug fare schedules, any air traffic from Schoenefeld to Federal German airports would necessarily place traffic to and from Free Berlin in serious jeopardy.

Experienced politicians know that Free-Berlin air traffic is assured only when profitability is guaranteed. Moreover, a parallel air traffic, which in times of an east-west thaw might certainly function well, would be totally dependent on relationships between the great powers. In times of crisis, which no one wants, least of all in Berlin, but which cannot be excluded, this traffic would be subject to possible hindrances which are abundantly well known in the land-based, GDR-controlled Berlin traffic.

In contrast, behind the Free-Berlin traffic stand the western Allies with all their responsibility and power. Even during the blockage in the hard years of 1948 and 1949, air communications, as we know, were not affected.

Problems in GDR Airspace

Moreover, civil air traffic is subject in the GDR, as in every totalitarian country, to special conditions. Informed airline sources report, for example, that whenever government flights are under way the airspace over the GDR is largely closed to traffic. Western airline experts are familiar with the "Notams," flight notices broadcast from flight safety centers for closures on short notice.

In no country, furthermore, do more air maneuvers take place than in the GDR. Berliners are often startled by the boom of East German jet fighters breaking the sound barrier, and even in the allied air corridors, aircraft must time and time again adopt different altitudes because air maneuvers are under way.

The GDR's treatment of the most recent Lufthansa trade fair flights was also not very promising for a future inner-German scheduled flight service. It has been reliably reported that Lufthansa passengers and aircraft, on landing in Leipzig and especially on departure for Frankfurt, were subjected three times to strict inspections. Even the drivers of the fuel trucks had to undergo detailed searches. The aircraft cabins were searched several times. No wonder the turnaround times were insufficient to fuel the aircraft, Lufthansa managed by taking on extra fuel in Frankfurt for the return flight. This practice is said to have yielded even greater savings later on.

Operational Rights for Lufthansa

These things notwithstanding, so goes the scuttlebutt, executives of Lufthansa and Interflug are determined to pursue their plans. The question whether Lufthansa may some day fly to Berlin-Tegel cannot of course be clarified on the inner-German level alone. This problem is as old as the German-Soviet agreement signed 11 November 1971 in Bonn. This agreement defined the traffic rights of the Soviet state airline Aeroflot and of Lufthansa. Its main feature was the commencement of reciprocal scheduled service between Frankfurt and Moscow. It was agreed that Aeroflot could include on this route an intermediate stop at the Schoenefeld airport in the GDR and carry passengers in both directions between Schoenefeld and Frankfurt. For Lufthansa the agreement stipulated that the German national airline could include an intermediate stop in West Berlin on the flight between Frankfurt and Moscow "provided the necessary requirements are met."

On 4 February 1972 Aeroflot's first flight from Moscow to Frankfurt took place. Once a week an intermediate stop in Schoenefeld was included on this route. Lufthansa's first flight took off for Moscow on 5 February 1972. In view of Lufthansa's Berlin option in the German-Soviet agreement, other western airlines now acted to get landing rights in West Berlin. Since the Austrian airline AUA and the Scandinavian SAS had obtained landing rights in Schoenefeld, the western Allies granted these two airlines permission on 1 March 1974 to land in Tegel or Tempelhof also, on condition that negotiations for overflight of the GDR were to be conducted only with the GDR airline Interflug and not with its Government. The airlines were also required to make clear to Interflug that they would discontinue service to SChoenefeld if they did not receive overflight permission to West Berlin. The permission to land in West Berlin was limited to one year for the time being.

Overflight Permission Denied

AUA and SAS did not receive overflight permission from the GDR, but continued to fly to Schoenefeld anyway. In July 1974, AUA made another approach to Interflug, and the Vienna government demanded that the GDR grant overflight rights once and for all. The answer from East Berlin was again negative.

At year's end in 1974 the western Allies granted landing rights in Tegel also to the Dutch KLM and the Turkish THY. Simultaneously AUA's and SAS's landing permits were extended to November 1975. All efforts to obtain GDR overflight permission failed once again.

In the meantime, matters had quieted down on the Frankfurt-Moscow route. For a long time Aeroflot had been flying it nonstop. The intermediate stop in Schoenefeld had been discontinued as of 1 January 1974 because of light passenger demand. Rising fuel prices and high landing fees then caused Lufthansa to lose interest in energetically pushing its request for an intermediate landing in West Berlin.

Moscow's Interests

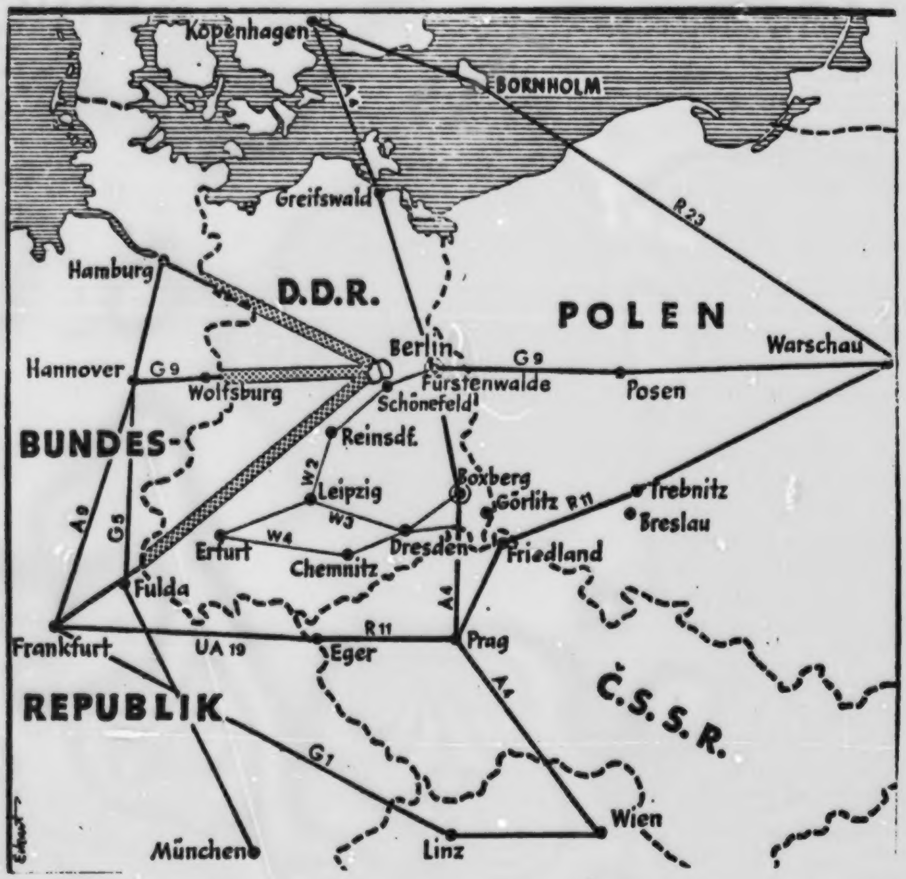
It was not of great concern to the western Allies that Lufthansa was not permitted to land in Tegel. The GDR and behind it the Soviet Union prevented it. Is that to change now? In any case, those allied sources who confirmed reports of extensive inner-German aviation contacts indicated that the Soviet Union is proving rather reticent toward Interflug's wishes for an inner-German route to Frankfurt. The reason is easy to perceive. It would be preferable, in the eyes of the Soviet Union, if the four Allies commenced negotiations over the western Allies' air corridors, thereby assuring the Soviet Union a voice. To that end the Soviets presumably would be glad to give non-allied airlines its consent to scheduled service to West Berlin. Many political observers are of the opinion that the long-established Soviet practice of "recommending" oft-changing altitudes to allied commercial aircraft in the air corridors likewise indicates that Moscow is pushing for negotiations over the future of the air corridors.

The western Allies rightly insist on their original rights. And in the meantime they have become watchful enough to keep an eye on the inner-German aviation contacts and Lufthansa's and Interflug's efforts, however one may assess these talks. Lufthansa, for example, was gently but clearly advised not to name the Schoenefeld airport an alternative for Leipzig on the trade fair flights in case bad weather made a landing there impossible.

Accomplished Facts Feared

However one judges the accuracy and currency of the many reports and conjectures about expansion of inner-German air traffic, western Allied circles are voicing unconcealed anxiety over the possibility of being confronted with an accomplished fact by inner-German activities. In plain words, should there result far-reaching agreements between Lufthansa and Interflug, the western Allies could be faced with a demand to abandon their objections to a parallel air route from Schoenefeld to Frankfurt across the inner-German border. And if they refused, they might have to reckon with the argument, as fallacious as it may be popular in many circles, that they are less concerned about the safety of air traffic to Free Berlin than about the safety of their own airlines' "monopolistic dominance."

Just now we are hearing and reading denials. So you can relax when you pick up the latest Lufthansa annual report, which discusses the Berlin air traffic situation in detail and offers its readers for the first time an unusual portrait. The portrait of a foreign airline. Interflug.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Linz

This map shows the three allied air corridors (shaded lines) which are the only ones to cross the inner-German border. The air routes indicated by heavy lines are international routes. The GDR air routes for GDR domestic traffic are shown in thin lines. It can be seen from the map that west-east air traffic is carried on over route UA 19 from Frankfurt to Eger and Prague. This route must be followed also by aircraft serving Leipzig at fair times. Such aircraft fly from Prague on international route A4 in a northerly direction to the area south of Boxberg and then turn off onto GDR inland route W3 to Leipzig. It is also possible to head for Leipzig or Schoenefeld from the north. Aircraft then fly from Hamburg to just south of Copenhagen and turn onto route A4. Austria's AUA flies from Vienna on A4 to Fuerstenwalde and then onto W2 up to the Berlin air control zone, in which Schoenefeld is located.

On 30 August 1984 a Lufthansa airplane landed in Leipzig for the first time since 1939. Thus began the bilateral trade fair traffic. Aboard the first aircraft was Lufthansa Board Chairman Ruhnau, who was welcomed by Director General Henkes of the GDR airline Interflug. Henkes is at the same time also Deputy GDR Communications Minister, head of the GDR Flight Safety Department, Director of all GDR airports, and a Major General in the GDR People's Army.

12991/12276
CSO: 2300/60

CC SECRETARY HORVATH ON NEW LOCAL COUNCILS' TASKS, FUNCTIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Istvan Horvath, Secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee: "The Mandate of the Local Councils"]

[Text] Nowadays the usual agenda of the scheduled council meetings is supplemented with a brief ceremony of commemoration. They recall the event that 35 years ago--following the 22 October 1950 elections--the new format of local and regional administration, the council system came into existence in our country. The 35-year past of our councils is intertwined with the history of our socialist growth.

The years after the liberation brought about decisive changes also in the public administration of the 1,000 years old Hungarian state. Together with the social transformation which was developing, the old frameworks and formats of public administration were also being filled with democratic content. But at the same time the demand was also receiving increasingly strong voice that we should also implement the consequences of the revolutionary transformation in public administration with a new organization and broad public participation.

They Could Not Study Up on It--Yet They Stuck With It

For the first time those hundreds of thousands won assignments from the people for public service who in the past could not study "the public's administration," or leadership concepts or organization science. The storm-like speed of social transformation--amid the problems necessarily accompanying the act of being established--immediately presented the councils with complicated problems. That the new organization and those working in it stood their ground in developing and starting to build socialism is undeniable even if we know that the distortion of politics at the time and the practice of providing direction were far from favorable for the inter-connections of the councils with the masses for establishing their independence and autonomous activity. The facts that the councils were viable and that in spite of all the contradictions the Hungarian people have accepted the council system as their own were proven by the test of the counterrevolution which required them to stand their ground politically and in human terms. After suppressing the counterrevolution the councils soon stood on their feet and played an outstanding role in establishing the order of building socialism and in the rapid political and economic consolidation.

The operation, working style and social weight of the council system has always faithfully reflected the universally characteristic aspects of political and state administration. The MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] policy of building on trust and paying attention at all times to the given natural conditions has also renewed the activity of the councils. And our far-reaching social initiatives developed for the reform of the economic management system and for improving the country's life, the socialist democracy--while preserving the proven formats and values--designated new directions for the council system. This was when the concept dealing with the main principles of sharing the work between the councils and the local state administrative organizations, the place the councils occupy in the political and state mechanisms was defined. It is expressed in the constitution and in certain sections of the 1971 council law. The new theoretical foundations expressed the political desire that the independence, autonomous activity, self-governing character, and at the same time also the responsibility of the councils should increase. In the last decade-and-a-half a number of spheres of authority have been transferred to the councils which helped them to increasingly become the real masters of their territories. All this is in harmony with our goals and methods defined in the other areas of life.

New Cooperation Between City and Village

The increased council independence had a favorable effect on people's living conditions, on the rapid growth of the cities and villages. The person traveling the country can bear witness that in the last decade-and-a-half even the exterior look of our cities and villages has changed. The activity of the councils has significantly contributed to the balanced mood of the population, to the maintenance and strengthening of social harmony by political means. This value of their work can not be replaced by anything else.

As far as the current and nearest future tasks are concerned the party's position is that our political and public administration concept concerning the councils is valid for the long term but we must apply it while paying attention to the changing, developing social circumstances. What factors must we consider? Experience shows that the economic and social significance of regional and community development is increasing. We have important interests tied to strengthening the abilities of the towns to hold on to and support their populations, to continuously support improvement of the equality of opportunities in society as well as of the living conditions and to the consistent implementation of the social policy's new directions. In concord with our efforts the interest of citizens in public matters is increasing. In view of all these things--and of several other requirements not mentioned at this time--we must keep on the agenda the improvement of the ratios of distribution of work in council activities between the central and council organs.

But it is more important than anything else to renew the working style of the councils. This will in all certainty be promoted by those important organizational changes which took place in recent years. Elimination of the administrative districts [jaras], the system of towns surrounding cities, as well as the nationwide development of the new administrative formats accompanying this, express the timely emphases of council work: strengthening the basic units, increasing their independence. Within the framework of administering the areas around cities a richer cooperation with changed content is developing between village and city. Of course, with elimination of the districts the connection between county and the towns has also become more direct, but this must not weaken the cities and towns thinking together and implementing their common goals. The initial successes of the new public administration system also indicate that--in spite of any stumbling--the town councils can stand up to the higher requirements placed on them even though--besides having to rely on each other in geographic, economic, cultural and health care areas--the town will still need the city for a long time also in the field of public administration.

As of 1 January the economic operating system of the councils will also significantly change. Compared with the present situation the opportunities of local councils to control the financial means will substantially increase. This obviously not only means that they can decide how to distribute the money received from central sources but also that some regulators will go into effect which will strongly encourage identification and exploitation of the local resources. Thus real meaning will be given to that long advertised thesis of ours that the council bears great responsibility for the fate of the community it represents. Thus the local organs will have more operating space and we can expect this to have not only economic but also more favorable political consequences. Decisions which can be made locally will create better conditions for expanding the social popularity, awakening the desire to have a say in matters, increasing activity and improving control.

Organization In First Place

In a new way compared to the old one, on the occasion of the election the population voted confidence for over 40,000 council members. There are also 600 council members among them who have been performing public life activity for 35 years. They really know that it is not easy to live up to this public life assignment. And amid the changed circumstances of the elections it is even more difficult today because the voting citizen expects more of for whom he voted. For this reason also the "lines of power" must be made even clearer, that is, that the council members and the elected bodies are responsible to thier electors while the leaders and the apparatuses are responsible to the [elected] bodies. This responsibility may gain realistic content if the council members coordinate the direct interests of their constituents with the interests of the community as a whole, of society. Our open political circumstances create a favorable atmosphere for this. It is of great interest to us to note that the unselfish, committed work of the council members which involves much care and effort should rise to the rank of one of the most valuable political activities for which appreciation and gratitude are due from the entire society.

The council officials as the main state representatives of the community's public life, of their region do their work before the critical openness of public opinion. Their decisive majority was given continued confidence when the council bodies were renewed. These leaders are proving with their work and behavior that they do not consider their assignments official positions of being the boss but rather community leadership offices committed to the cause of socialism, not over the people but elected to serve them. The officers have a big role in making the rights of the public representative bodies consistently prevail, that at all times the body should be the definitive factor over the office. They have to see that it does not decrease respect for either the leader or the official apparatus if the body--after critical debate--perhaps decides differently from the way the carefully prepared representation proposed. Very many examples show that no matter how good the intentions, how well founded the initiative of the leader may be, if the body does not consider it as its own and does not truly support it, implementation can also be only difficult and incomplete.

Nowadays much is being said about the contradictory situation the council leaders are in. They sense the population's justified demands on the one hand and on the other hand they see the more restricted budgets of the financial means and know that a host of existing problems cannot even be solved in the next plan cycle. Many also mention what their fates will be after this at the next elections. According to experience the council leader who takes care of his office according to the requirements of socialist democracy, who uses his legal rights fairly, who exercises his authority only for the benefit of the public, who with his whole lifestyle exemplifies decency and humanism, can stand before his voters confidently also in the future and will certainly win their confidence.

The public service employees working at the councils may also expect appreciation if they consider their work public life activity in the most noble sense of the word. This is the way the decisive majority of the council apparatus works. Therefore they are justified in expecting financial and moral appreciation for their work.

Confidence Obligates

The council apparatus has changed significantly in the last 35 years: the number of public servants employed by it is smaller but more highly qualified. During the last decade, for example, employment in the apparatus decreased by 3,000 while the number with college degrees increased by 7,500. And the number of those with trade qualifications is over 90 percent. It is obvious that these processes are far from being able to be called completed. For example, one important task is to review the size of the work force as well as the field of expertise in reflection of the current tasks of the countries, cities and towns, and assign the reserves thus identified to strengthen the local, mostly the town councils. We must not give up on making the council apparatus even more suitable for serving the elected bodies. And in exercising public authority it must be achieved that every public official respect and help implement the rights of the citizens and fully carry out his legal obligations.

The citizens appreciate and recognize the efforts and decent acceptance of responsibility by the workers of the council apparatus in handling their increased tasks. However, they are justified in criticizing the often dragged-out case handling, the impatient and unpermissible tone of voice and in some places the inappropriate conditions under which clients are received. It is particularly important that in those matters where the apparatus handles the distribution of material goods such as, for example, in housing cases, social welfare or assignment of space for use, social control should be increased so that even the suspicion of partiality could not arise. Because even the suspicion causes severe moral and political harm. Strict accountability must be applied against those--regardless of their office--who abuse their official position.

In the last 35 years the councils were able to adjust to society's changes and continuously develop their activity. The lesson from the 35 years is that they carry out their social purpose the most effectively if they are not merely mechanically implementing the overall national goals but are also initiators and self-motivated shapers of these. It has been proven that significant broadening of the council opportunities to take actions and make decisions favorably affects the way they carry out their tasks. Thus greater harmony can be created between the various interests and this carries the cases forward, multiplies the results. Our party policy concerning the councils--as the resolution of the 13th congress contains it--will be aimed also in the future at letting the active participation of the human communities living with one another, the collectives of the Hungarian villages and cities develop even more fully in determining their own living circumstances and through this solving the historical tasks of building the socialism.

The councils did not arrive by the easy path at the 35th anniversary of their birth. Continued progress does not promise to be any more comfortable, either. The confidence earned by standing their ground also obligates them for the future, and this at the same time provides the foundation for successfully solving the new tasks.

8584/12624
CSO: 2500/70

POLITICS POLAND

REPORTAGE ON PARTY AFFAIRS, MEETINGS

Commission Meetings Outlined

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Nov 85 p 2

/PAP article, "On Party Activities: Meeting of the PZPR CC Representative and Self-Governing Bodies Commission"/

/Text/ The PZPR Central Committee's Representative and Self-Governing Bodies Commission met on 4 November and discussed reports on the electoral campaign, as well as on the preparations preceding the inauguration of the 9th term Sejm and on the guidelines directed at the PZPR Parliamentary Faction.

The report, submitted by Witold Gadomski, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee's Politico-Organizational Department, contained a very positive appraisal of party activities in the Sejm electoral campaign.

The pre-election debate was lively, constructive, and critical. The speeches, held at consultative sessions and meetings with candidates, were open and reality-minded. Once more it came out, that the problems of greatest concern to the society are those of housing construction, economy management, progress in agriculture and in food industry, environmental protection, development of education and culture, and health service. From the social point of view, these problems should be granted the highest priority, and solved on a nationwide scale.

During the pre-electoral meetings over 40,000 demands and motions were tabled. The Commission members considered their orderly arrangement and implementation the most important task of the authorities at all levels.

Another subject discussed by the Commission with regard to the PZPR Parliamentary Faction followed the report submitted by Edward Szymanski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Sejm Affairs Bureau.

Provincial Committee Meeting in Nowy Sacz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5

/Article by Andrzej Gesing, "Plenum of PZPR Provincial Committee in Nowy Sacz"/

/Text/ The plenary meeting of the provincial party committee in Nowy Sacz, held on 6 November and chaired by Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, was devoted to the operation of agricultural service agencies and their impact on agricultural production, as well as to the political appraisal of the Polish People's Republic's Sejm election. Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took part in the debate, to which non-party members, prominent farmers, secretaries of party basic organizations in agricultural service agencies, and chairmen of provincial cooperative associations, were also invited.

The participants thoroughly and critically discussed the current situation in the province's food industry. They pointed out that the results of their debate would have major impact on the development prospects for agriculture and for food industry in the next years.

In recent years supply for agriculture has improved. Fertilizers have been satisfactorily provided for. Unfortunately, their sale has been going poorly, and since 1983 it was progressive reduced. The fall was due to insufficient awareness of their effectiveness among the farmers, to increased prices, and to the abolishment of discounts.

Many grievances were addressed to the procurement agencies and to meat processing plants. It was said that what had been going on in the meat processing industry, was nothing but waste to which by now everybody has been inured.

The PZPR Provincial Committee passed a resolution which rated highly the participation of Nowy Sacz province population in the Sejm election, and considered it a sign of the growing socio-political stabilization. The contribution of teachers throughout the province, in preparing young first-time voters and in raising the civic consciousness of the population, was particularly praised. To sum up the debate, Zbigniew Michalek took the floor.

Control Commissions Visit Army Regiment

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Nov 85 pp 1,7

/PAP article, "Among Polish Army Soldiers: Members of PZPR Central Ruling Bodies Visit the Cpt Wladyslaw Wysocki 1st Prague Mechanized Regiment"/

/Text/ The cordial meeting between members of central party ruling bodies and soldiers of the oldest unit of the Polish People's Army, the Cpt Wladyslaw Wysocki 1st Prague Mechanized Regiment at Wesola near Warsaw, was a manifestation of approval, respect, and admiration for soldiers' social involvement.

The guests--members and alternate members of the PZPR Central Committee, Central Auditing Commission, and Central Party Control Commission--were greeted by Col Zenon Paznanski, officer commanding the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Warsaw Mechanized Division, and by the regimental commander, Lt Col Andrzej Tyszkiewicz.

The Representative Company of the Polish Army, and the soldiers of the Kosciuszko Division, presented a spectacular parade drill. The exercises--interesting, dynamic, and faultlessly carried out--demonstrated excellent training and efficiency of soldiers. Their crowning point was a honorary salvo, fired "to salute the guiding and leading force in the nation, the Polish United Workers' Party." The spectacle was followed by a parade of units and of the Representative Band of the Polish Army.

In the Tradition Room of the unit, exhibits recalled the glorious combat route of the division, which began at Lenino and ended with the victorious storming of Berlin; they are evidence of the training and educational accomplishments in the peaceful service to the country.

"It is highly recommendable that such an interesting Tradition Room does exist," said Henryk Dobrowolski, member of the Presidium of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission. "It provides a lively lesson in history to young people who discharge military duty here, and to others who visit it on 'open door days.' After all, the combat route of the Kosciuszko Division is the most expressive and rich part of our past history."

Zygmunt Galecki, member of the Central Committee, said inter alia: "Here we are following in the steps of our fathers, keeping before our eyes the image of their enormous toil and of the battles they had taken part in. They fought on the glorious battlefield, while we continue their task, conscious that the army, above all, is the safeguard of our secutiry. It is here, in this regiment, that we can find evidence that soldiers of the Polish People's Army are men which our party and the nation can always trust."

At the tactics exercise square, soldiers of the youngest class get first acquainted with the arcane military art. Gunners, anti-aircraft artillery, and tank rews, were just training.

The guests were shown that modern combat gear the regiment is equipped with: combat vehicles, anti-aircraft and anti-armor guns, guided missiles, artillery.

Tactical exercises were about to start. The soldiers of Lt Janusz Kukier's squad sneaked past field obstacles. Such exercises, difficult and exhausting, promote physical and mental resilience of fighters, encourage their intiative and daring. They were appreciated by the guests.

"For me those were unforgettable moments," said Stanislawa Antozewska, alternate member of the Central Committee. "It was my first visit to a military unit. First the peaceful but superb parade drill, and now, here at the range, I have been impressed as if by real warfare. Our soldiers' most impressive efficiency and discipline inspire admiration and respect."

During a comradely meeting in the Kosciuszko Division Club, Col Z. Poznanski said he was happy to present the accomplishments and the everyday duties of his unit. The guests left the following inscription in the memorial book: "Dear Kosciuszko Division soldiers, Through your intermediary we would like to convey our most heartfelt wishes of success in your personal life, and to wish you further accomplishments in training and education during your service and work for the benefit of our socialist country, People's Poland."

A spectacle performed by the DESANT concert-hall ensemble of the Warsaw Military District ended the visit.

ZSL Executive Committee Plenum

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 6

/PAP article, The Party's Political Tasks: Sejm Election Appraised: Plenum of the ZSL Executive Committee"/

/Text/ The main subject discussed at the Eighth Plenum of the ZSL /United Peasants' Party/ Executive Committee, held in Warsaw on 5 November, concerned the political tasks of the party, as reflected in the appraisal of the Sejm electoral campaign and in the report campaign in ZSL circles. Representatives of the central and provincial party aktiv and the recently elected deputies--members of ZSL, were invited to take part in the debate.

Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Executive Committee, presided over the debate and submitted the Presidium's report. We pointed out that the Sejm electoral campaign, and the election itself, had been the most prominent political events in Poland in recent years, and had had positive impact on both the normalization of the domestic life, and on foreign appreciation of the development in our country. By taking part in the election, our country's population had confirmed their wish to enjoy civic rights, and had voted for consistent implementation of the line of accord and reform.

The mass participation of farmers and rural population in the voting act was stressed: the Polish countryside had thus expressed its understanding of national and state interests, and its wish to carry out consistently the agricultural policies of PZPR and ZSL.

In view of the approaching inauguration of the 9th term Sejm, it was pointed out that ZSL, true to its tradition of parliamentary action, and carrying out the resolutions passed by its Ninth Congress, will--in accord with the PRON electoral declaration--remain concerned with the appropriate high standing of the Sejm. It will support its decision through activity of its party members and circles, and using its deputies--members of ZSL, it will submit for discussion by the supreme body of state power major problems of the countryside and of agriculture, of the state and of the society. ZSL, in cooperation with PZPR, the leading force in the state, and with SD, will fully support the activities of the 9th term Sejm.

When internal and organizational problems were discussed, it has been pointed out that now, with the approach of half-time implementation of the resolutions passed by the Ninth Congress of ZSL, a comprehensive appraisal of their implementation is needed. Hence the Presidium of the Executive Committee recommended report meetings in all ZSL circles. It was pointed out, that the appraisal of the current activities of nearly 31,000 circles will provide a kind of summary evaluation of the political activity of the entire party.

The resolution passed included an appraisal of the Sejm electoral campaign and of the main targets of future party activities. The ZSL Executive Committee expressed its gratitude to all party members for their party and civic involvement in the electoral campaign. At the same time all ZSL circles and committees were instructed to proceed with thorough analysis and appraisal of all the motions tabled by citizens during the campaign, and to make use of them in the current political actions.

The Planum approved the Presidium guidelines and the instructions issued by the Secretariat of the ZSL Executive Committee to convoke report meetings of cells and sessions of local party committees.

Information concerning the recent session of the Central Cooperation Commission of PZPR, ZSL, and SD, and the joint meeting of the Commission and the presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council, was also submitted during the debates.

On 5 November the Presidium of the ZSL Executive Committee approved documents prepared for the Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee. Problems concerned with the opening session of the Ninth term Sejm and with the activities of the ZSL Parliamentary Faction, were also discussed.

SD CC Presidium

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 6

/Article: "Meeting of the Presidium of the SD Central Committee"/

/Text/ (PAP) The Presidium of the SD /Democratic Party/ Central Committee held its meeting on 4 and 5 November. Problems concerned with the opening session of the 9th term Sejm were discussed. The Presidium appraised the results of the recent meeting of the Central Cooperation Commission of PZPR, ZSL, and SD.

The Presidium approved the report on the participation of Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Central Committee and vice-president of the Council of State, in the 40th commemorative session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

The Presidium of the SD Central Committee appraised the situation and the development trends in the handworkers cooperative movement. It was pointed out that these cooperatives constitute a major and significant sector in the economic structure of the country.

The Presidium approved a report on preparations preceding the Fourth National Congress of Handicraft. In this context, the guidelines for SD activity connected with the economic development and self-management of handicraft were discussed. The numerous social initiatives, in which handworkers engaged in the period preceding the Congress, were also pointed out.

12485/12276
CSO: 2600/123

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Gorzow Defense Committee

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Oct 85 pp 1,2

[Text] Yesterday the Gorzow Defense Committee met with voivod Stanislaw Nowak presiding.

The realization of the terrain and housing plan during the third quarter was evaluated. It was noted that capital investments in terrain infrastructure are ahead of the plan financially, making the voivodship one of the best voivodships in Poland. Simultaneously, it was also noted that the completion of some tasks is threatened. The Defense Committee felt that the housing situation in Gorzow Voivodship was significantly better after the third quarter than after the second quarter. The voivodship occupied the twelfth position nationally in completion of the CPR [National Annual Plan].

The Defense Committee also evaluated the social-political situation in selected schools in the voivodship paying particular attention to the patriotic and civic education of young people. Despite the positive climate in most schools, not all of the available methods for developing the required attitudes of the younger generation are being used everywhere. Attention was drawn to the qualifications of the civics teachers and the methods of communicating information to young people through conversation and discussions. It was also emphasized that the entire responsibility for developing a young person cannot rest on the school without the appropriate concern of the parents. The intention is to bring the problem to their attention through their places of employment and social and political organizations. The Defense Committee decided to return to these matters in the near future.

Among others, Jozef Bialic, chairman of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council, and Jan Gawel, chairman of the WKSD [Voivod Committee of the Democratic Party] participated in the meeting.

Zielona Gora Defense Committee

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 17 Oct 85 pp 1,2

[Text] Yesterday during its meeting held in Wolsztyn, the Zielona Gora Defense Committee met with Zbyszko Piwonski presiding. Among others, representatives of the employees of the Wolsztyn Furniture Factory and the Prefabet Furniture Accessories Factory in Powodow and representatives of the local political and administrative authorities and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] participated in the meeting.

The topic of the meeting was the implementation of the act of 21 July 1983 on the special legal regulation for overcoming the social and economic crisis. The act, as is generally known, is temporary.

It is determined on the basis of a few places of employment in Wolsztyn that the act has been implemented properly. It has rarely been used, for it is not needed.

The committee heard a report on technical innovation and production progress at the Wolsztyn Furniture Factory and the Furniture Accesories Factory, on methods for overcoming difficulties in supplies of raw materials, and on the introduction of new assortments of producets at the Wolsztyn Furniture Factory. The stabilization of the workforce and the development of the union was also emphasized, as was the increase in production, especially during the current year. These problems are discussed.

The remainder of the reports and discussions concerned some problems of national defense.

Czestochowa Defense Committee

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] On the 21st of this month, the Czestochowa Defense Committee met with Grzegorz Lipowski presiding. The committee evaluated the activities of the veterns, paramilitary, and youth organizations and also the units of the educational system in civic, patriotic, and defense education. Because one of the factors that determines the defense readiness of a state is the citizens' attitudes, attention was drawn to the need for disseminating knowledge of history and for presenting the accomplishments of the organizations of former combatants from the Second World War and the participants in the struggle to solidify the communist authorities.

Katowice Defense Committee

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] The Katowice Defense Committee analyzed the security conditions for preventing theft and vandalism of goods transport by train on the 23rd of the current month.

Szczecin, Torun Defense Committees

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct p 2

[Text] The Szcecin and Torun Defense Committees met recently. In Szczecin, the implementation of the act of 10 May 1985 concerning the change of some regulations of the criminal code and the law on violations by misdemeanor collegiums were evaluated. In Torun the Defense Committee comprehensively evaluated the social and economic situation in the region and especially telecommunications capital investments.

Elblag Defense Committee

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29 Oct p 2

[Text] During yesterdays meeting of the voivodship defense committee in Elblag, the current state of cleanliness and order in the region were discussed. Particular attention was given to the results of the Parcel inspection and the control of sanitary conditions in public health service facilities.

It was stated that in the cities and the countryside one can see disgusting neglect and disorder, dirtiness every day. This applies to public facilities and housing units, farmers barnyards, some buildings on PGRs [State Farms], courtyards, streets, stations, and also some places of work. The extent of the neglect of cleanliness and order is shown by numerous regular and periodic inspections and especially the special parcel inspection. In this connection the defense committee recommended, among other things, that in evaluating personnel these issues should be taken into consideration. This applies especially to the heads of local state administrative organizations and the employees under them as well as the directors of institutions and places of work. Effective preventive measures should be developed, and professional obligations should be rigorously met. Whenever non-repressive measures are insufficient, the guilty should be punished severely.

A particularly disturbing phenomenon is the decline in sanitary conditions in public health service facilitites, particularly hospitals, and more particularly in Elblag and Kwidrzyn. It is undeniably true that they are usually overtaxed and excessively crowded, and that their technical standards frequently poor. There are difficulties in maintaining the proper order. On the other hand, these so-called objective difficulties cannot explain the obvious neglect and lack of a sense of basic responsibility among some of the personnel. As a result of this, among others, the number of hospital infections and other dangers has increased. Thus, it is necessary the, committee stated, to prepare a specific program for raising the esthetic appearance and cleanliness of these facilities and to systematically implement it.

The committee also evaluated the preparations for winter in the region including the highways and communal and housing services and in retail sales facilities. They are proceeding properly, although much remains to be done and in a hurry.

13021/13068
CSO: 2600/98

ILLEGAL TRANSFER OF PHYSICIANS IN TRAINING CRITICIZED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Oct 85 p 5

[Article: "Strict Measures Against Those Who Violated Laws of the State on Training of Medical Cadres"]

[Text] The fact that some activists of the Vrancea County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and cadres in the leadership of the county health directorate committed grave violations of the party's decisions and of the laws of the state has been criticized in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The investigation, carried out by a collective of activists of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, established the following:

Violating the decisions of the party and the laws of the state, the leadership of the county health directorate--on the advice of Comrade Elena Apostol, ex-secretary for social problems of the county party committee and deputy chairman of the Vrancea County People's Council--approved the transfer of about 36 physicians in training, 1984 graduates, out of the total of 48 physicians assigned to the county, to other counties or other localities of Vrancea, for a period of 6 to 12 months. Moreover, in order to conceal the evasion of the law, 32 doctors in training, who were transferred illegally, continued to be paid by Vrancea County.

An investigation showed that the same practices, which led to the instability in the area of physicians in training, were also felt in other counties of the country, a situation promoted by the fact that in 1978 the leadership of the Ministry of Health transmitted a note to the health directorates whereby the transfer of students was made easier, a note which is contrary to the provisions of State Council Decree No 436 of 3 November 1978. The fact that the director of the Vrancea County health directorate approved the retirement of some physicians, without submitting this for discussion and approval by the workers' council, with the aim of appointing other doctors to the respective positions in an unprincipled manner, is also serious. And this abuse, instead of being stopped in time, was approved by the former secretary for social problems of the Vrancea County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

These practices, contrary to the norms of party activity and to the provisions of the law, did not receive the decisive reply of the secretariat of the county party committee. The investigation carried out in Febrary 1985 by the county party committee was superficial, undemanding, and did not result in decisive measures for improving the activity of the county health directorate and making the culprits answer for the abuses carried out.

The problems, resulting from the investigation carried out by the collective of activists of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, were discussed with responsible persons of the Ministry of Health and measures for respecting accurately the decisions of the party and the laws of the state have been established. The illegal decisions of transferring 36 doctors in training were annulled, and these doctors have resumed work in the units to which they had been assigned. At the same time, the note of the Minister of Health which made such abuses possible was annulled and the people's council of Vrancea County has taken the necessary measures for ensuring the stability of medical cadres.

The secretary for social problems for the county party committee and the deputy chairwoman of the People's Council of Vrancea County was relieved of her respective functions for the violation of legal provisions and for the fact that she did not succeed in properly coordinating the sector of work entrusted to her. The conclusions resulting from the investigation carried out were discussed in the bureau of the Vrancea County RCP Committee, and a stand was taken in regard to such problems, establishing corresponding measures for respecting legality and improving work in this area.

In addition, the director of the county health directorate was dismissed from his position.

It was decided that the Ministry of Health should take strict measures against those who violated the laws.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party established that there should be analysis, in party circles in all counties, as well as in the party aktiv of the Ministry of Health, of the manner in which the legal provisions should be respected concerning the assignment of graduates in medical-pharmaceutical education, of the way of using medical cadres, of the way of proceeding in carrying out training, and of ensuring its stability. All of this will bring about a sense of responsibility, the promotion of a climate of high exigency and revolutionary firmness, which will not allow in any place the abuse or violation of the party's decisions and the laws of the state, and which will be of a nature to lead, everywhere, to the improvement of activity and use of graduates of higher education with good results.

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CSO: 2700/58

LCY IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION DISCUSSES ANTI-TITO STATEMENTS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 85 p 21

[Article by Djuro Zagorac: "How To Protect the Truth"]

[Text] The echo from two meetings held last week still has a disturbing ring.

The emergence of organized forces whose principal goal is to discredit Tito's achievements and the basic achievements of the Yugoslav revolution was dramatically pointed up in an expanded meeting of the Commission of the LCY Central Committee for the Ideological and Theoretical Effort.

The day before in a meeting of the Coordinating Committee for Recognition and Preservation of the Name and Deeds of Josip Broz Tito associated with the Federal Conference of the SAWPY it was observed that passages from books which have not been properly verified either professionally or socially have been published with increasing frequency. Thus a large amount of inaccurate and harmful material has been launched with the direct involvement of social resources so that the subsequent reaction might be used as a most effective advertising bait.

The concern and anxiety of a majority of the participants in these meetings are understandable; the aim is to impose nothing less than a moral crisis on society by negating our community's basic values.

Historian Pero Damjanovic, who spoke on behalf of those preparing Tito's Collected Works, said that certain forces and circles were attempting to write Tito's "indictment," that is, an indictment of the revolution which he personified. While historians remain by and large at the scholarly level in presenting Tito's works, the "free lancers" have been using half-truths, untruths, and indeed even falsifications of history.

Stipe Suvar called attention to the perfidious thesis to the effect that Tito was a "past master at manipulation" who supposedly led an "unnecessary" revolution in which the nationality question was not settled, which Tito settled at the expense of the Serbian people, that he left behind him federalized nationalisms which will break up Yugoslavia. That kind of "intellectual output," according to Suvar, dare not be underestimated. Its destructive effect could be very dangerous. Suvar cited the story "Our Father," published by the

Serbian Literary Cooperative in Belgrade, which in his judgment is the most revolting thing so far published in that vein as the supreme "product" of that kind.

Our revolution can develop successfully, Suvar believes, only if we have the strength to extend Tito's vertical line, if we are able to continue the best of what we began with him.

The wave of anticommunist speculations and provocations, Slobodan Bosiljevic believes, will not withdraw in and of itself, which is why there must be a constant and persistent ideological struggle on the part of the LC, which must have as its underpinning much more effective solutions to the present social problems and contradictions. According to Bosiljevic, there ought to be much more concern about the causes than about the actual attacks on the figure and career of Comrade Tito.

Yet the most ugly theses are those which proclaim Tito to have been a "skillful" and "cunning" implementer of the policy of Stalin and the Comintern. It is precisely in that area that Tito's actions and deeds have exceptional importance, not only to our revolution, but indeed to the international socialist movement. That thesis, Damjanovic warned, was first posited in some of his writings by Vladimir Dedijer, but Veselin Djuretic "elaborated" it in more detail. That is why it is very important to bring the task of publishing Tito's Collected Works to an end as soon and as successfully as possible. The prewar and wartime parts are done (20 volumes have been published so far), and the material of another 8 volumes has been prepared for publication. A practical problem also arises in the further publication of Tito's writings: The period after 1952 is under legal protection and subject to preservation of secrecy lasting 30 and 50 years, respectively.

Yet there are those who think that no one can do harm to Tito's works regardless of the means and that he does not need any sort of "custodians." Their point of departure is the truth that Tito marked an epoch, that he did not enter history, but created it. They answer those who accuse the revolution, and that means Tito as well, of being "unnecessary" and of having "taken" power with outside help, with the facts of history.

In November 1945, that is, after the armed victory had been won in Yugoslavia, general elections were held. The legal political opposition organized in parties took part in the election campaign and indeed had international protection and support and in fact published its own newspaper. The opposition also included the church, which had been affected by the law on land reform and by the announcement that in the new system the church would be separate from the state, whereby it would lose its ancient economic and political power, the power to rule people, not merely their souls. And what was the outcome of that nationwide referendum? The National Front, the slate of candidates led by Marshal Tito, received 90.48 percent of the votes. This was not an election victory, this was the triumph of the popular masses. Who was it that took power from whom in that process?

Following those elections, for example, THE NEW YORK TIMES even published an article in which it said that these were the "most valid elections in Yugoslavia's history," and the London TIMES especially stressed the "realization that the election committees did their job with an impartiality that was the opposite of the practice of Yugoslav elections in the past," and the elections (at the request of the opposition) were overseen by a group of British parliamentarians and newspapermen.

Yet we live in a time and region where the truth and justice can be "turned" into their opposite, which is why vigilance in preserving Tito's name and works from various imputations all the way to attempts to falsify historical documents is not superfluous. The most recent occurrences in our society should also be looked at in the context of developments in Europe, where fascist organizations are reviving along with a xenophobia based on the 9 million migrants who have left their own homeland, but have not found another one. These reflexes are extending all the way to us, and additional enmities are emerging along with the well-known nationalistic outrages. If we do not resolve the economic crisis more rapidly and effectively, there will be even more room for much of that, and those with the lowest consciousness will begin to offer their own "rescue" programs.

Who is it in our country today who is attempting to deprecate Tito's career and the achievements of the revolution?

Mainly they are individuals who did not realize their own "visionary" ideas; society has not developed according to their conception and recipe. They are now striving to "put" Tito "where he belongs," since it is only by tearing him down that they can attain an opportunity to return once again to the political scene.

Yet those forces should not be overestimated. Especially not on behalf of those who are supposedly trembling about what will happen to Tito's life work, but actually in so doing they are preserving their privileged positions and concealing their incompetence and irresponsibility.

In defending our revolution Tito never failed to recognize both groups. In this he is still an inspiration and can help all those who want to preserve the Yugoslav community, which has come to a standstill for the first time in its development and can recover only with the help of the energies of its revolutionary past.

7045
CSO: 2800/93

POLITICS YUGOSLAVIA

COST, DRAWBACKS OF FREQUENT 'REFORMS' ANALYZED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 85 pp 17-19

[Article by Slaven Letica: "We Fear Nothing But Fear Itself"]

[Text] Is the principle of change (reform) becoming politically and theoretically debatable for the first time in the history of the new Yugoslavia? Certainly it is a question of "changes of the political system," or, in a more realistic alternative, of "changes in the political system."

The rhetorical question put by way of introduction is very interesting because of the fact that Yugoslavia has based its social existence over the last 4 decades primarily on the reformist principle. Measured by formal political-and-legal indicators, Yugoslavia's development has been literally based on constant legal, political, economic, and technological changes and reforms. Between 1945 and 1984 we projected and in part carried out: 1) four constitutional reforms (that is, four thoroughgoing political-and-legal reforms), 2) some 10 major or minor economic reforms (reforms of the economic system): in 1945, 1950-1952, 1954, 1958, 1961, 1965-1967, 1970-1972, 1976-1978, and 1981-1983, and 3) a large number of reforms of the systems of education, health care, science, and other systems and policies, and so on.

The frequency of reforms and the methodology of preparing them and carrying them out have instilled in the value set of our science and day-to-day policy a spirit of reformism--with all the good and bad characteristics. Among the good sides of that spirit has certainly been the formal or real dynamism of society, and a mass psychology of anticonservatism. The bad sides of the constant reformist practice have been and are a kind of reformist adventurism (the practice of learning from mistakes) and a mass psychosis as to the temporary and short-lived nature of all the so-called "features of the system" (which has introduced into business policy the ideals of speculativeness and the short run rather than the long run and stability).

So, when a dispute (theoretical and political) arises all of a sudden concerning the principle of change in a social community like that, it is very interesting--at least at the level of speculative theory--to analyze the circumstances and causes of its occurrence.

Among the possible explanations of the causes of "resistance to change" at least three deserve close attention.

The first is based on the thesis, which is logically difficult to refute, that in principle reforms are easier to carry out in a period of prosperity than in a time of manifest (economic) and latent (political) crisis. The crisis above all gives rise to a narrowing of the economic potential for preparation and realization of reforms. And then the crisis gives rise to a mass psychosis of a fear of change. This has been demonstrated by many of our own and foreign experiences with crises.

Many countries experienced the paralyzing role of fear (during crisis) in their economic and social life (and the swelling up of conservative tendencies in science and policy) during the period of the Great Crisis (1929-1933) and the contemporary economic crisis (1973-1979). Probably that fear can in part explain why conservatism is in political fashion in the world today. In the most frequently quoted sentence of his inaugural address ("We have nothing to fear but fear itself"), for example, Roosevelt in 1933 dramatically called to the attention of the scientific and political public of the United States at that time the negative role of fear in the economic and social cultural life of a society affected by crisis. As Galbraith writes: "...Fear--the fear of not having a job, of losing the farm, of having nowhere to live, of losing bank savings, or one's own company--drives people to behave with a caution that is unnecessary and unreasonable and in that way only makes their economic situation worse(...)" ("Money," p 247). The spontaneous psychological reaction to crisis is usually dual: a rhetorical desire for (radical) changes, and in actuality a spontaneous return to "tried and true solutions."

The second explanation of the resistance to change in our situation has to do with those who carry out reforms. That is, regardless of the formal and real "leading role" of the League of Communists, for all of 40 years revolutionary thinkers had an informal intellectual and political mandate concerning all the essential political, legal, and economic reforms: Tito, Kidric, Kardelj, and Bakaric (and to some extent, M. Popovic). The death of those men complicates the planning technology and implementation of reforms today. The usual "working groups" and "commissions"--regardless of their name or membership--are having great difficulty arriving at theoretical and political consensuses necessary to operational political decisionmaking.

Finally, the third explanation of the causes of the "conflict over changes" takes into account the most important factor: interests and the mechanisms for regulating them. The legitimization of the "pluralism of self-management interests" today has been carrying to the level of a public conflict a multitude of differing and antagonistic personal, social, regional, ethnic, and other interests.

Conflicts of interests have always been present in the process of projecting and carrying out reforms in Yugoslavia. The fact that these conflicts have been articulated more frequently concerning the content of the changes ("concerning the kind of changes that are involved") than about the principle of change (for or against the changes") makes no essential difference in the character of the conflict. That is, the content of the changes has always been at the base of the conflict. That is also the case today. The only essential difference is that the self-management--federal delegate mechanism for interests is slower and appears at least to be less effective.

The scientists and the politicians who are today arguing with feeling in support of the thesis that radical changes are urgently needed in the political system are inclined to idealize the scenarios and results of all earlier reform projects--except for the last, the so-called "1974 model."

The critical-historical analysis of our numerous forms and reforms, however, shows that the many changes have often not meant a profitable "step forward" for the system--as in political terms they have most frequently been assessed in the processes of preparation and realization.

To some extent I am claiming to be competent to make a preliminary assessment. By accident I happened to take my master's degree on the topic of our most famous reform, the so-called "social and economic reform" in 1965 (famous above all because of the spectacular replacement of old dinars by new dinars, by the closing down of the coal mines, and by the laying off and emigration of manpower as the "untapped internal potential" of the reform). On that occasion I spent 3 years studying the various theoretical, political, legal, and bureaucratic papers and documents of the reform. And I came upon many theoretical and other inconsistencies and cases of naivete in that great project--the suspicion of which was very long regarded as political sabotage. On another occasion I studied the basic theoretical and political documents of our other reforms. To be specific, in the period 1982-1983 I prepared for Television Zagreb the scenario for a series (never completed) of educational programs on the economic crises and reforms in Yugoslavia 1945-1983. In my research at that time I discovered the following:

1) that in the rear or on the margins of almost all the reforms there was a manifest or latent economic or political crisis (the reforms were, then, usually forced--curative "responses" to crises) and

2) that all the changes (and especially the changes in the concept of the Federation 1970-1971) were accompanied by more or less open theoretical and political conflicts.

I also discovered something else: that our reformist science (the one "which they obeyed" and the one "which they did not obey") has a short and biased historical memory. This at the very least can be said of that science which the general project for getting out of the present "crisis of the (political) system" sees in a "return to the 1963 Constitution."

That is, the logic that the ideological was dominant over the political, the political over the economic, and the economic over the sociocultural was just as valid as a principle of change in the 1963 Constitution as it was in the 1974 Constitution. Only after all that were the relations between the class aspect and the ethnic aspect, which are today being naively debated in terms of theory, established, and the 1963 Constitution is seen as the incarnation of the class aspect, and the 1974 Constitution as the incarnation of the ethnic aspect. Which and what kind of "class" aspect and "ethnic" aspect?

Since I am concerned in this article with changes as the principle and method of development, for example, of the political system, it is necessary to point to the most important similarity in all of our reforms to date. It lies in the fact that reforms have never been treated as serious projects pertaining to investment and economic development, but rather as (ideologically substantiated) political projects.

They were worked out on the principle of "the end justifies the (invested) means" or "money's no object." I pointed out that fact at one time in two journalistic comments: "What Is the Price of the Constitutional Reform," in STUDENTSKI LIST in 1975 and "Is Justice Made of Paper" in START in 1978.

At that time I computed in START that just the costs of "carrying out the Law on Associated Labor" over the period from 1976 to 1978--concentrated around the processes of drafting and bringing into conformity about 1.5 million general self-management acts--cost the equivalent of building 4.5 million square meters of residential floor space or "1,000 km of the most modern superhighway" (see START, No 257, 29 November 1978).

Converted to today's prices, the campaign of "implementing the Law on Associated Labor" would cost $4-$5 billion.

When today we engage once again in the large and spectacular reforms, then we should regard them and treat them as immense, complicated, and expensive investment projects. Investment projects which require that we have a clear idea about the goals, means, responsibilities, and methods of their preparation and realization. Any voluntarism and haste would be just as harmful as passivity and the inability to act.

Preparation of these investment-project reforms could not gain the right of going public at the level of the dilemma which is offered today between "being for or against reforms." That is, every person and every social group is always and everywhere both "for" and "against"... certain specific changes. Instead of the rhetorical question of being "for or against reform (of the political system)?" questions like this should be put: What kind of changes? At what price? In what way? Why? How? When?

Of course, our situation is contradictory as to the desirable method of political action: It demands speedy actions on the one hand and caution on the other. Our situation is also complicated in a literal sense, and not just in the colloquial political sense of that word. Precisely because of that complexity there simply is no single theoretical recipe that would offer salvation, a "way out." The people who believe that they possess the formula or recipe for the way out, bearing such names as "bourgeois pluralism," "a strengthening of private initiative," "a strengthening of work and discipline," "market laws," "reform of the Federation," "a struggle against (economic) nationalism," "abolishing the self-managing communities of interest," "a great moral reform," and so on, and so forth, are in great error.

The existence of "recipes for the way out" would presuppose the existence of some global generator-cause of the crisis. Our situation is "complicated" in the sense that it consists of a fascinating multitude of apparently very small shortcomings and cases of neglect which are caused by a multitude of circumstances and causes.

The error of the "reformers" is similar to the error of the scientist-physician who spends his whole life looking for the cure to some disease in the belief that that disease was brought about by a single cause--by an intruder (microorganism, parasite, or stress). And the disease has always been brought about by a multitude of factors: the legacy of the past, the natural environment, social circumstances, and the way of life. In a way reforms are like surgical operations: They can be successful, but the problems do not go away.

The idea fix, which is a bit metaphysical, of some of our politicians and scientists as to the existence of some great CAUSE of the crisis unknown to others and of a great--known only to them--WAY OUT of the crisis, has been finding fertile soil in our public. In a public which has a strong traditional root. A public in which a higher value is still put on reading palms and tea leaves than a serious scientific effort, which unfortunately and by its nature includes SKEPTICISM and DOUBT (which are a threat to the reading of signs). A public figure (scientist or politician or newspaperman) dare not doubt or fail to know in a time of crisis; he must "be constructive." He must reject the "petit bourgeois" dogma of "writing what you think" and must write according to the prescriptionist principle: "What do I propose?" Cognitive skepticism and relativism--which are inherent in an age of complicated situations--are today regarded as a professional scandal.

Since the writer of this essay has no formula at all for "the way out," the rest of the space will be devoted to a critical description of the "complexity of the situation" and to possible public approaches to the topic of "reforms."

Our "complicated situation" is usually called a crisis. Crisis is an attractive, but unfortunately altogether imprecise term. A term which requires additional clarifications as to the form of the crisis that is in question, whether it be cyclical or structural; whether it be economic, political, or social; whether it be a Yugoslav crisis or world crisis, an acute crisis or chronic crisis, and so on.

Our "complicated situation" certainly has two dimensions: The empirical dimension of development and the dimension of mass psychology. At the empirical level our "complicated situation" is characterized by several essential facts: a chronic shortage of money (foreign exchange), stagnation (in technology, the economy, and civilization), the decline of the standard of living, the economy's chronic dependence upon imports, the bureaucratization of economic and social life, and so on, and so forth.

The mass psychosis of the "complicated situation" cannot be illustrated by using the term crisis. It can be expressed much more precisely by the phrase: "pessimistic uncertainty." The principal generators of that mass psychosis are certainly the lines and the shortages, the high rate of inflation, unemployment, and the general drop in the standard of living. Intellectually this new mass psychosis has been sketched most brilliantly in an article by Dr Josip Zupanov, professor, entitled "Where Is Yugoslav Society Going," published in NASE TEME, No 12, 1982. The author's basic thesis is that Yugoslav society is in the long run entering a phase of economic, technological and cultural, and civilizational devolution (retrogression).

It is a mistake to think that the phenomenon of "pessimistic uncertainty" has struck only our society. This phenomenon has been noted even in the advanced countries of Europe. The well-known French commentator Francois de Closets not so very long ago referred to the mass psychology of Europeans up until the seventies as a phenomenon of "always more [in English in the original]." For all of 3 decades in the "age of prosperity," Closets writes, every individual and every social group became accustomed in the welfare state to get more every year: a higher pay, larger social benefits, greater job security, more privileges (see "The Decline of Europe," NEWSWEEK, 9 April 1984). All of that applies to Yugoslavs. The economic crisis brought a mass social shock after 1979; they are realizing that the future is not a bigger and better version of the present.

The Yugoslav situation signifies a reflection and radicalization of the European situation. Since 1980 we have become accustomed to the phenomenon of "always less and less": housing, money, goods, consumer goods, and travel. And worst of all: accustomed to the impossibility of making a choice--goods, people, and behavior. The mass psychosis of "pessimistic uncertainty" is a simple sum of the phenomenon of "always less and less" plus the question: How long will this last?

Without any doubt whatsoever "pessimistic uncertainty" diminishes the population's aspirations with respect to the future and thereby makes the political task of future reformers of the political-legal-economic system easier.

The question, we repeat, is not "whether" to change, but "what" and "how" to change? At what price and with what profit? Starting from an analysis of the extensive (our own) literature of the type "What is to be done?"--which today would fill an enire library--nearly everything ought to be changed. Including even the people!

That is the conclusion one very easily comes to if he recalls that almost all the key issues of our political and economic existence have been touched upon in the public debates concerning the changes. Questions about federation and confederation, about ownership, about self-management, the League of Communists, class composition, law and politics, the market, the plan, accumulation and investments, political or self-management pluralism, the future and the past, war and revolution, the state, management, bureaucracy, the government and authority, collective leadership, the electoral system, and so on, and so forth.

"All the key issues of the working class movement are open (for debate)," Dr Dusan Bilandzic, professor and well-known political historian, recently declared. All the issues which we believed had been definitively resolved, at least in conceptual terms.

The question which necessarily imposes itself as an important political issue in this situation is this: What political and legal attitude should be taken toward intellectual, that is, also political, pluralism of ideas, views, assessments, and demands? The answer to that seems simple to me: Public discussion should be organized and stimulated, not suspended. Only then will the real makers of political decisions and the real wielders of power be able to derive a real cognitive benefit from the public discussion. Any suspension would have a restrictive effect; the already low level of motivation of public figures to engage in sincere public participation will be diminished even further.

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CSO: 2800/100

ASSEMBLY DELEGATE INTERVIEWED ON CHANGES IN LEGAL SYSTEM

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 85 pp 22-23

[Interview with Dr Boro Petkovski, chairman of the Coordinating Group of the Federal Chamber for Preparation of the Assembly Resolution on the Status of the SFRY Legal System, by B. Djurica: "The Legal System Under Repair"; date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, after proceedings lasting 1 year, the Coordinating Group of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly for Drafting the Analysis and Resolution on the State of the Legal System of the SFRY completed the major portion of its job by writing the draft of that document. This is at the same time the first definite contribution to the changes of our political system which the so-called Vrhovec Commission described as "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System."

That is, a country's legal system, as is well known, is an inseparable part of the political system and it might even be said that it is its other face, the other side of the coin.

Right With Social Power

The draft is now to go through Assembly debates which will gives it its final shape, and, consistent with Assembly procedure, a document will be created for action throughout Yugoslavia. The official announcement on the work of the Coordinating Group emphasized that the principal characteristic of the draft is the further affirmation of the class nature of our legal system, and this was also the occasion to interview the chairman of the group, Dr Boro Petkovski, who has been a delegate from SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia for 7 years now, and who is well known for his professional contributions in building no other than the sociopolitical and legal system.

[Question] What are the manifestations of the class nature of our legal system, and to what extent has our practice to date brought us closer to that basic principle in our law or taken us further away from it?

[Answer] The central issue of any legal system is its class nature. That is also true in our country. The class meaning of the law which the draft resolution advocates, put succinctly, is manifested in several elements: only work and the results of work shall determine a man's material and social position on the basis of equal rights and responsibilities, combined with respect for the principle of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. The second element is development and strengthening of the pooling of labor and resources throughout the entire unified economic region of Yugoslavia and achievement of constitutionality and legality.

Practice has both brought us closer to the class content of our law and also taken us further away (Dr Petrovski continued). It brought us closer with the realization that the creation of law is not a technical and organizational activity, but a social, class, scientific, and professional activity. That is, in recent years this has to no small degree been thrust into the domain of technical organization, which has greatly devalued its social function. I see a loss of certain essential class elements in the fact that the law has not been sufficiently performing its vigorous role in protecting, stimulating, and improving the relations of socialist self-management, that the legal institutions have not been used with sufficient success in combating the deformations that have been arising in the socioeconomic and political system, and that many solutions have contributed to a weakening of the material base of labor. However, the law could not have guaranteed all that under the given conditions, since the present climate has favored its becoming an expression of social powerlessness.

[Question] Did you manage in the draft to indicate that cause-and-effect connection to the political system and do you anticipate that directly opposite views will take up all the room in the debate? Put most briefly: Do you anticipate that the draft resolution will prove to be a generally acceptable document?

[Answer] The draft was drawn up on the basis of the analysis prepared previously concerning the status, the basic problems, and the directions of further development of the SFRY legal system, which consisted of seven separate documents, all of them together taking up several hundred pages. By and large the analysis cleared up the most essential issues. If directly opposed opinions do arise, there is no reason to be horrified at that. An abundance of opinions can only contribute to the finding of the best solutions, and in that sense I anticipate that the draft will merely stimulate creative approaches.

Expedience Changes a Law

[Question] What was the subject of the analysis, and what views were taken in that process; that is, were there differences of opinion in the Coordinating Group?

[Answer] The analysis covered seven fields, and a separate document was drafted for each of them. The fields analyzed were these: the place and role of the legal system in the system of self-management, creation of the law, application of the law, federal legislation, the legislation of the republics and provinces and the statutes of opstinas and other regional sociopolitical communities, self-management law, and international law from the standpoint of the SFRY legal system. There were differing assessments of individual issues, but I think that this actually helped us in proposing solutions which I believe will contribute to further advancement and realization of the legal system!

[Question] The draft stresses the need for "further democratization of the process of creating the law and for strict observance of the obligations assumed." Indirectly, this means that even the Coordinating Group did not judge the present situation to be satisfactory?

[Answer] We did not give a favorable assessment to much of the content of the present situation in both the creation and the application of the law. The constructive thing related to the creation of the law is that there have been more and more conditions for the working people in self-managing organizations and communities to regulate and apply standards to their socioeconomic and other relations directly. In this way the creation of the law becomes an inalienable right, duty, and responsibility of the working people organized through self-management.

But the bad thing is that this commitment has been achieved only slowly. In social practice there has been a marked separation of the creation of the law from its application. It is bad that government bodies and then professional management bodies and others have the dominant influence in creation of the law. The illusion of the omnipotence of government regulation of socioeconomic and other social relations has dug in deep roots everywhere. This illusion goes back to the idea of the omnipotence of the law, of norms in general, regardless of real social relations.

I would say that the processes of creating the law by all those involved in that creation have not been sufficiently synchronized. This has resulted in insufficient internal compatibility, consistency, and uniformity ni the development of the law even when we refer only to federal legislation. That is, the destiny of every legal system is dependent upon its application. Only a body of law which is implemented serves its purpose. This is an essential criterion of its social value. But the most serious problem of our legal system has been the failure to apply the body of law, laws and other regulations and general acts.

The Workers Get the Change

Nonenforcement is also the main cause for the decline in the prestige of the legal system and thereby the respect for legality in general. This tends to detract from confidence in certain essential contents of the law and thereby from its class nature as well. For example, there have been widespread cases of substituting the principle of expediency for the principle of constitutionality and legality.... Direct relations have not been established between the social and material position of the workingman and citizen and his relation toward constitutionality and legality.

[Question] By contrast with certain jurists and politicians, your group has taken the position that the "nonapplication of the law" has its roots in the political system, that is--as it is stated in the draft--in the "inappropriate functioning of government and political organizations and political institutions."

[Answer] This question really does touch very seriously upon the relationship between the political system and the legal system. Many problems only appear to be expressed as something originating in the legal system, when in fact they are located outside it in the sphere of the political system. Many even come from the underdeveloped basic production relation of socialist self-management. That is why even our draft resolution was not able to "avoid" the political system, that is, emphasis on certain unavoidable social linkages between those two things. But the assessments which have been more frequent recently to the effect that nonapplication of the law is the central problem in the functioning or nonfunctioning of the political system were not accepted. The essence of what is pinching the political system is the inapproriate functioning of government and social institutions and sociopolitical organizations. The problem of the law is first and foremost a problem of the judicial system, but ultimately the political system also holds the legal sphere in its hands.

[Question] The draft also emphasizes the importance of protecting social ownership not only as property, but also as a socioeconomic relation. What does this refer to?

[Answer] The reference is among other things to the fact that the material basis of labor has not been provided for in all essential elements so that the workingman organized through self-management would decide on the conditions, implements, and results of labor in the entirety of social reproduction. Nor has the principle been guaranteed that work and the results of work determine a man's material and social position. There has now been a drastic reduction in the percentage of income which the workers dispose of. Nor has there been a full identification of authorities, rights, obligations, and responsibilities of the workers arising out of the right to employ the resources of society, not to mention that our body of law has not sufficiently elaborated the concept of social ownership. Thus in practice social ownership is treated more like government or group ownership instead of their negation....

Almost all actions to carry out the law and discharge duties and responsibilities are burdened with very complicated procedures. In some cases it even takes a man several years in order to exercise some elementary constitutional right.

We have never had a more highly developed and ramified system of social welfare, self-management, and social ownership, and at the same time they have never been so widely, strongly, and boldly attacked. That is why we feel that institutions for defending self-management, self-management forms for the self-protection of socialist self-management relations, have not been sufficiently developed in the legal system.

[Question] It is the prevailing opinion among our legal experts that the present legal system is an impediment to technical and social development, since it contains more obstacles and prohibitions than incentives.

[Answer] This is a serious issue, but its essence goes beyond the legal dimensions. In replying I will limit myself to the development of engineering and technology. Many situations which we have in the socioeconomic domain, in a particular domain even in the political system, are today a serious impediment to the inroads of not only engineering and technology, but also of what is referred to as high technology. These limiting factors are as follows: exclusiveness not only within the unified Yugoslav market, but also its exclusiveness on the basis of many administrative and legal barriers toward world movements of high technology and highly developed productive forces, knowledge, and intelligence. The social-class dimension of this exclusiveness lies in the fact that the workers organized through self-management, and indeed the working class as a whole, have not been in a socioeconomic position that would literally drive them to come face to face with the labor and the productivity which have been verified on a world scale.

The Need for a Financial Police Force

The law does not set up prohibitions which hinder the inroads of high technology. It establishes norms which reflect the will of the bodies of sociopolitical communities and other factors. All examples in this sphere also confirm the fact that our law has lost certain essential elements of the vigorous role which has a feedback effect on those in the government who make the law, but also on the real situations to which those norms pertain.

[Question] How is one to look at the attempt to revive commissions for investigation of the origin of property, which some lawyers judged to be a disavowal of the law and an unjustified parallelism in the legal system, which ultimately injures even the individual's legal security?

[Answer] I think that instead of reviving the commissions for investigation of the origin of property the question of the work of tax and other authorities legally and constitutionally required to concern themselves not only with conventional tax policy, but also the questions of enrichment at the expense of the other working people and society should be sharpened to the very finest point. We should not forget for a moment that we confront very widespread enrichment not derived from labor, and that has caused serious social and class differences, which are more complicated and in their socioeconomic and political consequences more dangerous than those we had in the past, when we established the commissions for investigation of the origin of property. Thus we have to equip the tax, financial, and other agencies so that they represent a true financial police force responsible for discharging the obligations placed upon them by the constitution and by law.

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CSO: 2800/102

SERBS, MONTENEGRINS IN KOSOVO PETITION PRESIDENCIES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 85 p 3

[Excerpts] The case of the 16 citizens from Klina Opstina and one person from Poljana in Istok Opstina has still not been settled: at the beginning of July they had complained to the Serbian Assembly of pressure by Albanians on Serbs and Montenegrins, and had been sponsored to a large degree by the opstina and provincial government. Most of the statements, according to the working group which examined the entire case, were judged to be untruthful and incorrect. At a meeting on 3 December of the Commission for Petitions and Suggestions in the Serbian Assembly it was therefore concluded that everything cannot be settled only on the basis of completely contrary facts. Therefore, a report will be submitted to the citizens who have come to the Assembly to complain and await their further reaction, and, if necessary, another discussion with all interested persons will be held.

The working group made the judgment that the facts are not correct so as to permit the provincial and opstina government to support the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Namely, the political security situation in Klina is becoming better. Emigration continues but more because of economic reasons, employment, schooling, etc. Also, the statement that the village of Berkovo is populated exclusively by Serbs and that in the last 10 years no one from here found work in Klina is not correct. According to statements of the working group, the population of Berkovo includes 9.2 percent Albanians and 32 persons from this village are employed in the Klina Opstina area; 19 of these were employed in the last 10 years.

The case has been most disputed because of the protests and dissatisfaction on the part of the inhabitants of Berkovo that one Albanian from Podujevo moved into their villages. They believed this was a special tactic by the irredentists because about 500 million (old) dinars were paid for the house and 2 hectares of land. Although according to the work group it was not a question of pressure, it was concluded that this sale should be annulled and since no other villagers have money to pay for the land, the "Malizgan" Agricultural-Industrial Combine will buy it. Also incorrect is the [alleged] fact that those of Albanian nationality are armed and easily acquire the right to bear arms, while this right is limited for Serbs, because [only] 26 percent of the arms permits are given to Serbs and Montenegrins. This and other complaints can still be discussed.... The meeting [of the working group] discussed why it has not been determined where the Albanians are getting the large amounts of money to buy land and property in Kosovo.

The commission was also informed at this meeting of the petition by 2,011 citizens which requests a solution to the situation in Kosovo and which was sent to the highest federal and republic organs of Serbia (Kosta R. Bulatovic is the official representative in charge of "contacts"). The petition submitted about 2 months ago was examined by the SFRY Presidency which sent it to the Serbian Presidency for examination. It was concluded that a working group be formed of all those to whom the petition was addressed and that its statements be examined.

/8309
CSO: 2800/98

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DISCUSSES RIGHT TO EMIGRATE FROM KOSOVO

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 85 p 3

[Excerpts] One of the conclusions of Dr Josif Trajkovic, president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, at its 4 December meeting, was that the emigration from Kosovo is a constitutional question and is the right of the Assembly of this community [Kosovo] to regulate or prevent, but only by the methods, laws, and regulations which are in accord with the SFRY Constitution. The reason for the discussion, which lasted for several hours, was a 1983 request by Sreten Komadina from Titova Mitrovica for the Constitutional Court to make a judgment on the constitutionality and legality for the formation and operation of commissions for establishing the reasons for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The Kosovo Constitutional Court, after several months, concluded that the commission which oversees this emigration is not in opposition to the SFRY Constitution. In the last 8 months the entire subject has been taken up by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court. The discussion on 4 December also could not bring the judges of this court to a decision on whether the law which governs the work of these commissions is constitutional or not. It was decided that the court will make a final judgment most probably at its last meeting this year.

Judge Jakim Spirovski during the discussion yesterday said that the law is imprecise and is interpreted differently in practice. It has also happened, he said, that the commissions do not permit citizens to emigrate. In his opinion, no one has the right to interrogate someone as to where and why he is emigrating.

Dusan Strbac suggested that the court be informed also on an existing petition which, as is publicly known, the Serbian and Kosovo Assemblies are supposed to re-examine.

Stana Djukic-Delvalic expressed the view that certain commissions have not met their purpose, that they are informed about emigration but do not prevent it. The commissions' work in registering emigration should be only one form of preventing emigration but not the only method. Ivan Franko said that emigration is a political problem and that citizens are justifiably angry and assert that "the laws are restricting them in changing their place of residence.

Ratko Mocavnik expressed the opinion that it is right that the political leaders of this province of ours supported the formation of the commissions and that this is in accord with the Constitution and Law. But we are asked to make a judgment as to why the emigration of only Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is controlled and not that of others.

Dr Aleksandar Fira noted that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court at one time warned the SFRY Assembly about negative occurrences in regard to emigration. And at the time a concrete request is made one should ascertain whether everything has been done in accord with the Constitution and the Law.

Dr Vasil Grivcev warned that it is one thing to form a commission and another to give it authority which it does not have according to the Constitution.

One got the impression from the discussion that most of the judges believe that the commissions are based on the authority of the assemblies but they [the assemblies] must precisely and thoroughly examine how they operate. The dilemma now remains as to what will be achieved by issuing a decision, for instance, eliminating the commissions; whether the Constitutional Court could then be accused of protecting emigration, or conversely, whether the commissions will be permitted to operate as they like.

Judge Ramadan Vranici stressed that the work of the commission should not be linked to the [above-mentioned] petition, and that he and professional advisor Dragoljub Aleksic had confirmed on the spot [in Kosovo] that the commissions are not issuing regulations, that they are giving only necessary information to the internal affairs organs which according to law seek their opinion when someone asks to...move.

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CSO: 2800/98

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

FRG PAPER VIEWS POOR ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KOSOVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 9 Dec 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Oppression, Families Held Liable for Actions of One of Their Members: Albanians and Serbians Get Along Poorly in Kosovo"]

[Text] Pristina, December--A stone house surrounded by a fence in the center of the village houses the local administration. The police station, whose location is central for some other villages as well, is outside the inhabited area on the main street. The web of informants radiates out from the local authority, penetrating into every group of houses, every family. The informants are under constant pressure: If they do not report unpleasant incidents or conversations to the authorities, they are reprimanded. If someone is denounced, the police come and arrest him. In Kosovo every Albanian seems to be guilty automatically.

The authorities are taking advantage of the old Albanian customs which have no support under the present legal system. In cases where an offense with political overtones has been committed, the police, the authorities and the so-called political organizations join forces to "isolate" the entire family of the presumed offender. The family can no longer receive visitors, nor can it visit other people. Priests and hodjas are even required to refuse spiritual counsel of families being punished in this way, and cannot go to them or receive them at church or mosque. If they refuse to go along with this policy, it is held against them. This "isolation," according to Albanians, is first of all a mis use of the old Albanian common law, and secondly, it represents "Sippenhaft," the holding of an entire family liable for the actions of one of its members; it involves innocent people, and thus runs counter to both the Yugoslavian Constitution and the penal code, and to human rights in general. The official stance is that these "measures" are not approved of, but are used nevertheless in order to exert pressure in the villages.

With this system of control, intimidation and repression, the Yugoslavian regime and the Kosovo authorities have succeeded in preventing an outbreak of armed guerrilla warfare in Kosovo. The young people who occasionally paint the slogan "Kosovo -- Republic" on walls or on the street are almost always caught. And Albanians who were photographed by agents of the Yugoslavian police at demonstrations in Switzerland or the FRG are still being sentenced two or three years later.

Stern measures can make sense if they are accompanied by constructive political action. In Kosovo, however, this is only part of the case. Throughout Yugoslavia, there is an increasing obvious contradiction between the intact system of repression implemented by the police and the lack of decisionmaking ability in the political authorities. Either the security apparatus will eventually show tendencies toward demoralization, or the people will come to feel that they are being subjected to senseless, discriminatory repression.

In Kosovo the prevailing political group, which is Albanian, seems to have the feeling that it must legitimize the political struggle for equal rights for Albanians in Yugoslavia by taking energetic action against the "extremists" within its own ethnic group. But because, with its political difficulties, it tends to exaggerate the situation, and because the "Albanian-thinking" Albanians are in the majority, the result is a deep rift within the Albanian population, together with a discrediting of these politics as "Yugoslavian" in the eyes of many Albanians. In the final analysis, this discredits things Yugoslavian and adherence to the Yugoslavian government, and leads to their being equated with "a lack of national perspective." Albanians feel that the conditions of the "Ara Rankovic" have returned, only today the numbers of "collaborators" is much higher.

This is an impression which cannot be shared without reservations, even though there are obvious inequalities. A Serbian in Vojvodina who demanded that his region be recognized as a republic would hardly be at any risk, but in Kosovo a similar demand would be punished by imprisonment. The pressure from Serbia is palpable in Kosovo, and is expressed by the Serbian minority as well. For example, the Serbian-language newspaper JEDINSTVO, published in Pristina, demanded that "finally" when the Albanian flag is flown at private celebrations--weddings, for example--it must be accompanied by the Yugoslavian national flag. The same paper urged an investigation to find out where an Albanian had gotten the money to buy up a Serbian's property "at a good price."

The "buying out" of Serbians and Montenegrins does seem to be one form of the "national struggle" to which the Albanians have shifted since 1981. For example, one afternoon three Albanians pay a visit to a Serbian farmer, most of whose neighbors have already emigrated; they praise the householder, compliment him on his good health and his thriving family, and tell him he has a beautiful estate: it must be worth X amount of dinar. The Serbian--so goes the story in the Serbian newspaper--now has a choice: he can accept the price offered, which usually is a good one, or he can expect that a few months later one of his cows will die in the pasture, his harvest will burn, or even that his daughter will be raped.

On the Albanian side, nobody denies that in individual cases pressure is being exerted on Serbians or Montenegrins, who make up 12 percent of the population, but it is claimed that the emigration of these people, who are still leaving at a rate of about 3000 a year, is primarily from economic causes. Thus there is no reason to consider every offer to purchase land as an "irredentist act." Furthermore, it is said, Serbians and Montenegrins do occasionally come back to Kosovo, although perhaps not in great numbers, after failing to find work at their new locations. In this case, supposedly, the returnees are guaranteed jobs, usually with their previous employer, although not necessarily at the same workplace, and they are also guaranteed a place to live, depending on existing conditions. There are some Albanians who consider this "privileged treatment" of Serbians, which is not wholly incomprehensible in view of the high unemployment and the fact that in Kosovo, like everywhere else in Yugoslavia, highly illegal bribes must frequently be paid in order to get a job. Many Albanians are especially bitter over the fact that everything Serbians say is immediately believed. This, it is said, can have the severest consequences for any Albanian, and the family of any Albanian, who alleges that he is being oppressed. The Serbians again counter that according to the Belgrad newspaper POLITIKA, out of 258 recorded criminal offenses during the first half of 1985, 159 were directed against members of the Serbian-Montenegrin ethnic group. Relations between the two ethnic groups in Kosovo are hopelessly poisoned.

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CSO: 2300/101

SERBS OF 'KOSOVO-METOHIJA' SUBMIT PETITION ON GRIEVANCES

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 85 p 3

[Public Petition: "Demands of 2,016 Inhabitants of Kosovo"]

[Text] Exposed to violence unknown to history in peacetime in the cradle of our homeland, we the undersigned Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija are making a final effort by legal means to protect our families' rights to life.

The actual situation is devastating: Part of Yugoslavia has been occupied, the site of our historical and national essence, and fascists' genocide against us Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija has attained citizenship rights. This is not the occasion, nor is such possible, to detail the dossier of the darkest deeds.

Brutal pressure from Siptar [derogatory term for Albanians] chauvinists against us and our families, our properties, graveyards, and holy places, has continued for decades, and unfortunately this has been concealed and covered up intentionally or accidentally. Not even their open rebellion in 1981, against all reason, impelled this country's authorities to call a halt to the implementation of an ideology that belongs, by virtue of both its methods and its aim, with fascism. The achievement of an ethnically pure territory, to which Kosovo and Metohija are close, is the basis of fascist doctrine.

The fact that the authorities in Kosovo and Metohija are hiding behind socialist ideology, instead of conducting radical measures to oppose the movement, is a special tragedy.

While terror is employed against us every day, everywhere and in every place, the institutions of authority in the province remain passive. They do not act by commission. This passive resistance is absolute and active support and legalization for violence. The lenient conclusions of the wider community about the need to alter the situation in Kosovo and Metohija have been hindered by effective official obstruction.

In the meantime, terror against us Serbs is intensifying every day in full view of Europe and the whole world, to Yugoslavia's shame.

Where is this leading?

Convinced that our highest legislative bodies will not, cannot, and must not remain indifferent to genocide against us Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija, we are making a final effort by these means to block fascism's path.

Accordingly, we demand urgent emergency sessions of the assemblies of Yugoslavia and Serbia. As an agenda, we append the following demands:

1. A guarantee that we will achieve our fundamental human rights under the Yugoslav Constitution and international conventions, which rights have been taken away from us absolutely.

2. Let the Socialist Republic of Serbia attain the same statehood status as the other republics in Yugoslavia.

3. The pan-Albanian chauvinists who inspired, have led, and are leading rebellion in Kosovo and Metohija, and who have enabled Yugoslav territory to be seized by pan-Albanian chauvinists, should be removed forthwith from the province's and the republic's institutions of authority and called to account. We also demand accountability from Serb personnel who, by their opportunism and careerism, have served and are serving that ideology.

4. Let the creators of the anti-Serb genocide project in Kosovo and Metohija be named in public, regardless of the positions they may have occupied in our country. For sure, this project is not the result of chance, nor did it come into being solely in this area and in this country.

5. Further hospitality should be denied to emigrants from Albania who have settled here between 6 April 1941 and the present, regardless of whether they were settled under Mussolini's program or subsequently according to Enver Hoxha's plans. They own immovable property on Yugoslav territory, contrary to law, and the majority of them excel in terrorizing us Serbs. Unfortunately, Yugoslavia does not even know how many there are of them, but according to our data there are more than 260,000. Not a single Serb has emigrated from Albania to Yugoslavia in these decades, although there are more than 30,000 of them in Albania according to known data. Exposed to the darkest terror, they simply do not exist as a nationality in Albania. The most responsible individuals and institutions of the country have never before raised this question.

6. Let all sales contracts on sold Serbian real estate be voided urgently, regardless of whether individuals or legal entities extorted them from us.

7. We demand the return of all exiled Serbian families under the supervision of republic-level and republic-level authorities.

8. The several thousand court dossiers that "disappeared" should be reconstructed, dubious decrees reexamined, and radical changes made in the functioning of the judicial system.

9. An official language should be instituted in Kosovo and Metohija and also on the territory of the whole republic of Serbia. This is our right, which has been taken away unlawfully.

10. Let the Albanian flag, with the symbols that it now possesses, be abolished. We refuse to live under a foreign flag in our own country. A foreign flag was always a cause for freedom-loving wars against occupying powers.

11. Dossiers on Ballists [Albanian wartime movement] living in Yugoslavia and abroad, which were intentionally destroyed after 1966, should be reconstructed. Measures required for the security of the entire state impose this as an obligation.

12. We demand from the highest party entities the rehabilitation of all personnal who were discredited morally and politically on account of their involvement in opposition to the pan-Albanian chauvinists; they fell as the first victims of the ideology that has been exposed.

13. In employment and in choosing delegates, the present unlawful rules of representation by quota--which is contrary to the Constitution and fundamental human rights--should be suspended in favor of the principle of parity.

14. We demand that a delegation composed of signatories to this petition designated by us take part in the work of the assemblies in connection with our demands. The delegation would authentically describe and explain the deeds that have led us into this situation. To lead our delegation, we propose Comrades Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo [retired Montenegrin politician], Batric Jovanovic [gadfly member of Serbia's Assembly], Todor Slavinski, and Zarija Martinovic [head of Social Accounting Service at Kraljevo and member of Serbia's Assembly].

15. Vastly overdue changes require the emergency sessions of the assemblies to be held as soon as possible--we demand a final deadline of 30 October 1985--in the presence of representatives of the public media.

Conversations up to this point on the problems of us Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija have not yielded results. The present behavior of the authorities in the province deprives a state of its legal legality [as published] and promotes anarchy.

The number of signatories to this petition is of a representative character. We regarded a larger number as scarcely necessary, and the conditions in which this petition came into being--which are not unknown to you--are exceptionally dangerous to our security. Revenge against us and our families on account of the petition is highly expected.

If the positive socialist forces in the republic and the federation should be overcome once again by bad-intentioned forces, we warn that we are no longer in a position to endure unprotected the genocide of the fascists against us and our families.

The tragic consequences will not burden our conscience, for these consequences are imposed by the actual situation, because we are defending our naked lives and the fatherland.

The threat to us Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija marks an absolute threat to the Serbian people in general.

Note: By authority of the signatories, send all information to Kosta R. Bulatovic, 38210--Kosovo Polje, 3 Skerlina Street.

Copies to:

1. Assembly of Yugoslavia
2. Presidency of Yugoslavia
3. Executive Council of Yugoslavia
4. LCY Central Committee
5. Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia
6. Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia
7. Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia
8. Central Committee of the Socialist Republic of Serbia [as published]
9. Veterans' Federation of Yugoslavia
10. SAWPY
11. Serbia's SAWPY
12. Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences
13. Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo
14. Batric Jovanovic
15. Todor Slavinski
16. Zarija Martinovic
17. Serbia's Federation of Writers

/6091
CSO: 2800/126

SERBIAN ACADEMY DEFENDS ITSELF AGAINST CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 85 pp 55-57

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "Who Is Running the Academy"]

[Text] The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts celebrated the 100th anniversary of its existence and activity last year. That is usually an occasion for summing up results and successes, but also oversights and opportunities for better scientific work which have not yet been taken advantage of. Thus at last week's assembly of the SANU [Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts] (at which its presidium was elected) it was noted that the academy is becoming an ever more important factor in society and is having a more effective influence on policy in the sciences, the arts, and culture in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia. What is more, numerous business organizations favor the closest possible scientific-technological collaboration with the academy.

This is that handsome side of the relations between the academy and society, which is always somehow taken for granted, and we do not usually call excessive attention of the public to it. Yet there have been efforts (we will see how justified they are) to portray the academy as a den of conservative and oppositionist thought and behavior. Occasion has been found for such a belief in certain events within the academy itself, but also in public statements made by certain of its members. This has led Dr Dusan Kanazir, past and present president of the academy, to emphasize the following in his statement of gratitude: "As for the relation between sociopolitical forums and the academy, I must say that in those relations there have been certain misunderstandings and insufficient information about what the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts is today. We should not conceal that opinions have been expressed in public in numerous media to the effect that there is a nationalistic group in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts which, as they would like to portray it, is running the academy. I think that we are dealing here with a lack of information. The academy is governed by its presidium and assembly. There has never been anything nationalistic or chauvinistic either in any of our assemblies or in the statements and documents of the presidium. We in the academy wonder why SANU has been the target of frequent attacks, precisely at times when society finds itself in crisis situations...? However, I cannot fail again on this occasion to emphasize that the academy is concerned about the extremely serious socioeconomic crisis, by the ineffectiveness of the political system, by slowness in resolving the problems of the Serbs and

Montenegrins in Kosovo, by Serbia's economic lag, and by numerous other problems. The possibility exists that the present crisis could end in social upheavals whose consequences are difficult to foresee today."

Dr Kanazir also announced a major redirection of all the academy's potential toward society's outstanding problems. Usually the very idea of an academy evokes the association of some boring, dusty, and sterile scholarship, especially in the Balkan latitudes, where always promising improvisation and laziness when it comes to the facts have won out over thorough scientific thinking. To tell the truth, the academy has in fact been oriented toward investigation of the past to a fair extent, though not entirely through its own fault. However, the academy's upcoming scientific research plan orients its activity toward the sciences of the Third Millennium: from robots to AIDS. It might also be said that the people in the academy have become more aware both of their social function and also of their greater historical responsibility. The publication of an interdisciplinary study is thus soon expected in which the situation in our society will be evaluated in a context of scientific criticism, with a guarantee that this is "with the best intention of indicating possible ways out of the present crisis situation."

"Desirable Patriotism"

How, then, did the academy get the public image of a "group nationalist" alongside these honorable and well-meaning assurances and promises? Was it because of Djuretic's book or individual statements made by writers, historians, and economists who are members of the academy? Or perhaps because of that prejudice which has never been publicly expressed and confirmed, but which "slinks about" the gossip mill--to the effect that the academy brings together Serbian intellectuals who have had disagreements with the official policy? And not only that it brings them together, but indeed nurtures a kind of competition with the intellectual effort of the party and Marxist thought? As for the latter, the academy's very activity indicates the opposite.

But as for the first, it is best for us to quote the words of Dr Dusan Kanazir delivered at the academy's assembly in the spring: "It would be a mistake to assume that a member of the academy is against the system just because he does not agree with certain aspects of day-to-day policy. I believe he is acting in the best intention to improve our political system."

Incidentally, Dr Kanazir believes, the individual members of the academy speak in their own name, not in the name of the academy, and they bear social and moral responsibility for what they say. He went on to stress that the academy has "by tradition and has remained an institution in which the freedom of thought and speech are nurtured."

Nevertheless, it is implicitly acknowledged that certain statements and opinions were not really subjected to excessive criticism, although the idea that this is an exclusive product of the academy or a pattern peculiar to the academy has been rejected. That is the spirit of the thinking of Dr Sima Cirkovic, who up until now has been general secretary of the academy and who mentioned to us the need to "make a comparative analysis of whether there have been strikingly more or much more occasions for this kind of image in the academy than in other places in society." He in any case feels that individual opinions cannot be equated with the entire academy.

In response to the question of whether conservative political and social thought with admixtures of nationalism was nurtured in the academy Dr Sima Cirkovic replied to us: "There is no basis whatsoever for that rumor which has been attached to the academy recently. In the academy's specific activity there is nothing either conservative or ethnic, nor any pronounced patriotic line. The people who think and talk about that forget that talk is highly critical everywhere in our public. A goodly portion of it is justified, but another good portion is superficial and harmful. It is also inevitable that the members of the academy as individuals, and also individual committees within the academy, should express their critical opinions, their concern about the situation, and their own way of seeing the causes, the diagnoses, and forecasts. I personally see no reason to be disturbed by that, and I especially do not see grounds for the assertion that the academy has taken a political stand, which would for me personally be highly undesirable, since I do not approve conservatism in science and politics, much less nationalism, which is perhaps the greatest threat to the freedom of the science in which I am engaged. I think that we ought to elaborate precise criteria by which we might judge when we are dealing with nationalism and when we are dealing with a desirable patriotism. Incidentally, isn't there quite a bit of conservatism in what is advocated as the official policy?"

Distrust and Time

We wanted to know how it was that Djuretic's famous book was promoted on the premises of the academy and how it was that statements favoring some "third Yugoslavia" had been heard on that occasion. Cirkovic assured us that the academy had no part of that, but had simply allowed the Balkan Institute and Narodna Knjiga to use the hall. Vlado Strugar, who mentioned the "Third Yugoslavia," according to Dr Cirkovic, was not speaking on behalf of SANU, since he is a member of the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences. Incidentally, he is one of the most eminent experts on the National Liberation Struggle, the first PhD to specialize in that field of scholarship, and he received his doctorate in Moscow--which no other Yugoslav has so far achieved. Nor did the academy itself participate in the procedure for approval of Djuretic's book. "I personally was involved," Dr Cirkovic said, "but 80 topics were submitted to us for financing. All of those proposals were accompanied by supporting arguments and references. Are we supposed to be able and required to read all that? Could we have doubted an author who has published books behind him already and who in fact participated in publishing Tito's works? It is my impression that in that laziness of ours, when it comes to accuracy people do not check things out, do not ask questions, but just jump into the fray. What is more, I think that involving the academy in all this was to some extent intentional."

Why intentional, on behalf of what interests, and who could have done it? We recalled that Dr Kanazir himself had noted that there was a certain distrust between the academy and sociopolitical organizations. "At the same time," Dr Cirkovic responded to us, "the academy does engage in scholarship, it avoids becoming involved in passing matters, and it has been spared objections that it has advocated the wrong things and the wrong steps that have led to the bad consequences."

In the academy, then, an effort is being made to be perspicacious about what it does, so that it is not associated with the private opinions and public statements of its members. There is also an obvious effort toward free scientific thought that would not be bound up with day-to-day interests. Thus Dr Aleksandar Despic, past and present vice president, has warned that "we as an institution must see that the community around us understands that the duties and responsibilities of a scientist to his research are different from the duties and responsibilities in daily life or in politics, and that joining them together could lead to misunderstandings and undesirable relations. There is a need to show the kind of wisdom that is expected of such an old institution and to resolutely separate scientific work and its results from its trivial use in day-to-day politics. However, as far as scientific work is concerned, the academy would betray its traditions if it did not defend the principles of unlimited freedom of scientific thought. Without it there is no real progress in science.... This freedom presupposes freedom for all thought, not only for that thought which is widely accepted at a particular moment in history. Neither the scientist who engenders them, nor the community around him can always distinguish accurate thoughts from those which are inaccurate. Only time can separate them."

It is likely that everyone would not agree that time is the sole judge and producer of the truth, although certain truths are confirmed or refuted only with the passage of time. It does not have to be taken for granted that science and politics are completely disparate fields, since the dominant political orientation is extremely important to whether the fate of science is good or bad. Those who feel that the relationship between science and politics is resolved in the best way when they both, with mutual respect, work for the good of the entire community, are certainly right. And that means that it is sometimes a wholesome thing for them to be in conflict as well.

7045
CSO: 2800/93

AREAS SPECIFIED OFF-LIMITS TO FOREIGNERS

[Editorial Report] The 6 September 1985 (No 46) issue of SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, federal legal gazette (Belgrade, p 1343), publishes an 18 July 1985 decision of the Federal Executive Council specifying zones in all republics and the Province of Kosovo which are off-limits to foreign citizens. The decision describes five areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina, three in Macedonia, four in Slovenia, seven areas in Serbia, one area in Kosovo, six in Croatia, and four in Montenegro prohibited to foreign citizens; as well as the conditions under which exceptions to the decision can be granted.

/8309
CSO: 2800/98

MINISTER OF INDUSTRY ON COMPUTERIZED PLANNING, PRODUCTION

Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 1

[Article by E. N.: "APMS COMPCONTROL '85"]

[Text] The organization of the COMPCONTROL conference was formed in 1968 at Hungarian initiative. Since 1976 the socialist countries also have joined in the series of conferences held every 2 years; this year, with the cooperation of work group WG 5.7 of the IFIP [International Federation for Information Processing], it became an open international conference with the title "Developmental Trends in Production Guidance Systems (APMS--Advances in Production Management Systems)" or "Use of Computers in Production Guidance and Engineering Work." Under the joint sponsorship of the IFIP, the GTE [Machine Industry Scientific Association], the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] and the IFORS (International Federation of Operations Research Societies), a program was held in the Budapest Congress Center between 27 and 30 August. The significance of the conference is indicated by the fact that a total of 122 papers were read at the plenary sessions or in the meetings of the three sections, 50 percent of these in modern, illustrated form. China was also represented in the list of speakers from 24 countries. Speakers invited from capitalist countries gave 43 talks and 79 talks represented the socialist countries (29 of these were Hungarian). About 65 talks reported on results already achieved or to be achieved shortly.

A speech by Minister of Industry Laszlo Kapolyi opened the conference. He reviewed the trends and major questions in industrial development. He empnasized that computerized planning and manufacturing systems must blend with all of industrial culture. The primary goal is to strengthen design activity. If the products of the machine and instrument industries are to be renewed there is need for design activity which extends to the technological processes of pre-manufacture, parts manufacture and assembly and which is able to further develop machine tools in an appropriate way and can create high level manufacturing cells and manufacturing systems. Along this path one can reach integrated material processing and data processing systems which represent the highest degree of efficiency. To develop these use must be made of methods which build from below upward and of deductive systems development methods. The precondition for solving these tasks is the spread of electronics in Hungarian industry and, before all else, creative human activity increasingly supported by material and moral recognition.

The full text of every talk at the conference was published under the auspices of the OMIKK [National Technical Information Center and Library]; the 4-volume set can be read in preprints and an international edition will appear. Certainly the key word of the conference was integration. Many speakers analyzed the problems, obstacles and difficulties which stand in the path of integration. The attitudinal obstacles must be cleared away. There is still a huge gap between computerized planning and computerized manufacture. It would be better to use, instead of FMS (flexible manufacturing systems) widely used in the international professional literature, FPS (flexible production systems) by which one could include everything from planning through preparatory operations to organization and manufacture. All this requires more profound knowledge, better understanding among the various special areas, cooperation and standardization. The achievements of artificial intelligence and expert systems must be applied to an increasing degree in an approach much more pragmatic than up to now. Since the costs of planning and manufacturing systems integrated with a computer are extensive there is a great risk for investing enterprises and countries. This fact increases the responsibility of researchers and developers to a great extent. There is a need for reliable systems the parameters, real capabilities and price/performance relationships of which cannot be hidden from those who must decide about their acquisition. All this can be realized only by united international efforts in an intelligently controlled dialectic unity of competition and cooperation.

8984
CSO: 2502/17

'ECHO' SPEECH SYNTHESIZER, SPEECH RECOGNITION

Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Jozsef Fellegi, Videoton: "Human Speech as Direct Computer Information?"]

[Text] The imaginatively named speech processing peripheral ECHO introduced at the spring Budapest International Fair could become a new tool in the man-machine link, one long hoped for and now perhaps in reach.

In addition to the prospects for its use two technical solutions of the device--the development of the digital signal processor and a theoretically new processing solution compacting speech while enhancing the essence--may be of interest. We give below an outline picture of the device and of its place among domestic speaking machines.

Research and development work dealing with speech peripherals began in our country in the mid-1970's. The methods already known and considered fully developed for mechanical production of human speech provided a basis for this. Here we must note first the use of linear prediction speech processing (LPC--Linear Predictive Coding). Despite the fact that single chip limited dictionary speech synthesizers made on the basis of this process and capable of synthesizing English words were already commercially available (for example, Speak & Spell), the domestic developers still had to solve a series of problems. They had to find a method and tools for providing and entering optional vocabularies; that is, they had to find a way to analyze speech for optional lengths of time and develop circuits for synthesis taking into consideration the domestic microelectronic background.

A number of solutions, differing from one another, were found to reproduce or produce human speech by mechanical means. A research group of the BME-HEI [Communications Engineering Electronics Institute of the Budapest Technical University] created in 1983 a speech synthesizer, called the LIAWOX-1, capable of reproducing a limited dictionary, that is 50-100 words stored in compacted form in the course of a prior analytical process. Independent of this a work group of the Videoton Electronics Enterprise appeared with a similar solution and the professional public could become acquainted with both of them at a talk at the NJSZT [Janos Neumann Computer Technology Society]. Developers at the MEV [Microelectronics Enterprise] were also working on Hungarian language speech from a circuit containing English phonemes. Workers of the Linguistics Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] solved the production by mechanical means of language dependent but unlimited vocabulary speech; their device was capable of creating voice output from text typed in. They thus created the first domestic representative of a "text to speech" synthesizer which is very promising from the applications viewpoint.

In addition to the above, results were achieved in a number of places in reproducing speech by mechanical means through a compacted rendering of speech in some way. Further impetus to domestic developments on similar themes was given by the first Hungarian language book on the subject, an outstanding professional book by Dr Geza Gordon and Gyorgy Takacs which appeared in 1983, "A Digitalis Beszedfeldolgazas" [Digital Speech Processing].

Taking a number of circumstances into consideration and studying primarily the concrete applications possibilities, our work group set as our next task the realization of the LPC VOCODER, a speech analyzer-synthesizer providing real time operation with a vocabulary which could be changed easily by the user.

A device with these properties could be used for substantially more purposes than its predecessor, a limited word synthesizer.

Going beyond the already mentioned possibility, there are other advantages to the fact that the user of the device could himself produce "speech" data blocks of optional duration in any language more lifelike than the impersonal mechanical tone achievable with the "text to speech" method--and thus not dependent on the vocabulary preparation services of the manufacturer.

Human speech rendered in the form of extraordinarily compact digital data lines becomes storable in a computer in the customary way and can be transmitted by data transmission means!

With the creation of the ECHO speech analyzer-synthesizer we feel that we have solved this task in a form which can be reproduced industrially.

The ECHO Speech Analyzer-Synthesizer

The device is an independent acoustical peripheral--which is connected to a VT-16 computer via a 4800 bit per second asynchronous interface in the configuration for demonstration purposes. The speech signal is converted into a digital data stream compacted about 20 times, with LPC based essence enhancement, compared to analog-digital transformation with the logarithmic characteristic used in the digital PCM technique.

If we also take into consideration the time compression method (TCM) exploiting the absence of information in speech pauses this digital data stream requires a storage area size of 200-400 bytes per second in the data storage unit of the connected computer. Speech input in this way can be reproduced at an optional time (even permitting the duplex operating mode) in such a way that the data line representing the text to be reproduced is passed on to the ECHO by the computer via a serial interface and as a result of the synthesis the original speech signal is reproduced more or less faithfully. Naturally if TCM is used there must also be a simple handshake data switch control between the ECHO and the computer.

Operation of the device is extraordinarily simple considering the function, and thus its use does not require hardware and software interface tools different from a low speed, asynchronous peripheral.

Digital Signal Processing

The possibility of converting speech in real time into significantly compacted digital data is desirable but difficult to achieve at present. The solution is given by a combination of linear prediction and digital signal processing.

We do not feel it useful to describe linear prediction here--it is a good mathematical model of the production of human speech proven by experience--since anyone interested can obtain detailed information elsewhere (for example in the cited book).

Approaching it with a heuristic train of thought it might be described as follows:

If a learning algorithm has information about a system or the parameters characterizing the system by virtue of the past output of the process or system being studied, that is by observing these, then it can determine in advance, with a certain probability, the future output as well. The prediction is possible with a certain error, but if we have as a goal the minimization of this error according to some criterion, the stochastic system regarded as quasi-stationary has ever more precise information and as a result we receive ever more precise predictions and parameters characterizing the system.

In LPC analysis of speech the extracted characteristics refer directly to the mechanism of the production of human speech--these parameters are very closely linked with the momentary form of the "adjutage" formed by the speech organs (the tube model), or, in the frequency range formulation, with the output density spectrum of the tone produced by the acoustic resonator system participating in the generation of speech (formant synthesizer).

It is an amazing thing that a basically human phenomenon, speech, can be described with analytical methods and realized with electronic methods.

A possibility for doing this is digital signal processing (DSP) described with the theory of sampled systems, which differs from the methods of computer technology not in its qualitative indexes but rather in its quantitative ones. It requires execution of a series of arithmetic operations performed very quickly on a very large mass of data--the operation of multiplication occupies an outstanding place here--so it is necessary to use a special high speed processor with a characteristic architecture.

DSP is the only procedure which can be used in a number of areas and one of the essential ones is digital speech processing. There are now single chip VLSI digital signal processing microprocessors--for example the TMS 320--but the price and accessibility of these, and not least of all the lack of developmental systems, make their domestic use difficult for the time being. For these reasons we developed a DSP structure built up out of discrete elements--originally it was for high speed modems with adaptive compensation--together with the necessary developmental system. The figure shows the chief characteristics of the ECHO and the DSP processor. It is characteristic of the performance of the processor that the multiplication operation, of key importance, on 10 x 12 bit operands requires 625 ns.

The processing capacity provided by the hardware is sufficient for complete, simultaneous processing of the analysis-synthesis process, which includes the voiced-unvoiced decision and determination of the base frequency in the voiced case.

The calculation of the LPC coefficients takes place with a sliding character--on the basis of an adaptive, iteration algorithm--which as far as we know is a procedure not previously used for the grid structure, and an efficient one according to our experience.

The ECHO refers the result of the analysis to segments of digitized input speech signals 22.5 ms (max. 30 ms) long regarded as their stationary characteristic. Thus any segment can be characterized by the 8 byte LPC coefficient, which can be clipped further, and two additional characteristics, the amplification factor and the 12-bit information pertaining to the base frequency. Transmitting the characteristics of the segment requires an effective transmission speed of 2400-4400 bits per second.

Applications

It is still hard to give concrete cases going beyond generalities. But one can expect a proliferation of actual applications; thus far this has been significantly limited by the fact that it has been difficult to obtain devices ensuring good quality at an accessible price and in a suitable size. We hope that with the improvement in quality--and an end to the cited limiting factors--the possibility in potential applications will become a reality.

But we want to mention one very important application; the real-time nature of the analysis, the degree of compaction and the character of the processed characteristics referring to essential processes make the ECHO "speech" peripheral a promising potential preprocessor for speech recognition--or understanding.

With this one could realize the great dream--a computer that talks and understands speech.

Domestic Achievements in Speech Processing (Taken from Geza Gordos: "Verbal Man-Machine Links," an MTA study, 1985)

	Speech Synthesis (from recorded base element store)		Speech Synthesis Speech Transmission	Speech Recognition	
	Speech production from sound links (text to speech)	Speech reproduction from limited vocabulary	Speech reproduction and transmission from data generated in real time	Word recognition	Speaker identification, recognition
(1) Wafeform coding, degree of compaction 1-4		PKI [Postal Experimental Institute]: announcing new phone numbers MTA-SZTAKI: Compvox (1982)	BME-HEI: recursive prediction method	MTA Acoustical Laboratory BME-HEI: (developments in progress)	BME-HEI (1978)
(2) Formant Synthesis, degree of compaction 40	MTA Linguistics Institute: Hungarovox Russon (1983) BME-HEI: Scriptovox (1985) MEV: Votrax (with SC-01 circuit)	BME-HEI: Minivox (1984, with Philips MEA 8000 circuit)			
(3) LPC, degree of compaction 20		BME-HEI: LIAWOX-1, 2 (1983) Videoton synthesizer (1983, with logarithmic arithmetic)	Videoton: ECHO (1985)		

8984
CSO: 2500/17

NATIONAL TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE NAMES COMPETITION WINNERS

Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 3

[Article by "--acs--": "OMFB Competition Evaluation; Who Will Get Support?"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1985 the OMFB [National Technical Development Committee] announced a competition for winning financial support to be offered for the creation of computerized local network user systems and closed system teledata services and for the solution of technical development tasks. The results were published on 14 August. There was very great interest in both competitions and accordingly a fairly large number of entries were submitted; the entries were at a very high level according to the evaluation of the judging committee. In addition to professional considerations the primary goal in awarding the financial support was that as many different areas as possible should get support. The second aspiration of the OMFB was that results achieved in the various institutions should be embodied in the user systems.

Six of the 14 projects submitted in the local networks category will receive support, a total of about 43 million forints. They intend to give financial aid to competitors in three applications areas: personal computer systems, minicomputer systems and technological processes.

In the technological processes area the planned process control and production control microcomputer system and remote data processing network of the coking works of the Danube Iron Works will get OMFB support. In the personal computer networks area the entry of MTA SZTAKI [Computer Technology and Automation Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] got the highest evaluation. Its goal is installation and further development of a computerized local network user system to support hospital patient care and hospital administration at the National Cardiological Institute. In the minicomputer applications category the award was given to an entry of MTA KFKI [Central Physics Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] titled "Creation at the KFKI of a Local Network Linking Mini and Superminicomputers For Various Applications." Tne other three winners in the local networks category were: the Gyor Electric Technology ISZ [industrial cooperative] (a dispatcher system based on a TV NKR net using micro and personal computers for heating and IKV [real estate management] enterprises); the Szabolcs County Construction Industry Enterprise, jointly with the Eastern Hungary Construction Industry Enterprise and the Eastern Hungary EPITEK [construction industry capital equipment marketing] Enterprise (installation of a local network user system for construction industry production guidance and preparation with coordination among cooperating enterprises); and the Tetenyi Street Hospital Clinic-Dispensary of the Capital Council of Budapest (a computerized local network medical system which can be used to modernize general data storage and leader information systems in any integrated institution of Hungarian health affairs).

The OMFB decided to support four projects in the category creation and introduction of closed system teledata services, with a total of about 12 million forints. These are: a closed teledata service for preferential organized holidays (for the Holiday and Sanatorium Main Directorate of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]); teledata services which can be used in agricultural production systems (for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Information Center); a closed system teledata information system for leaders of the Capital Council (for the Capital Council); and a client information teledata system based on a Proper-16W personal computer (District XX Council).

8984
CSO: 2502/17

SPECIFICATIONS OF HUNGARIAN MODEMS

Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 5

[Unsigned "status report": "Data Transmission Modems"]

[Text] Remote data processing traditionally takes place through direct lines or connected telephone lines with the aid of data transmission modems. The publication of the KSH [Central Statistics Office] titled "Computer Technology Statistical Pocket-Book, 1985" is also the guide for evaluating domestic use of modems. According to this book the average number of data transmission signal conversion units for the 1,321 computer systems operating in our country at the end of 1984 was 1.3 per central unit. A crucial proportion of these were data transmission modems. According to the pocket-book data, out of the 155 remote data processing networks operating at the end of the year a total of 75 were operated via direct telephone lines or connected telephone networks.

When designing data transmission equipment--modems--one must take into consideration not only the requirements of the computer technology system but also, to a far-reaching extent, one must adhere to the international and national prescriptions and standards of the postal authorities. When designing equipment our domestic enterprises manufacturing data transmission modems regard the CCITT [Consultative Committee on International Telegraphy and Telephony] standards as the guide. Thus in traditional data processing modems the interface on the terminal side is made according to the CCITT V.24 or V.28 standard. Domestic modems cover the speed ranges from 0 to 4800 bits per second. In addition to independent desk modems there are group cabinet and card (OEM) types. The latter are built into the modern systems of equipment manufacturers. For those users who must connect several lines at one location it is possible to put the terminating modems in a common cabinet. One can find among the domestic modems types 24 or 33 of which can be put into a single cabinet, so apparently these could serve 24 or 33 terminals. Automatic call reception, automatic answering and similar useful possibilities are also built into some modems. One can regard it is a gratifying achievement that in harmony with modern international aspirations one can also find in the domestic offering duplex mode, 2-line modems. In addition to the directly connected modems there are also acoustic modems which make possible data transmission between devices with start-stop interfaces in such a way that connection to the connected telephone network takes place acoustically by placing the handset into a specially designed part of the modem.

It can be established that the domestic modems have contributed to a significant degree to the operation of the remote processing systems of the socialist countries.

We have summarized in table form those Hungarian data transmission modems which were developed for series manufacture, are suitable for speech transmission in telephone networks, and correspond to some standard of the CCITT. (In addition, see in the February and March 1982 issues of SZAMITASTECHNIKA a list of domestically produced modems approved by the Hungarian Post Office.) The data shown come from the manufacturers and indicate the status at the end of June 1985.

Chief Characteristics of Domestic Data Transmission Modems

Key [table located on following page]:

1. Type (kartya=card, akusztikus=acoustical)
2. Manufacturer
3. CCITT standard
4. Transmission speed, bit/s
5. Line transmission method (kethuzalas=two line, felduplex=half duplex)
6. Method of information transmission (szinkron=synchronous, vagy=or, aszinkron=asynchronous)
7. Modulation process
8. Automatic call and answer (valasz=answer, hivas=call, egyseg=unit, beepitve=built-in)
9. Power requirement, max., VA (es=and)
10. Size, mm, length x width x heighth
11. Weight, kg

12 and 13. Notes

14. AM-12TD synchronous, AM-12TD/SS start-stop; (6) Differential phase keying
15. (1) Manufacture from 1986; (7) Quadrature amplitude modulation
16. (2) Being developed; AM-2400F 75 bit/s
17. (3) Developmental; to be manufactured later
18. (8) Frequency keying
19. AM-1203G VTX modem; group; max. 4 cards
20. Built into VTX terminal
21. (4) Postal authorization being processed
22. (11) Separate unit
23. [blank]
24. Group; serves max. 33 terminals
25. Group; serves max. 24 terminals
26. Separate automatic call unit
27. Separate automatic call unit; 60205: with opposite direction channel
28. Separate automatic call unit; (9) Quadrature differencial phase keying
29. Separate automatic call unit; (5) Will appear in 1986; (10) differential keying

A hazai adatátviteli modemek főbb jellemzői

(1)	Típus	AM–12TD	AM–24TD[1]	AM–2400[2]	AM–4800[3]	AM–1202/ OEM kártyamodem	AM–1203/ OEM kártyamodem	AM–1204/ OEM kártyamodem	Akusztikus modem[4]	TAM 300	TAM 1200	TETA 1240/E	TETA 1240	6005 (MODEM 300)	60205 60215 (MODEM 1200)	60305 60315 (MODEM 2400)	60405 60415 (MODEM 4800)[3]
(2)	Gyártó	ORION	ORION	ORION	ORION	ORION	ORION	ORION	SZAMALK	TERTA	TERTA	TERTA	TERTA	VIDEOTON	VIDEOTON	VIDEOTON	VIDEOTON
(3)	CCITT-ajánlás	V.22	V.22bis	V.26	V.27bis V.27ter	V.23	V.23	V.23	V.21	V.21	V.23	V.23	V.23	V.21	V.23	V.26 V.26bis	V.27 V.27bis
(4)	Átviteli sebesség bit/s)	2×1200	2×2400	2400	4800/2400	1200/600	1200/75	75/1200	300	300	1200	600 v 1200	600/1200	300	600/1200	1200/2400	2400/4800
(5)	Vonali átvitel módja	duplex (kéthuzalos)	duplex (kéthuzalos)	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex	félduplex	duplex (kéthuzalos)	duplex (kéthuzalos)	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex	duplex (kéthuzalos)	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex	félduplex/ duplex
(6)	Az információátvitel módja	szinkron vagy start–stop	szinkron vagy start–stop	szinkron	szinkron	aszinkron	aszinkron	aszinkron	start/stop	aszinkron	szinkron/	szinkron/ aszinkron	szinkron/ aszinkron	aszinkron	szinkron/ aszinkron	szinkron	szinkron
(7)	Modulációs eljárás	4–DPSK[6]	QAM[7]	DPSK	8–DPSK	FSK[8]	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	FSK	QDPSK[9]	MDPSK[10]
(8)	Automatikus hívás és válaszolás	automatikus válasz	automatikus válasz	–	automatikus válasz	–	automatikus válasz	automatikus hívás	–	TBA–1 egység[11]	TBA–1 egység[11]	–	beépítve	automatikus válasz	automatikus válasz	automatikus válasz	automatikus válasz
(9)	Teljesítményfelvétel max., VA	35	30	45	70	+5V és +12V	+5V és +12	+5V és +12V	6	35	35	600	600	50	50	50	50
(10)	Méretek, mm (h×sz×m)	510×245×150	510×245×150	570×240×190	570×240×190	150×300	150×300	150×300	300×100×60	310×250×120	310×250×120	1200×350×1050	1200×350×1050	400×334×70	400×334×70	400×334×70	400×334×70
(11)	Tömeg, kg (13)	10 (14)	9 (15)	13 (16)	12 (17)	– (18)	– (19)	– (20)	0,5 (21)	4 (22)	4 (23)	150 (24)	150 (25)	7 (26)	7 (27)	7 (28)	7 (29)
(12)	Megjegyzés	AM–12TD szinkron, AM–12TD/SS start–stop 6-differenciális fázisbillentyűzés	1 – gyártás 1986-tól 7 – kvadratúra-amplitúdó-moduláció	2 – kifutó típus; AM–2400F 75 bit/s	3 – fejlesztési eredmény, később gyártják	8 – frekvenciabillentyűzés	AM–1203G VTX modem; csoportos: max. 4 db kártya	VTX terminálba építve	4 – postai engedélyeztetése folyamatban	11 – külön egység		csoportos: max. 33 terminál kiszolgálása	csoportos: max. 24 terminál kiszolgálása	külön automatikus hívóegység	külön automatikus hívóegység; 60205: ellenirányú csatornával	külön automatikus hívóegység; 9 – kvadratura, differenciális fázisbillentyűzés	külön automatikus hívóegység; 3 – megjelenés 1986-ban 10 – differenciális billentyűzés

8984
2502/17

COMPUTER CHAOS, POOR SERVICE NOTED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 45, 7 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Zoltan Tompe: "Little Hungarian Computer Technology"]

[Text] The majority of experts agree that the supply of computers in Hungary is not satisfactory. (The National Market Research Institute carried out a broad survey, on a commission from the OMFB [National Technical Development Committee], of the factors holding back a faster spread of computer technology and of possible alternative solutions. This article sums up the more important findings of this study. An evaluation and debate of the results of the survey is still to come.) Supply and demand relationships differ by category; for example, there is a shortage of large computers. The lower the category we examine the less we can talk about quantitative problems; the deficiency here is rather one of quality. The oversupply of microcomputers has an unhealthy, distorted structure. The many types of Hungarian products mean a senseless scattering of forces. The mass use of western personal and home computers (Commodore, Sinclair, etc.) for purposes for which they were not intended, the overloading of them and the unrealistic hopes and expectations could recoil very disadvantageously in a short time, shake the trust in computers and cause functional confusion in their use.

To a large extent the excessively high domestic prices hold back broad use. According to documentation from manufacturers and the price authority the price of our computers is two to 2.5 times the world market average. But users often feel a difference a good bit greater than this, four to five times the world market average.

High Prices

One cause of the high prices is the present status of material and parts supply. Because of the lack of an added value approach the unrealistically high parts prices have a ripple effect throughout the entire manufacturing process and represent an accumulating price increasing factor. The monopoly situation of the parts vendors and the slow and circuitous handling of business deepen the parts problems. Because of the acquisition difficulties the manufacturer is forced to buy for the warehouse; this increases the feeling of a shortage and causes stockpiling problems.

Among the difficulties of hardware manufacture the standardization environment takes second place after parts supply. Computer technology and microelectronics, inseparable from it, are dynamic driving branches which receive central preferences and supports in virtually every industrially developed country. Here computer technology supports other, deficit branches.

The material portion and central withdrawals combined make up 55-65 percent of the producers price. Thus the responsibility of the manufacturing enterprises in the development of prices is only 35-45 percent. But because of the absence of a competition constraint the manufacturers are comfortable; their primary interest is maintaining the high price shortage market and holding on to the oligopoly situation. They complain, but they realize an outstanding profit without any special effort.

Unmarketable Innovations

The greatest obstacle to technical development is the absence of a market constraint. We have not yet found an interest mechanism in which the developer would feel in his pocket how marketable his product was. One can earn more money from a patent here than from wages. As a consequence the developer is interested in discovering entirely new solutions which can be patented. The enterprise is unable to pay for a splendid product idea or an economical manufacturing procedure, however significant a market success it represents, if some sort of patent does not attach to it. Electronics offers a hundred possible solutions for the same thing. But the material interest of the developers is to create various new things incompatible with one another even if they are obviously unmarketable, unmanufacturable or even irrational. This is how more than a hundred types of domestic microcomputers were developed, this is why virtually every domestic manufacturer and product has its own standards, which causes confusion even on the Hungarian scale.

The majority of the experts feel that we represent the front rank in the CEMA trade in every respect. But a comparison of the reliability data for Hungarian and CEMA machines does not support this. A few have observed that our substantive advantage is already a thing of the past, that it is not well founded and that the overconfidence is harmful.

One can find in Hungary more well trained software people who can compete even at the international level. But they represent only the tip of the iceberg. Often we sell only manpower, cheaply, instead of real software export. The domestic software supply is not adequate in quantity or quality. It would be an error to believe that paper and pencil are sufficient for software development. The absence of a modern computer background will sooner or later drag down software development too, which in any case is most disorganized and uncoordinated. There is much superfluous parallel development and a scattering of forces. It is not possible to know what is being worked on where or where it is already available.

The inadequate level of customer service activity is one of the biggest problems of computer technology. Dispatching is slow, there are no parts, repair work is of poor quality, the experts are unimaginative. Unfortunately the more unreliable a piece of equipment is the worse the service is.

Repairmen arrive within 2 hours for an IBM machine with a reliability of over 98 percent. In contrast, the dispatching time is 2-3 months to repair a magnetic disk with a reliability under 70 percent, and one waits 6 months to a year for a spare part.

We Teach on Obsolete Machines

The majority of the respondents considered the teaching of computer technology good as a whole. They were thinking here primarily of the popular mass instruction for youth, the BASIC study course on television and the computerization program for secondary schools. But a number cautioned against a lack of proportion and against glorifying short term, easy, apparent successes. The microcomputers in the secondary schools are not really computers and the BASIC language is not yet computer technology itself. It really is important for the students to prepare BASIC programs and have some contact with computer technology. But these machines do not have data protection, networks, floppy disks, line printers or data file management, to mention only a few of the important things.

We have nice successes in mass instruction, but there are problems in real professional training. The experts coming from the universities and colleges are frequently not adequately trained. There is no expressly computer technology hardware training in the technical universities. The programming mathematicians graduating from the science universities are too theoretical, the economists have superficial knowledge, there is no software training of economists. The universities cite their extraordinarily bad supply of tools, they do not get enough reliable, modern machines. Thus the majority of their students are trained in an obsolete, unreliable technology.

Line Shortage

Computer technology applications have spread primarily in business areas and are rarely used in the major economic processes. There are a number of reasons for this. There are certain organizational preconditions for using computer technology; there is a need for a certain order, planning possibility, foresight and a certain degree of reviewability of procedures. The informal contact systems, corruption, material shortages and delays cannot be put on a computer. Putting a machine into operation often casts light on such phenomena; indeed, it re-enforces or increases the problems and takes away the enthusiasm of the enterprise leader for buying a computer. The prior preparation of the enterprises is not adequate and computer technology is received in a mood of expecting miracles. When it turns out that computer technology does not end the material shortages and the disorganized, unprofessional, undisciplined work then they feel deceived and get angry at the computer. Usually the decision to acquire a computer is made at a higher level than would be optimal. Then people unfit for it use tools selected by people unfit to do so. Doubtless we have achievements in the mechanization of administration, but computer aid to creative intellectual work is rather backward. But it would be more tolerable if secretaries, bookkeepers and wage accountants worked with worse efficiency; it is a much greater problem if the work of the engineers has low efficiency. In addition, mechanization of areas serving production directly is completely neglected; network applications are rare and computerization in process control and in industrial automation is slow.

One of the biggest obstacles to the spread of computer technology is the infrastructure, primarily the lack of telephone lines. The real advantages of computer technology could develop via data transmission lines. The lack of these calls into question the existence of computer technology as a whole. In the present telephone situation it is doubtful that an effective computer technology development program can be worked out at all.

Age of Computers by Performance Category (31 December 1984, units)

Performance category	Years since manufacture: 1	2-3	4-6	7-10	over 10
Medium and larger	34	29	51	94	49
Small to medium	290	241	236	220	77
Mini	457	309	316	107	78
Micro	5,243	1,646	899	293	40

8984
CSO: 2502/14

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN, FRENCH FINANCIAL INFORMATION COMPANY--The mixed Hungarian-French enterprise SG 2-MKB Financial Informatics Limited is expanding its activities in Hungary and abroad. Abroad it has joined in the organization of a number of financial institution informatics systems. In Hungary it undertakes to develop computer technology systems for specialized financial institutions and savings cooperatives and most recently has undertaken to modernize production guidance for industrial enterprises. The mixed Hungarian-French enterprise was founded in the fall of 1983 by the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank (MKB) and the Societe Generale de Services et de Gestion (SG 2) in Paris. The Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank has a 51 percent share of the capital in the joint enterprise and the SG 2 has 49 percent. The founders established as the tasks of the undertaking the organization of financial informatics systems, giving advice connected with this and developing and marketing so-called applications programs. The mixed enterprise won successes on the domestic market at the beginning. Among other things it joined in the computerization of savings cooperatives; with its cooperation many savings cooperatives began to modernize financial accounting and client service. In their work the experts of the mixed enterprise use the software of the founding French informatics enterprise, which can be used very well in Hungary with only minor changes. They have developed a number of program packages for the modernization of savings cooperative operations which can be used in banks. Since savings cooperatives engage in a number of activities outside of bank work in the strict sense--among other things collecting insurance premiums and organizing group travel--the experts of the mixed enterprise also offer aid in these areas for the computerization of business. The SG 2-MKB has also prepared for activity at a number of foreign financial institutions. Talks are being conducted with the financial institution of CEMA, the International Economic Cooperation Bank headquartered in Moscow, concerning organization of financial informatics systems. In Austria the enterprise cooperates with Data Service, the informatics enterprise of the Zentralsparkasse savings bank network. The Austrian enterprise bought a Swedish computer program package and commissioned the mixed Hungarian-French enterprise with local adaptation of it. [Text] [Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 14] 8984

INTERAG SOFTWARE OFFICE--The Interag Foreign Trade Enterprise has opened an independent software office to export products of computer technology development. For more than 10 years Interag has already been selling various computer technology development products. They have gradually built up their foreign market organization in recent years. They established subsidiary enterprises in the FRG and in Austria which also joined in this branch of business. With the aid of the expanding market organization domestic experts are constantly informed about foreign needs. This helps the continual further development of domestic intellectual products. In addition the foreign trade enterprise plays an entrepreneurial role in financing export. The increase in trade year after year made it necessary to create an independent office. More flexibility and thus a better flow of business is expected from the new organization. It is estimated that the trade of the office will reach 100 million forints in the coming year. They are planning to expand business contacts to achieve this. In addition to their traditional markets they will increase their presence in the Scandinavian countries and on the English market.[Text] [Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 14] 8984

GANZ INSTRUMENTS TO DEVELOP NEW PRODUCTS--The Ganz Instrument Works (GMM) has begun a development and investment program with OMFB [National Technical Development Committee] support. The standard control instruments now manufactured by the GMM are suitable for the more simple control tasks but the needs of various applications areas could be satisfied only with about 1,100 versions of the present single purpose instruments. The goal of the GMM development is to develop a control family consisting of four members which, while preserving the standard instrument size, would make use of the possibilities of freely programmable microelectronics and by offering considerably more services than today would meet the need for variety. The development is expected to be completed in 1987. [Text] [Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 14] 8984

MICROELECTRONICS ENTERPRISE PRODUCTION--Machine manufacture makes up about one third of the 2.1 billion forints production value of the Gyongyos factory of the Microelectronics Enterprise this year. Robots have been manufactured in Pilis since 1978. Now robots controlled with electronics are increasingly replacing those operating with pneumatics and a large part of the parts for the former are made here too. This year they will deliver the 400th industrial robot to the customers.[Text] [Budapest SZAMITASTECHNIKA in Hungarian Oct 85 p 14] 8984

CSO: 2502/17

DOMESTIC PRODUCTION OF URANIUM FROM PHOSPHORIC ACID DISCUSSED

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 7-9 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Radmila Jovanovic: Uranium From Fertilizer"]

[Text] Every year enough uranium is applied to farm fields to fuel several nuclear power plants if it were separated out and prepared. That would also be better for the quality of the fertilizer and for the environment as well and for the health of the people exposed every day to its radiation (in minimum quantities to be sure)!

The fear that in the future, when we build nuclear power plants (four have been planned by the end of the century), someone could hold back the fuel for them and stand in the way of the operation of those electric power giants, casting us into the dark and on our knees, is unfounded! The semi-industrial extraction of uranium from ore and refining it in the laboratory to nuclear purity was done in Yugoslavia some 20 years ago, and the specialists were not even aware of the process in the fuel cycle. It is merely a question of what one wants: one's own technology at any price or for an emergency. At the moment only the raw material is wanted, and there is enough of it.

Our Own Technology

Yugoslavia has several fertilizer manufacturers, but still not as much is consumed as ought to be according to world standards. Present fertilizer production on the basis of phosphates, however, is large enough to obtain sufficient uranium from it for future power plants. Research on this has been done at several places in the country, one of them INA in Zagreb. The work has gone furthest at the Chemical Products Industry in Prahovo, where this spring they completed semi-industrial testing of separation of uranium from phosphoric acid.

"We set up this semi-industrial installation some 20 years ago, and in the eighties we simply made innovations and moved it to Prahovo. There technical uranium concentrate was separated from large quantities of phosphoric acid according to one of the three processes most widely in use in the world (DEHPA-TOPO) and the one that is used most commercially. We knew about it earlier, so that we merely adapted it to the conditions in Prahovo, thus obtaining the best possible results. We developed apparatus for this process from which our industry will be able to produce everything it feels is profitable to it, and there is no longer any dilemma about whose technology it is. IT IS OURS!" says Milan Babic, technical coordinator of the project for obtaining technical uranium concentrate from phosphoric acid.

The Electric Power Industry of Serbia and Vojvodina and the Serbian Republic Science Community commissioned the Institute for Technology of Nuclear and Other Raw Minerals to do the entire job of obtaining uranium as a fuel for nuclear power plants. Engineers from IHP-Prahovo and "Zorka" of Sabac, which are factories for producing phosphoric acid and phosphate fertilizers, and from the "Boris Kidric" Institute in Vinca have also been working on this in Serbia.

Fertilizer Minus the Poison

The first phase of semi-industrial research has been completed, and the job is being continued in the Institute for Technology of Nuclear Raw Materials. Now they are working there with 50-fold smaller quantities of phosphoric acid, and then the basis will be worked out for the technical-and-economic documentation. The people at the institute estimate that this will be ready during the coming year.

Last year 3.1 percent of all the uranium produced in the world was obtained from phosphoric acid. Most of the plants for this are standing idle because of the drop in demand and the low price of this raw material on the world market. Incidentally, there are commercial plants even in countries which do not have a shortage even of rich uranium mines--United States, Canada, USSR, Iraq, but also in Belgium. Research has also been completed in certain other countries such as France and Spain, Babic says.

"The key question concerning this method of obtaining uranium is how to guarantee long-term supply of phosphates with a balanced content of uranium--phosphorus pentoxide. Our country is already working on this, so that we are also involved. Of course, the needs of fertilizer producers are primary in the long-term securing of phosphates, since uranium is a by-product. The essential thing is that these needs do not run counter to one another," says Ceda Boljanac, director for preparation of nuclear power plant construction in the Consolidated Electric Power Industry in Belgrade.

Unification in Building the Nuclear Power Plants

In any case, a technology is being developed in Yugoslavia for extraction of uranium which will be able to overcome fluctuations in the quality of the input raw material so that it is able to separate out this energy raw material even from acid with the lowest content. Plants for purifying phosphoric acid and to separate uranium from it will be built alongside fertilizer plants.

A plant to purify the acid is already being built at Prahovo. Separation of the uranium will yield a purer phosphoric acid, from which it will be possible to produce a better-quality fertilizer, free of that poison. It will also be possible to use this cleaner phosphoric acid in the pharmaceutical and also the food manufacturing industries.

"The most essential phase is purifying the phosphoric acid, and here we are enforcing the most rigorous procedure. Since the country obtains phosphate from several places, it is a good thing for this research to be done at several places in the country. Through an exchange of experiences we will arrive at the best solution for Yugoslav conditions, since ultimately we can unify this technology in the engineering phase. The rest--the refining of the technical concentrate of uranium and so on--is identical, depending on the initial raw material--the phosphate. The most logical thing would be for us to use a uniform technology in the country. We feel that we can arrive at the basis for refining uranium to its nuclear purity by 1990 provided society furnishes the funds necessary for that research on a continuous basis," says Dr Rade Cosovic, acting director of the Institute for Technology of Nuclear Raw Materials.

[Box]

At the same time the search for uranium ore is also going on in Yugoslavia. For our country the question of the price of obtaining it is a relative one. What is expensive for all those who possess rich ore need not be expensive for us once we have to build nuclear power plants. Especially since that means energy security and manifold benefit. Calculations on the commercial benefit will show whether uranium will be purchased abroad at any particular moment or we will use the uranium obtained from domestic sources. The most essential thing is that it does exist in the country and that it can be obtained to produce fuel for nuclear power plants.

7045
CSO: 5100/3011

ROMANIAN REFUTES HUNGARIAN BOOK REVIEW ON TREATMENT OF JEWS

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 7 Nov 85 p 8

[Article by Oliver Lustig: "An Exception?... Yes, It Was an Exception!"]

[Text] In the 10 July 1985 issue of the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG--the central organ of the MSZMP--E. Fehrer Pal devoted a two-column article to my book "A Camp Dictionary," published in Hungarian by the Dacia Publishing House of Cluj, and of which the specialized bodies from the neighboring friendly country have ordered 5,000 copies.

In fact, the article, entitled "An Exception?" does not deal with the entire book, but only with one single passage, which it cites in full. We will do so too. "And Himmler, helped by Eichmann, the entire SS, and the Gestapo made sure that all of Europe, from west to east and from north to south--France and Belgium, the Netherlands and Greece, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Norway and Italy--was exhaustively searched (for Jews--I must complete the quotation). The paranthesis belongs to E. Fehrer Pal. There was, however, one exception: Horthyst Hungary. It was not searched. There the Gestapo did not have to hunt down the Jews, waste time on arresting them, and search towns and villages, as they did in other countries. The Horthysts--the police and gendermarie--rounded up the Jews one by one, according to police registration files, interned them in Durchgangsgettos, transition ghettos, then loaded them on cattle cars and handed them over to the SS at the northern border. The cars were not opened, nor were the engines switched. Only the Horthyst policemen were replaced by SS men, and the train continued on to Birkenau-Auschwitz."

After a short historical review of Jewish persecution in Hungary as of the first racial law of 20th century Europe, the numerus clausus--adopted by the Budapest Parliament at the beginning of the 1920's--and until the deportations of the summer of 1944, E. Fehrer Pal concludes: "There is one thing I want to say in protest of Oliver Lustig's sentence. He states that Hungary was an exception." In support of his challenge the author of the article says that not "only in Hungary were there collaborators who did the dirty work for the Nazis," that collaborators were found in all the invaded countries, and that "Hungarian fascism does not sit alone in the accused box." But the passage in question does not deny those truths. On the contrary, it states that the final solution was implemented in almost all the countries invaded by the Nazis. Horthyst Hungary was an exception not because it was the only country to enact the Nuerenberg laws or to produce "voluntary collaborators," etc., but because of the manner in which the final solution was carried out.

The sad but true reality is that the deportation of the Jews from Horthyst Hungary was the most harsh and inhumane, the most radical, and it proceeded at an unparalleled rate, making any rescue attempt impossible. And it was not only a matter of collaboration. The entire action--from arrests and internment in ghettos to the loading on trains with the destination Birkenau-Auschwitz, including the guarding of the trains to the border--was organized and carried out by the Horthyst authorities.

In the famous Order No 6163/1944 of the Budapest Interior Ministry, which opens with the no less famous statement that "Shortly, the Hungarian Royal Government will rid the country of Jews," unequivocally asserts: "The Jews will be rounded up by the Royal Hungarian regional police and gendarmerie bodies."[1]

We will cite one example of the zeal shown by the Horthysts. Through Eichmann, Berlin requested that two trains with 50 cars each be set aside every day for deporting 6,000 Jews daily to Auschwitz. In an excess of zeal, the Horthyst authorities provided four trains, thus every day sending off 10,000-12,000 Jews to their death at Birkenau. In order to keep up with this diabolical pace, special measures had to be taken. SS-Obersturmbannfuehrer Rudolf Hess, former commander of Auschwitz, who in the meantime had been promoted to the concentration camps inspectorate at Oranienburg, was again dispatched, upon Himmler's order, to the General Headquarters. "On 8 May 1944 he took over as SS head of the Auschwitz garrison and prepared the installations required for the Birkenau exterminations, in anticipation of the Hungarian deportations."[2] The ovens of the Vth crematory, which had been damaged, were reactivated, new trenches were dug for burning the bodies when the crematories were too full; Bunker No 2, which had long not been used any more for gassing, was reopened, and a new road was built from the unloading ramp to the interior of the camp."[3] After the action was put into motion, Hess had to take several trips to Budapest to coordinate the unusually fast pace of the transports with the capacity of the extermination installations he had.

Amazed by the Horthysts' zeal, Wessenmayer, Hitler's plenipotentiary in Budapest, reported to Ribbentrop at the very beginning of the action, on 31 March 1944 that, "in view of the situation here (in Hungary--our note), the process can be described as uncommonly fast."[4] A few days later he again stressed in a cable that as far as the anti-Jewish measures were concerned, the Hungarian government was particularly active and was proceeding with great dispatch.

Horthy himself, "startled by the international indignation and horrified that he may have to answer for it after the war"--stresses E. Fehrer Pal--said to his prime minister, Stojay: "...I have recently heard that along this line (carrying out the solution to the Jewish problem--our note) more has been going on in our country than in theirs, the Germans, on the other hand, the measures were implemented more brutally, and at times more inhumanely, than in Germany. Although in our country, due to the sins of the past, there is a far larger proportion of Jews than in Germany, the measures taken here to eliminate the Jews from the economy and from any work in general, have gone farther than in the German Reich itself, after a campaign that lasted there for years. Moreover, in implementing the measures there have often been acts of such gratuitous cruelty and inhumanity... as even the Reich did not commit."[5]

There is another problem, too. E. Fehrer Pal states in the penultimate paragraph: "Responsibility toward our national history compels us not to accept such differentiations, and not to take upon ourselves sins that were not committed by the Hungarian people."

The passage cited at the beginning clearly refers to the arrest, ghettoization, and deportation of the Jews from Hungary. But these sins are not attributed to the Horthyst state, but committed by it. Thus, it is not a matter of assuming other people's sins, but of admitting those committed.E. Fehrer Pal says:"They were committed by Hungarians misled by fascism, by fanatical Hungarian fascists..." He also states that "The bodies of violence--the police and gendarmerie--were permeated by hatred," and that "Unfortunately, the general phenomenon was that the gendarmerie--and the police to a lesser extent--enthusiastically assisted with and carried out Eichmann's orders," and he concludes: "I admit that the personal honesty of a few dozens and a few hundred upright policemen, and more rarely gendarmes, cannot neutralize the collective ("collective" underlined by E.F.P.) guilt of the authorities."

As for myself, throughout the book--as is illustrated by the passage cited--I did not in any way refer to the Hungarian people, but textually, to Horthyst Hungary and to the Horthysts, and more specifically to the police and gendarmerie, since I, like E. Fehrer Pal, am aware of "the collective guilt of the authorities" and of "Hungarians misled by fascism, fanatical Hungarian fascists."

However, I cannot agree with E. Fehrer Pal concerning the differentiation. We cannot ignore the differences, because they existed. It is quite out of question to state that all the states in which a fascist dictatorship was established committed the same war crimes, the same crimes against humanity, and of the same proportions. It is true that "Hungarian fascism does not sit alone in the accused box," but that does not imply equal responsibility.

The chapter from which the quotation in question was taken is entitled "Endloesung" (final solution). That was, as is known, the invention of the Nazis. However, its implementation did not proceed in the same manner in all the occupied countries, because of the different attitudes adopted by the respective regimes, and particularly, because of the scope and intensity of antifascist resistance in the respective countries.

For example, the plan for the deportation of the Jews from Romania was worked out in the smallest detail: specifications were issued for the size of each transport, the number of Jews to be crammed in each car, and the border point through which the trains were to pass toward the General Headquarters. The plan, signed by SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Richter, adviser on Jewish problems at the Reich's embassy in Bucharest, was approved by Berlin, and the embassy hastened to publish an article announcing the immminent beginning of the Jewish clean-up. Nevertheless, not one train left with Jews from Romania toward Birkenau-Auschwitz. Naturally, this does not mean that there was no fascism in Romania in those years, that the Jews were not persecuted, and that there have not been many and painful victims. As is known, during those dark years, Romania had a military-fascist dictatorship which had subordinated the country to the interests of the Nazi Reich. The government unleashed and supported violent antisemitic agitation. A number of laws were enacted, which dealt a blow not only to the dignity, but also to the daily existence of the Jews: Jews were barred from public institutions; some were fired from private enterprises; restrictions and bans were put on the exercise of intellectual professions; many Jews were disposessed, etc. Additionally and more seriously, after the outbreak of the antisoviet war, Antonescu's regime organized the deportation of a large number of Jews to Transnistria. Tens of thousands died executed by the Gestapo or because of maltreatment, starvation, cold, and epidemics. Antonescu's men, together with the Gestapo, had innocent Jewish blood on their hands.

However much we mourn the dead of Transnistria and the victims of the Hitlerite-Iron Guardist pogrom of Iasi, we cannot and do not have the right to ignore the fact that nevertheless, in Romania--although the country was led by a military-fascist dictatorship and had been overrun by the Nazi--the crimes committed against the Jewish population did not by far assume the proportions of those committed in other countries subjugated by the Nazi Reich. In extraordinarily dramatic conditions, the traditional Romanian kindness and the scope of the people's antifascist resistance prevailed. In those bloody years, when Europe was afflicted by the fascist plague, Romania differed from many other countries, and constituted a praiseworthy exception concerning the application of the Endloesung (final solution). Suffice it to say that, while in almost all the countries under the Hitlerite boot the great majority of the Jewish population--in some up to 80-90 percent--was exterminated, in Romania the great majority was saved.

A document, which was reproduced and widely circulated among official and private circles in Switzerland, dated Budapest, 19 June 1944, stated: "...From the above you can see that the entire Jewry of Hungary is doomed to die. There is no exception, no escape, no hiding place; we are just awaiting our fate. There is no way to find refuge in a neighboring country. The only country that comes into consideration is Romania, but the Hungarians are guarding the border to strictly that crossing it is almost impossible."[6]

It is of course very painful to have to gauge the gravity of crimes by the number of victims. The crime of sending to death a single innocent mother, a single new born, or a single young fiancee for the only reason that they belong to another race is too enormous to suffer comparison. Nevertheless, it would be an act of irreverence and great injustice not to emphasize that the persecutions unleashed on the Jews by the Nazis and abetted by the fascist regimes in various European countries, were forcefully blocked in their catastrophic consequences in Romania. We should let the facts speak for themselves, being the most conclusive. In six countries--Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, and Greece--where close to 4 million Jews lived, not as many Jews were saved from deportation and left alive as in Romania. It is a historical reality that after the summer of 1940, in the area of exercise of local state power, the "final solution" was not applied, and thus 300,000 Jews were saved. Consequently, there were differences among the states that cannot be negated.

That being the case, I cannot accept E. Fehrer Pal's protest.

I want to believe that other readers in the neighboring and friendly country, the People's Republic of Hungary, have noted passages other than the one referred to and selected, from the entire book, by E. Fehrer Pal. I want to believe that they have understood me correctly, have correctly interpreted my statements, and have grasped the true message I wanted to convey through each page of the dictionary, including the passage cited. Namely that the sentence I pronounced, to the extent that a writer can and has the right to pass sentence, is an unappealable one against fascism--regardless of its color--against racial discriminationi and hatred, and against any form of and attempt to debase human dignity.

My conviction is reinforced by the admirable literary essay published by Hidvegi Mate in the 5 July 1985 isue of the magazine ELES ES IRODALOM, which constitutes a genuine plea in favor of the "Camp Dictionary" through its message.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Vadirat a Nacizmus Ellen," Budapest, 1958, p 124-125.

2. "K.L. Auschwitz in den Augen der SS Hess, Broad [this name can't be right], Kremer," Auschwitz, 1973, p 123.

3. Ibid.

4. "A Wilhelmstrasse es Magyarorszag," Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1968.

5. "Horthy Miklos Titkos Iratai," Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1965, pp 451-452.

6. "Vadirat a ..." op. cit. vol 2, p 253.

12782
CSO: 2700/37

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'SURVIVALS' OF PAST URGED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 22, 1985 pp 52-53

[Article by Bohumil Nemec]

[Text] The basic goal of the socialist society, the multi-faceted and harmonious development of the individual, is being reached by a complicated long term process started at the revolutionary beginning of socialism as a social order. The gradual change of science into a necessary production entity caused the growth of complexity, intricacy, and diversity of tasks whose completion still depends more on the ability, awareness and discipline of each member of society. A developed socialist society must be paralleled by an equally developed socialist consciousness, which reaches such a degree of evolution that it manifests itself in high responsibility for assigned work, in growth of education, organization, and social involvement. Without the increase in an individual's consciousness, political awareness and the strengthening of his moral values, any future development of the socialist community relations would be impossible to attain.

The complex development of communist education of all the members of society, especially the young generation, is an important goal of today. Socialism originated and developed as an inseparable part of historical evolution. It contains, beside its new qualities, characteristics of a former social order, and these birthmarks must be surmounted in order to continue further progress.

The need for escalating the fight against these survivals of the past is related to the active struggle of the bourgeois ideologists to infect the members of the socialist community, especially the youth, with a foreign ideology and morality, the customs and traditions of the capitalist society, the bougeois way of life, and the support and revitalization of the existing social relics of the past.

It is important to keep in mind that imperialism never does willingly give up its goals. The realization that it is impossible to destroy socialism through economic pressure or by military means, necessitates the re-evaluation of the whole strategy. Imperialism developed a broad anti-communist alliance, including all the anti-communist and anti-soviet factions, along with their reactionary ideological arsenals. The utilization of modern technological advances to influence people's opinions allows them to greatly multiply the production of misinformation, rumors and lies, whose only purpose is to lead the working people's attention away from the completion of pressing social tasks and the revolutionary struggle, as well as to create a myth about the present capitalist society as a "society of guaranteed human rights and material plenty".

Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence of two diametrically opposed social systems, false illusions about the possibilities of class conciliation and a symbiosis of ideologies will often emerge.

These illusions can be very dangerous. Obviously, it is impossible to merge the two diametrically opposed class principles of the bourgeois and marxist ideologies. It is impossible to unite the proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism with cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism; or to unite the dictatorship of the proletariat with the reigm of the bourgeoisie, and a socialist democracy with that of the bourgeoisie. The basic principles supporting the ideology of the working class and the principles of the present bourgeois class are irreconcilably opposed.

This class antithesis is realized only by individuals who experienced it in their lives, or mastered the idea through extensive studies. The young generation, however, lacks either of these means. Therefore the importance of propaganda work emerges into a priority position, where the young generation is concerned, as the lack of experience makes the young more susceptible to the influence of enemy propaganda.

The absence of life's experiences and experiences of the class struggles, along with the dynamism of the ongoing social processes and finally, the rising standard of living and growing material abundance, can all lead some youths into adopting the "small town" psychology which manifests itself on one hand in downplaying of the successes of the socialist development, and on the other hand in the uncritical awe of the "western" lifestyle.

The provincial mentality is a prominent enemy of the socialist way of life. Various occurences of the "small town" mentality and the provincial bourgeois lifestyle, are in our society, unwanted but to a certain degree objective manifestations. Even in socialism, there are functioning parts of the previous social system, primarily the old division of labor, the supply and demand relationship, and the law of labor theory of value, and others. Even the application of the principle of the economic incentive is in reality a survival of a bourgeois law, because of the use of the same measuring standard for varied individuals.

Beside these, in the mind of an individual independent factors, the sources of provincialism are factors of purely subjective nature. Every step of progress in the socialism development effort is invariably joined by an increase in demands on the consciousness of the people, and on the use of more ambitious, professional, political and moral criteria, by which are judged all their activities. Not all are able to keep up with this increase in demands and simply resign. Resignation is a manifestation of provincialism, an attempt to "hide", to close oneself in, to stop perfecting oneself. By and large, these are not expressions of ill will, and therefore it is impossible, in most cases, to consider the individual as a willfull enemy of the state; however, he is someone who, in his own way, attempts desertion and could by his example drag others with him. It is not possible to be moraly outraged at the provincialist or to sentimentally pity him, but it is necessary to change mentality in a goal oriented manner. The provincialist must be therefore re-educated, against his will if need be, not only for public good but for his own good as well.

To analyze the provincialist, a pattern with a prepared "list" of characteristics, can not be used. Because of certain surviving objective presumptions of his existence, not everyone who shows certain provincialist tendencies, at times, is not necessarily a provincialist. Therefore, to determine who is a provincialist it is imperative to analyze the major factor of his activities as a whole, in the broader time frame of a specific interval. In any case, it is not possible to judge provincialism from an isolated or one sidedly selected statements or actions of this or that individual.

A characteristic typical of a provincial outlook is the elevation of the individual's needs above those of the whole society. Opportunism, consisting of the discrepancy between words and deeds, the pretense of community activity while ruthlessly pursuing personal individual goals; is one of the serious problems, and is not to be underestimated. There is still a place for the application of this attitude toward society, and that is the creation of individual "family socialism". Experience shows that an increase in provincialism is closely related to the problems which follow economic as well as social and ideological development of socialism. Shortages in the economy, trade and services lead to a certain discontent among the citizens. This creates conditions favorable for speculators, who satisfy the demand for goods and services at a high price.

The party, the state, and the whole society must take drastic measures against these developments. The proclamation read at the 15th meeting of the Central Committee of the party stated in part: "In the interest of the absolute majority of people, who work honestly, it is necessary to take more drastic steps against the various abuses, against all cases of slothfulness and freeloading, against the efforts to gain income without work. The tolerance of these, to socialism foreign occurrences, causes not only economic, but more importantly, moral-political damage."

It is necessary to emphasize that these damages are most serious among the young. The communist education is not only realized through schools and youth organizations, but an important, it could be said decisive, part is practical experience, the everyday activity. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, in his address at the celebration of the anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement, stressed that: "It is not possible to substitute loud slogans for real actions or a multitude of bloated rules and directives for actual live work." It is necessary to strip the ideological work of any kind of formalism, since it itself acts against the interests of socialism and markedly contributes to the survival and rejuvenation of bourgeois ideas and tendencies.

The process of overcoming the survivals of the past in the minds and actions of people calls for one necessary condition - mainly the knowledge that these survivals of the past are complex social phenomenae, of which there are many types, occuring in different spheres of social life. Mutually they differ by the degree of their anti society potential, the danger they pose to society (or the individual), duration of existence and stability.

Education must also contribute to the effort to create the need for self education, to oversee it, and emerge from it. To underestimate the importance of self education and to disregard the fact that an educated man can consciously mold his own traits and qualities, which answer the needs of the society's development; can lead to a whole series of negative reactions, such as apathy, lack of confidence in one's abilities, lack of initiative, etc.

It can not be said, however, that the success of overcoming the survivals of the past are purely products of realized education (especially self education). The communist education plays an enormous part in the fight against the survivals of the past, however all of its influence would be without the desired effect, if not for the processes of building of highly developed socialism throughout our country and the correspondent rise in the material standard of living of the working people.

The overcoming of the survivals of the past and correspondent negative occurrences, is dependent chiefly on the development of manufacturing sectors, the resolvement of economic problems, the betterment of working conditions, the creation of conditions for recreation and utilization of leisure time as to contribute to the development of the individual, on the improvement of the material base of the political educational and cultural enlightment work, as well as on the systematic, complex and goal oriented influence on the mind of the individual. Only the complex and systematic influence of all these factors will allow the molding of a well rounded and harmoniously developed individual.

13067/9190
CSO: 2400/57

CARE FOR AGED DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 85 p 5

/Article by Jana Casnochova: "Do We Know How to Age?"/

/Text/ Our country belongs among those which will experience a long-range increase in the number of senior citizens. This is related to a constantly rising standard of living and new methods for treating various diseases. The result of this is naturally a longer lifespan for individual citizens. The aging of our population has reached such a degree that it has become a serious economic, social, and health problem. Its solution is being sought through important all-societal programs.

In 1977, the Czechoslovak Government adopted a program document entitled "Principles Governing Care for the Aged by Society," which is a coordinated basis for the society's activities in this area. Three years later, referring to this program, the Slovak Government adopted a gerontological program for the SSR and created a government commission whose main goal is to guide and coordinate the care for the aged in accordance with new scientific findings. The program is based on the principle that the aim of socialist society is and will remain to prevent premature aging and diseases among old people. The main goal of the gerontological program is an effort to create a system which would help to maintain the good health and creative activity of individuals until the end of their lives.

With added years, an individual becomes weaker. He is not strong enough to do everything by himself. Sooner or later, he needs the help of others. Such assistance comes from voluntary as well as well paid female nurses and female geriatric nurses. Our country averages two female nurses per health district.

Old age is accompanied by various diseases. They are of such nature that the individual cannot remain either in a retirement home, full service residences, or nursing homes. Such individuals were and continue to be placed in hospitals. This, however, is only a makeshift arrangement and not a solution. Consequently, we have started to build facilities for people with geriatric ailments. In Slovakia, these facilities have 473 beds. Most of them are in West Slovak Kraj in Nove Zamky, Galanta and

Lehnice. However, our needs for beds are much higher. We need approximately 5,000 additional beds. While in 1977 over 13 percent of the population in Slovakia were 65 years old or older, the ratio grew to almost 18 percent last year and will be almost 19 percent at the end of 1990. Additional beds will be made available by building new facilities in Povazska Bystrica and Bardejov, already at the planning stage. Also under consideration is a plan to convert some of the existing health facilities in Bratislava for this purpose.

Each period of human life has its own peculiarities. Old age is no exception. Hence, we must be prepared for such a situation and learn how to cope with age during the time allowed us by our biological makeup. It is scientifically documented that sometime people "age" prematurely because of their own faults. This is the result of inappropriate diet, high alcohol consumption, smoking, physical exertion, "stressful habits," air pollution, etc. To have our elderly under control, to prevent unnecessary aging calls for the elimination of the above-mentioned factors. While our gerontological program is a step forward, compared to existing scientific knowledge concerning aging, it is only a beginning. To protect the health of present and future senior citizens will require mcuh stronger efforts not only by the institutions, enterprises, and organizations but also be each and every one of us.

1277/12276
CSO: 2400/81

CONCERN FOR CLEAN AIR VOICED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 27 Nov 85 p 5

/Excerpt/ We often emphasize that protection of the environment is one of the most important current social and economic tasks. Efforts to achieve changes in the ecological situation have lately been increasing from both the theoretical and the practical standpoints. In the next 15 years, considerable resources amounting to tens of billions of korunas will be spent on environmental protection and the clean-up of ecological damage. Equipment for cleaning up the atmosphere and water is not the cheapest kind of thing and moreover there is a noticeable lack of some equipment. One could say that we are just now creating the industry to deal with the production of modern, high-quality equipment.

Taken from the standpoint of expenses and the long-range nature of problem solutions, we should currently also be taking actions leading to immediate improvements in the ecological situation. And also we should demand that expenses for their implementation be kept relatively low and that the tools for achieving the goals be effective ones.

But let us get back to motor vehicles. If we consider, for example, that there are about 300,000 of them in operation in Prague on a workday and every tenth one is polluting the atmosphere in excess of the allowable limits, and if we take 40 kW ((sic--probably meant horsepower, which is "ks" in Czech)) as the average power output of their engines, then we can easily equate the pollution caused by them with the pollution that would be caused by the emission of unfiltered wastes over a period of 5 hours by a 1200 megawatt electric power plant burning oil.

The estimate that every tenth engine is operating outside standards is no exaggeration. It is enough for us to check the data on the highway near the museum, for example. The unfavorable status is also made worse by various fixed diesel generators, which are usually in very poor condition, and by work-out general purpose vehicles used in city maintenance.

Obviously, a simple system of fines will not correct the whole situation, even though ticketing is among the effective tools for correction. It would, however, increase its effectiveness if the highway checkpoints were equipped with measuring instruments which would make it possible to spot an improperly tuned combustion process more rapidly or to confirm the visual and olfactory perceptions by which the experienced technician can find a violation practically without any problems.

Here as well, however, it is true that an effective and lasting adjustment can be achieved primarily by prevention. It is better to avoid the illness than to cure it. But this would require clarification and augmentation of the appropriate regulations on technical inspections of motor vehicles. For example, checking the combustion process, obviously including correction of faults, could be done a minimum of twice a year on all motor vehicles without any distinction. Auto workshops should also be checked. In this case as well, it would, of course, mean increasing the capacity of capabilities for performing tests.

Imports of motor vehicles with two-cycle engines, which in terms of the combustion process have a higher risk of polluting the atmosphere more than the established norm than those with four-cycle engines, are practically no longer a consideration. In fact, "Mototechna" is essentially satisfied with checking up on vehicles with four-cycle engines.

But the two-cycle single-track vehicles remain an unresolved problem.. even though the number of motorcycles in operation is trending downward. Of course, such an out-of-tune wreck can pollute the atmosphere in the streets if allowed. It is equally important that the two-cycle vehicles of tourists coming here from the surrounding countries also be properly tuned up.

An important and often decisive role, however, is played by the availability of enough spare parts for carburetors, fuel pumps, electrical components and all engine parts which affect the combustion process. Even though the situation in this area is improving considerably, there are still inadequacies and these are mainly in the makeup of the parts inventory. We do not underrate the importance of this; the tickets issued by the highway checkpoints can be justified only if there is not any objective reason preventing the motorist from meeting his obligations. One can say without exaggeration that a solution to the spare parts problem, and not just for motor vehicles, is one of the basic tools for positively influencing the further development of the national economy. If we can solve this problem in motor transport with decisiveness (and let us not forget that there are about 5 million vehicles in operation in this country and that there are 47 passenger cars per 100 households), this fact will show up with positive effect in all branches and areas of the economy.

The actions proposed, which is certainly not an exhaustive list, have a common denominator. The expenses to implement them cost relatively little in comparison with the expenses of billions for equipment needed to neutralize environmental pollution or to clean up damages caused by energy, metallurgical, chemical, and others which are important from the ecological standpoint.

Vehicular traffic is, of course, also a strategic factor and the causes of its unfavorable ecological effect can be rectified more easily. For example, we can be very careful that only motor vehicles whose engines meet the prescribed standards for the composition of exhaust gases are operated, but it will also help if we create the material prerequisites (instruments, maintenance, and spare parts) to make sure that the engines are properly tuned. These are expenditures of only millionth parts which cause rapid changes and a very favorable economic effect.

We therefore consider the requirement of only letting vehicles with properly tuned engines operate on our roads to be a priority. This is also necessary from the standpoint of other, higher demands which have been placed on the automobile industry. These are mainly stricter norms on the composition of exhaust gases in the countries to which we are exporting cars, the switch-over to lead-free gasoline, the introduction of catalytic convertors, and efforts by world manufacturers to build the so-called clean engines.

Of course, the expenditures are substantially higher for implementation of these programs and plans. But here again, the principle applies that prevention is by far the best solution. The social resources which may seem high to us at first glance will finally prove to be the best investment.

6285/12276
CSO: 2400/89

SOCIOLOGY HUNGARY

CHANGES IN STUDENT AID PAYMENTS PROMPT ANGER, CONFUSION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Aranka Rehak: "Gross Anger, Net Wrath"]

[Text] Despite recent rulings, state support for college students does not retain its real value. The students are incited when they feel what little they have is in danger, especially when the authorities do not notice the relationship between income certification and college students' financial aid in time.

Universities and colleges have gotten into trouble distributing financial aid. At several institutions, the usual advances were being distributed at the start of the year before it was realized that the income certification statements were in error. In fact, since 1 January, according to the new regulations for calculating benefits at child-care and educational institutions, parents must report their net income. The same income certifications are required for college students, who had submitted their statements to their colleges and universities in June. The institutions sent the papers to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, where they were analyzed, and the financial aid bracket for each school was calculated. In August, however, the Ministry of Finance, anticipating the upcoming distribution of aid, announced again that net income must be reported on income certifications. At the colleges, then, the students appeared continually to hand in their modified statements. After a while, a circular from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs also appeared, stating that to avoid unfairness in using some students' net income and others' gross income in calculating financial aid, it must be made possible for everyone to certify their income decreased by the amount of income tax or retirement pay.

"We were up in arms at the conference of KISZ interest representatives in mid-September," said Ferenc Rakosi of the KISZ CC. "We were angry that financial aid must be redistributed, and many were also furious over having to travel home for the income certifications, since they did not trust the mails to get them there on time. But what mostly irritated everyone was that the instructions came late. The letter from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was posted at some schools, but more often it was not. Not even our handbill reached everybody."

The former interest representative of the Budapest Technical University, Laszlo Furedi, also participated in the conference.

"The students were forced into doing useless extra work," he said. "We had to play with the numbers until the same students got roughly the same financial aid. After all, the number of eligible students hasn't changed, nor has the available money. Then what was all this good for? And, as if that were not enough, I saw with my own eyes the paper from the Debrecen School of Medicine at the conference, which said that they had not even distributed the national scholarships because of this problem.
At one regional college, there were complaints that everyone was going to get an even 500 forints, even those who were eligible for 2,000!"

An employee of the registrar's office at the Debrecen School of Medicine, Agnes Petho, is still hoarse: in a short period four-fifths of all the students visited her office in search of information and help.

"We distributed the national scholarships. Students could request an advance on financial aid or academic scholarships as well. We simply did not have the time to distribute the academic scholarships because of the mess with income certifications. We are just now getting around to distributing those, and beginning in October we will distribute the advances requested on financial aid as well. Finally, minds are at ease again."

The new method of income certification has raised a new set of questions. The students began calculating. It was not hard to realize that certifiable income decreased the most in families with the highest incomes, while retired parents showed the least difference between income on paper and in reality. The ranking of applicants for dormitory housing was based on the summer's statements; it is impossible to tell how the correctly and incorrectly completed forms were intermixed.

While the questions were multiplying, something had to be done. As a temporary solution until the standardized income certifications arrive, the colleges are distributing 90 percent of their financial aid fund. Thus for September, October and November, the students will receive, on the average, 90 percent of their aid from last year. In December, the students will receive adjusted aid based on the new income certifications, and outstanding amounts will also be paid.

"This matter has been no small concern to us," said Mrs Lajos Nagy of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. "We have to multiply and divide over again. Of the 60,000 students enrolled in day programs, nearly 60 percent are eligible for financial aid. They do not need to be afraid that anyone will be hurt by the redistribution. Everyone can count on roughly the same amount of aid as received in the past. And if anyone should accidentally be given an advance which exceeds the final calculation, he is not required to return the money. In fact, certification of net income is fair to everyone, since it reflects the actual situation."

Therefore, financial aid remains mainly unchanged, no one will be shortchanged, and most of the money will be distributed even before December. The directive could have been followed more smoothly had the authorities realized in time that not only day-care children require income certification, and notified the enterprises in time for action. Students could also have received more information from their schools in time. Apparently, however, this would not have changed the confusion and the calculations, since college students are very sensitive to their pockets. But could they be so materialistic? Perhaps they are forced to be, by one fact: in the past three years, the real value of their scholarships and state aid has decreased.

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SOVIET-POLISH CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL CONTACTS EXPANDED

Soviet Soldier-Writers Visit

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] On the 22nd of this month in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and the return of the Western and Northern regions to Poland, a group of Soviet writers--veterans of the Second World War, soldiers of two armies (the Polish People's Army and the Red Army)--came to Warsaw. They included Ser Chanzadian, Swietlana Dawidiuk, Aleksander Dudariew, Wladimir Kisielow, Oleg Smirnow, Salomon Smoljanickij, and Wiltor Tielpugow.

The guests paid tribute to the Polish and Soviet soldiers by laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the monument at the Cemetery and Mausoleum for Soldiers of the Soviet Army.

During the historical and literary tour of Poland, the Soviet writer-combatants visited places of common battlegrounds in the struggle to liberate Poland from the German occupation.

Contemporary Soviet Literature Discussed

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] A 3-day national seminar of publishers devoted to contemporary Soviet literature has begun in Lodz. The organizers are the Ministry for Culture and Fine Arts and Lodz Publishers with the participation of the culture section of the PZPR Central Committee. The participants in the seminar will acquaint themselves with the newest works and styles in Soviet prose and poetry. The achievements of Polish editors in making Soviet literature and prerevolutionary classics available to Polish readers and in laying out a publishing program for 1986-90 will be discussed. Among others, the Soviet writers Wiktor Talmajew and Wladimir Sawieljew will participate in the seminar.

Education, Trade School Contacts Expand

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] Cooperation between the schools of higher education in Poland and the Soviet Union is the main topic of talks that the delegation of the Ministry of Higher Education and Trade Schools began on the 23rd of this month in Warsaw. The chairman of the delegation is Prof Genadiy A. Jagodin, who is the head of this ministry. During its visit the Soviet guests will acquaint themselves with the work of our academic institutions and willtour several of them. They will also participate in the plenary meetings of the First National Congress of Graduates of Soviet Institutions of HIgher Learning.

On Wednesday during the plenary session, minsiter Prof Benon Miskiewicz of the ministry of technology and higher schools described the situation in our institutions, especially their implementation of the revised statue on higher education. Cooperation between the two countries was also discussed. We must recall that as part of it nearly 340 persons were sent to Soviet institutions of higher learning during the current year. During the last academic year, about 470 students of the Russian language spent one semester at the Pushkin Institute for the Russian Language in Moscow.

Soviet-Polish Women Lawyers Cooperate

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] On the 24th of this month, Stanisalw Kolodziej, secretary-general of the ZG [Main Administration] of the Association of Polish Lawyers, met with the delegation of women lawyers from the Soviet Union in Poland for their congress and with its chairwoman Nina Skergiejewna, vicechairman of the Union of Lawyers of the Soviet Union and vicechairman of the Supreme Court of the RFSFR. The guests were informed about the Association of Polish Lawyers and the participation of women in the activities of this organization. The subject of further cooperation between the women lawyers of the two countries was also discussed.

Warsaw Reunion of USSR School Graduates

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] (Our own service) Nearly 280 representatives of the approximately 17,000 graduates of Soviet institutions of higher learning began a two-day meeting on Friday in the Warsaw House of Friendship. This is the graduates' fourth meeting of this type. The first took place in 1964, and the last, in Tourun three years ago.

The National Meeting of Graduates of Soviet Institutions of Higher Learning was opened by Stanislaw Wronski, the chairman of the ZG TPPR [Main Administration of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship]. He discussed the significance of the friendship between these two countries and peoples and brought out the role of the graduates of Soviet institutions in the social and economic life of Poland and in the strengthening of friendly ties with the Soviet Union.

Next Boleslaw Kapitan, chairman of the Commission of Graduates of Soviet Institutions of Higher Learning of the TPPR, characterized the activities of the commission and its tasks; he recalled the participation of Poles in the October Revolution, their contributions to strengthening the Soviet authorities, and the fraternity of Polish and Soviet soldiers during the Second World War. He also emphasized the significance of friendship an cooperation with the Soviet Union during the postwar period and the aid and participation in the economic development of Poland and training of personnel. The Long-term Program for Economic and Technical Cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union to the yar 2000 signed last year confirmed this significance. He added that reliable, deep knowledge of the Soviet Union must be dessiminated, and the graduates of Soviet institutions, who know the reality of that country, its language, and who have good personal contacts there, can play no small role in this area.

In the morning session, guests continued to speak: Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education,and technology, and Gennadiy Jagodin, minister of higher education and trade schools in the Soviet Union. Next, minister Jagodin and the rectors of the institutions in the Soviet delegation are awarded medals for their fraternal help in training Polish personnel by the ZG TPPR. During the intermission between sessions, representatives of the Commission for Graduates of Soviet Institutions of Higher Learning laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Mausoleum of Soviet Soldiers.

In the afternoon, the meeting continued in three working groups: science and technology, economic problems, and education and training of personnel. On Saturday the meetings will be summarized and closed.

Soviet Higher Education Delegation Listed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] At the invitation of the minister of science and higher education, a Soviet delegation lead by Prof G.A. Jagodin has arrived in Poland. The members of the delegation included N.S. Kolesnikove, director in the section for science and education of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A.J. Golubyev, director of a department in the Ministry of Higher and Trade Schools, B.T. Ponomarenko, viceminister of higher education for the Ukraine, O.W. Alekseyev, rector of the Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute, I.N. Orlov, rector of the Moscow Energy Institute, M.K. Rodionov, secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet assistant rector of Moscow University, and S.I. Nazarov, rector of the White Russian Agriculture Academy.

On the 25th of this month the delegation was received by J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo, and H. Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

During the meeting the guests were informed about the critical problems of higher education and preparation for the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on national education. The training of our personnel in the Soviet Union over the 40 years of People's Poland was evaluated and summed up. Great respect and gratitude was expressed for the work of the academic teachers of Soviet institutions who have trained several thousand highly qualified personnel for Polish science and culture and for Poland's economy.

On the 25th the Soviet delegation participated in the plenary session and the section meetings of the meeting of graduates of Soviet institutions of higher learning.

Messner Meets Soviet Education Delegation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] On the 25th of this month Tadeusz Messner, member of the Politburo and vicepremier, received the delegation of the Ministry of Higher Education and Trade Schools of the Soviet Union led by minister Genadiv A. Jogodin which is presently in Poland at the invitation of the minister of Science and Higher Education. The delegation reported on its visit in Poland and the meeting of graduates of Soviet institutions currently taking place. The current social and economic situation was also discussed. Minister Benon Miskiewicz also participated in the meeting.

Soviet Soldier-Writers Continue Visit

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 7

[Text] A group of Soviet writers, veterans of the Second World War, currently in Poland at the invitation of the Main Administration of the Union of Polish Writers and the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, recently visited the Jeleniogorski Voivodship.

In Jelenia Gora the Soviet writers met with the personnel and the cadets of the School of Military Radiotechnology. They also participated in a literary evening during which they talked about their memories from the war and literary experiences. Among others, Viktor Tielpugov, author of the well-known "Lightning on the Snow" and chairman of the delegation and chairman of the credentials commission of the Writer's Union of the Soviet Union, spoke.

In Zgorzelec, the Soviet guests laid a wreath at the White Eagle Monument at the cemetary of soldier-heros of the Second Polish Army. They also visited the memorial exhibition for the Heroes of the Second Army of the Polish Army and met with the young soldiers of the Border Guard Troops.

Reunion of Soviet School Graduates

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 7

[Text] On the 26th of this month the 2-day reunion of the graduates of Soviet schools concluded.

The graduates of Soviet schools, it was emphasized, can do much in the area of implementing Soviet-Polish long-term programs and agreements. Their knowledge of Russian technical and special literature, excellent orientation in the principles and mechanisms in the various areas of the economic and technical life of the Soviet Union, greater facility in direct personal contacts with their Soviet partners, and their ability to work in mixed groups, plus their excellent knowledge of Russian (especially technical terms), allows the graduates of Soviet schools a great opportunity in implementing concrete forms of cooperation.

The need to expand the graduates' effectiveness in the popularization of Polish-Soviet cooperation, to develop creative forms of action, and to expand the forms of friendship between the two countries was also discussed.

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SOCIOLOGY POLAND

PRESS REPORTS SOVIET-POLISH CONTACTS

October Revolution Celebrated

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] (PAP) The Polish people festively celebrate the 68th anniversary of the victory of the great socialist revolution. Apropos meetings are held in plants, schools, cultural institutions, military units, rural clubs and recreation centers, along with social evenings attended by the war veterans and veterans of the labor movement, government representatives, soldier and officers of the Polish Army, representatives of the Soviet Army, as well as Soviet specialists now serving in Poland and assisting in many of our construction works. Most of those festivities are organized by centers of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

An academy was arranged in the State Opera and Baltic Philharmonics building in Gdansk, which, in addition to active members from socio-political organizations, provincial authorities, war and labor veterans, and representatives of the tri-city trade centers, was also attended by a delegation of the Lenigrad chapter of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

A meeting of active members of the socio-political and economic organizations from South Polish provinces held at the General Consultate of the USSR in Krakow was attended by Stanislaw Opalka, member of the Politburo of the Polish Central Committee and secretary of the Tarnow Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers Party.

Friendship Societies in Warsaw

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] A delegation of the central administration of the Polish Soviet Friendship Society and the union of Soviet societies for cultural friendship and communications with foreign countries arrived in Warsaw to assist in the celebration of the 68th anniversary of the October Revolution in our country. The delegation was headed by Guram Yenukidze, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, and included Albert Norak, chairman of the Estonian division of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, and

Igor Nikanorow, a smith from the Ryazan machine tooling factory and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

On Wednesday the Soviet guests met with the management of the national council and main administration of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society,and exchanged information about the activities of both societies in an effort to widen and cement the Polish-Soviet friendship.

The Soviet delegation also, participated in the festive unveiling of a USSR political poster, which is displayed in the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw.

Soviet Film Festival

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Nov 85 pp 1-2

[Text] (Own report) The days of the Soviet film in Poland entered in the routine phase. Premiere films are shown that recall the greatest achievements of the Soviet movie industry, and also films that enjoyed the exceptional interest of Polish viewers in the post-premiere days.

On November 5th, 1985 a delegation of the Soviet movie industry met with reporters. Nikolai Sychov, chief of the state committee of the movie industry committee of the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic and head of the delegation provided information about problems and matters concerning Soviet film makers, the work of many movie producers, the production of many feature and documentary films, and also about movies enjoying the highest attendance. He pointed out that Soviet movie makers, along with the entire Land of the Soviets, are actively involved now in preparations for the 27th convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For decades the Soviet films has been a steady companion of social life, assisting in the molding of its outlooks and attitudes, while bringing society its entertainment and recreation.

The Soviet viewing public covers a daily attendance figure of 12 million movie goers. The annual production of 39 movie studios of the Soviet Union amounts to 150 feature films, in addition to 100 television and 40 full-length documentary and popular science films, plus 15,000 shorts. Those films are shown in 150,000 movies and houses of culture.

This, our guest emphasized, gives you an idea of the responsibility movies have in a nation's spiritual life, how important is the function of their propagation, and how heavy burden of responsibility a producer with such a enormous viewing public must bear.

The focal point of interest of the Soviet movie industry, he continued, is occupied by problems of the contemporary world, primarily of man with his worries and thoughts, his place and role in society.

Nobody knows better the price for victory than Soviet people. Memories of war years are a subject so near and dear. No wonder then that the Soviet film dedicates a great deal of attention to the subject of war. Presently the great film of Yuri Ozyerov, "The Battle for Moscow," has been shown on movie screens of the Soviet Union. It is a feature film presenting the first victory of the Soviet soldier. The documentary film "Marshall Zhukow," which is also known in Poland, enjoys great popularity.

We are attaching great importance to the historical revolutionary subject, and enhance the role of Lenin as the creator of the Soviet state. The great Russian and Soviet literature continually provides inspiration for such films as Gerasimov's "Boris Godunov" according to Pushkin, or the presently completed film about Griboyedov by Nikita Mikhalkov.

In response to reporters' questions delegation members, actress Irina Miroshnichenko and actor Yuri Nazarov furnished additional information.

The exhibit in the Polish-Soviet House of Friendship includes posters awarded earlier in this year's eighth contest organized by the Central Committee of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the chief administration of the movie industry, and "Polkino." This year the first prize went to Victor Sadowski, the creator of the poster for the film "Powiew Burzy" (The Gust of a Storm), while both second prizes were awarded to Mieczyslaw Wasilewski for his posters on the films "Messie Wychowanie (Masculine Upbringing), and Petla Oriona" (Orion's Loop). The third prize went to Maria Ihnatowicz--the author of the poster for the film "Jak to z Sienka bylo" (How it all happened in Sienka).

For the opening of the exhibit appeared Witold Nawrocki, manager of the cultural department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Union, and Jerzy Bajdor, Vice Minister of Arts and Culture.

Friendship Train to Moscow

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Nov 85 p 9

[Text] Moscow (PAP). Leslaw Kolijewicz, PAP's correspondent in Moscow, has filed the following report: On 5 Nov the "Friendship Train" arrived in Moscow. It is made up a veteran of the 1st and 2nd People's Armies of the Polish Armed Forces, former partisans, distinguished students of officer schools and leading soldiers of active services, plus activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society from various areas of Poland.

At the Leningrad Railway Station in Moscow the 340-strong group of Polish guests was cordially welcomed by representative of the main political administration of the Soviet Army and Marines, the main board of the Soviet committee of war veterans, the management of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, reinforced by many former comrades in arms from the times of the common struggle for the liberation of the Polish territories from nazi occupation.

A friendship rally was held at the station, with relevant speeches made by Army General Nikolai Leshchenko, member of the presidium of the central administration of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, and Brig Gen Rudolf Dzipanow, head of the Polish delegation.

In the afternoon a meeting took place at the house of culture of the "Krasnaya Priesnia" complex attended by participants of the "Friendship Train" and labor activists, plus a great many Soviet war veterans.

Soviet Political Poster Exhibit

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 7

[Text] On 6 November the Soviet political poster "1975-1985 - For Peace and Socialism" was unveiled at the exhibit held in the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw. The exhibit was organized by the National Publishing Agency, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "Plakat" (Poster), and the International Press and Book Club "Przyjazn" (Friendship).

The exhibit consisted of about 130 posters representing a ten-year cross-section from the activity of the "Plakat" (Poster) publishing house, which publishes annually about 900 poster titles with an overall output of over 100 million copies.

The subject matter of the exhibited posters can be classified into four groups: the first is dedicated to the figure and literary output of W. Lenin, the creator of the Soviet state; the second deals with the struggle for peace and friendship among nations; the third has to do with the work and lives of citizens of the Land of the Soviets, while the fourth group concerns the 40th victory anniversary. There is also an additional collection: poster reprints from the war years, harking back to those bygone times, including the famous poster "The Motherland Calls," plus posters talking about the struggle and work of the entire nation.

The inauguration of the exhibit, which is to continue until November 25th, was attended by G.M. Yenukidze, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia who heads the delegation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, L. Loyko, advisor in the Soviet embassy in Poland, and M. Szymborski, Vice President of the City of Warsaw.

Educators, Youth Press at Ideology Seminar

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] On the 5th and 6th of November 1985 the capital was the conference site of a Polish-Soviet seminar jointly arranged by the Research Institute of Juvenile Problems and the Science and Research Center of the Moscow Komsomol College. The topic of the consultations, attended by over 80 men of science, teachers, and reporters from the youth press was the ideological struggle of two political systems and the participation of young people in that struggle.

Opening the seminar, Andrzej Ornat emphasized that the ideological struggle was a struggle for the concept of the world's development and its future. Its goal from the viewpoint of the socialist states was to advance and put on an equal footing all nations. However, the ideological struggle has also its other, darker side: the United States and its political allies have converted the struggle for ideals into a strategy of an ideological aggression aiming at many countries of the world.

The main goal of ideological aggression is to disorient young people, deprive them of the faith in the socialist concept of a world development. Those enemy plots, as taught by past Polish experiences, must not be taken lightly. As we know, Polish youth participated en masse in the events of August 1980, thus making liars out of those who maintained that it had a purely materialistic attitude to life, that it was politically passive and unwilling to become involved.

The declaration of martial law brought confusion and disappointment into the lives of many young people. But even then, as highlighted in the discussions, youth had not assumed en masse the position of the enemies of socialism. The strategy of a long-term patient acquisition of youth, as adopted at the conference, produces good results. Indeed, subsequent poles conducted among youth by the Research Institute of Juvenile Problems revealed that the so-called opposition systematically scored lower and lower on the scale of social trust. The results of pools indicate that the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society is gaining in favor among young people.

The Polish-Soviet seminar concurred with many meetings with youth centers, such as the meeting of the seminar participants with youth activists of the Warsaw University, and a meeting at the automobile factory scheduled for the anniversary day of the outbreak of the October Revolution.

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SOCIOLOGY POLAND

BRIEFS

SOVIET SCIENTIFIC BOOK EXHIBIT--On 4 November 1985, an exhibit of Soviet scientific books was opened in the library of the Scientific Publications Propagation Center of the Polish Academy of Science in Warsaw. The exhibit consisted of several hundred entries that were published by publishing houses of the Academy of Science of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR Academy of Science. The exhibit was arranged by "Ossolineum," the State Scientific Publishing House, and ORPAN (the district council of the Polish Academy of Science). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 85 p 4] 12650/13068

SOVIET-POLISH FRIENDSHIP IN INDIA--Delhi (PAP). A Soviet-Polish friendship evening combined with a ceremony of awarding medals and honorary diplomas in connections with the "40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi fascism" was held last Monday in the embassy of the Polish People's Republic of Delhi. The medals and diplomas were received by citizens of the USSR serving in India, namely B. F. Iliarionow, A. M. Diakonow, and A. G. Plonkin--all of whom had participated in battles for the liberation of Polish territories. In addition, for meritorious service in the effort to strengthen Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood in arms decorations were conferred on W. Rykow, the ambassador of the USSR in India, and Maj Gen I. Golowanow, military attache of the USSR. The guests viewed the documentary film "From Westerplatte to Berlin." [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 85 p 7] 12560/13068

SOVIET BOOKS IN KRAKOW--(Own report) With its exhibit of Soviet books opened on 6 November 1985 in the halls of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the Krakow "Dom Ksiazki" inaugurated the traditional November "Days of the Soviet Book." Among 1000 or so titles, in addition to scientific-technological books and books about fine arts, the collection included records, albums, and children's stories. The exhibit was one of a series of shows celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution. [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5] 12650/13068

BEDNARSKI MEETS SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--Henryk Bednarski, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party met on 6 Nov 1985 with a delegation of the central administration of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society headed by Juram Yenukidze, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia that arrived in Poland at the invitation of the central administration of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society to participate in the 68th anniversary of the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 85 p 5] 12650/13068

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